

ENGLAND AND THE CONTINENT  
IN THE TENTH CENTURY

STUDIES IN THE EARLY MIDDLE AGES

*Editorial Board under the auspices of the  
Centre for Medieval Studies, University of York*

Elizabeth M. Tyler, *University of York*

Julian D. Richards, *University of York*

Ross Balzaretti, *University of Nottingham*

Previously published volumes in this series are listed at the back of this book

VOLUME 37

# ENGLAND AND THE CONTINENT IN THE TENTH CENTURY

Studies in Honour of Wilhelm Levison (1876–1947)

edited by

David Rollason, Conrad Leyser, and Hannah Williams



BREPOLS

England and the continent in the tenth century : studies in honour of Wilhelm Levison (1876-1947). – (Studies in the early Middle Ages ; v. 37)

1. Great Britain – History – Anglo-Saxon period, 449-1066 – Congresses. 2. Europe – History – 476-1492 – Congresses. 3. Great Britain – Foreign relations – Europe – Congresses. 4. Europe – Foreign relations – Great Britain – Congresses. 5. Civilization, Anglo-Saxon – Congresses. 6. England – Church history – 449-1066 – Congresses. 7. Europe – Church history – 600-1500 – Congresses. 8. Great Britain – Politics and government – 449-1066 – Congresses. 9. Europe – Politics and government – 476-1492 – Congresses. 10. Tenth century – Congresses.

I. Series II. Levison, Wilhelm, 1876-1947. III. Rollason, D. W. (David W.) IV. Leyser, Conrad. V. Williams, Hannah.

942'.017-dc22

ISBN-13: 9782503532080

© 2010, Brepols Publishers n.v., Turnhout, Belgium

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted, in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording, or otherwise, without the prior permission of the publisher.

D/2010/0095/116

ISBN: 978-2-503-53208-0



## CONTENTS

List of Illustrations	ix
Acknowledgements	xvii
List of Abbreviations	xix
Introduction: England and the Continent CONRAD LEYSER	1

### Part I: Routeways, Contacts, and Attitudes

Routeways between England and the Continent in the Tenth Century STÉPHANE LEBECQ AND ALBAN GAUTIER	17
Continental Germanic Personal Names in Tenth-Century England JOHN INSLEY	35
Exiles, Abbots, Wives, and Messengers: Anglo-Saxons in the Tenth-Century Reich ANDREAS BIHRER	51
Flemish Monasticism, Comital Power, and the Archbishops of Canterbury: A Written Legacy from the Late Tenth Century STEVEN VANDERPUTTEN	67
An Itinerant English Master around the Millennium RICHARD GAMESON	87

A Carolingian Scholar in the Court of King Æthelstan MICHAEL WOOD	135
England and the Papacy in the Tenth Century FRANCESCA TINTI	163
Relations between Fleury and England MARCO MOSTERT	185

## Part II: Kingship, Royal Models, and Dynastic Strategies

‘The King from Overseas’: Why Did Æthelstan Matter in Tenth-Century Continental Affairs? VERONICA ORTENBERG	211
Dynastic Strategies: The West Saxon Royal Family in Europe SARAH FOOT	237
Monastic Reform and Royal Ideology in the Late Tenth Century: Ælfthryth and Edgar in Continental Perspective SIMON MACLEAN	255
Comparative Approaches to Anglo-Saxon and Ottonian Coronations DAVID A. WARNER	275
Tenth-Century Kingship Comparatively JANET L. NELSON	293

## Part III: Law and the Working of Government

Kingship and Palaces in the Ottonian Realm and in the Kingdom of England THOMAS ZOTZ	311
Written Law and the Communication of Authority in Tenth-Century England DAVID PRATT	331
Legal Culture in Tenth-Century Lotharingia CHARLES WEST	351

## Part IV: The Church: Organization and Culture

Where are the Parishes? Where are the Minsters?	379
The Organization of the Spanish Church in the Tenth Century WENDY DAVIES	
Pastoral Care before the Parish: Aspects of the Early Ecclesiastical Organization of Scandinavia, especially Sweden STEFAN BRINK	399
The Early Pontificals: The Anglo-Saxon Evidence Reconsidered from a Continental Perspective SARAH HAMILTON	411
The Divine Office and the Secular Clergy in Later Anglo-Saxon England JESSE D. BILLET	429
The Policy on Relic Translations of Baldwin II of Flanders (879–918), Edward of Wessex (899–924) and Æthelflaed of Mercia (d. 924): A Key to Anglo-Flemish Relations? BRIGITTE MEIJNS	473

## Part V: The Vision of the Past

The Interests of Historians in the Tenth Century THOMAS F. X. NOBLE	495
Insular History? Forgery and the English Past in the Tenth Century JULIA CRICK	515
The Image of Roman History in Anglo-Saxon England YANN COZ	545
Index	559



## ILLUSTRATIONS

### *Figures*

#### **Gameson, 'An Itinerant English Master around the Millenium'**

Figure 1, p. 89. Gospel-book, canon-table. Boulogne, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 11, fol. 4<sup>r</sup>.

Figure 2, p. 90. Cosmic Christ. Boulogne, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 11, fol. 10<sup>r</sup>.

Figure 3, p. 91. St Matthew; Ancestors of Christ. Boulogne, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 11, fol. 10<sup>v</sup>.

Figure 4, p. 92. Ancestors of Christ; Annunciation; Visitation. Boulogne, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 11, fol. 11<sup>v</sup>.

Figure 5, p. 93. Annunciation to the Shepherds; Nativity; incipit to St Matthew's Gospel. Boulogne, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 11, fol. 12<sup>r</sup>.

Figure 6, p. 94. Prologue to St John's Gospel. Boulogne, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 11, fol. 104<sup>v</sup>.

Figure 7, p. 95. Incipit to St John's Gospel. Boulogne, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 11, fol. 107<sup>v</sup>.

Figure 8, p. 101. Cicero's *Aratea*; Perseus. London, British Library, MS Harley 2506, fol. 37<sup>r</sup>.

Figure 9, p. 106. 'Ramsey' Psalter: Crucifixion, London, British Library, MS Harley 2904, fol. 3<sup>v</sup>.

Figure 10, p. 107. *Beatus vir* (Psalm 1). London, British Library, MS Harley 2904, fol. 4<sup>r</sup>.

Figure 11, p. 111. 'Anhalt' Gospels: St Matthew. New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M 827, fol. 17<sup>v</sup>.

Figure 12, p. 112. Framed display text. New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M 827, fol. 19<sup>r</sup>.

Figure 13, p. 113. St Luke. New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M 827, fol. 66<sup>v</sup>.

Figure 14, p. 116. Gregory the Great, *Homilies on Ezekiel* (Book II); initial to the preface to Book II. Orléans, Médiathèque, MS 175, p. 1.

Figure 15, p. 117. End of text plus colophon. Orléans, Médiathèque, MS 175, p. 148.

Figure 16, p. 118. Drawing of Christ, St Gregory, St Benedict, and a monk. Orléans, Médiathèque, MS 175, p. 149.

Figure 17, p. 119. Display text. Orléans, Médiathèque, MS 175, p. 150.

Figure 18, p. 123. Crucifix with Anglo-Saxon ivory corpus. London, Victoria and Albert Museum, M7943–1862.

### **Wood, 'A Carolingian Scholar in the Court of King Æthelstan'**

Figure 19, p. 141. A tenth-century scholar/grammarian/philosopher's commonplace book. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS lat. 12949, fol. 52<sup>v</sup>.

Figure 20, p. 144. 'Game of the Evangelists' (*Alea Evangelii*). Oxford, Corpus Christi College, MS 122, fol. 5<sup>v</sup>.

Figure 21, p. 146. A tenth-century grammarian's teaching dossier. Worcester Cathedral Library, MS Q.5, fol. 71<sup>v</sup> (from St Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury).

Figure 22, p. 153. A tenth-century king's private psalter. London, British Library, MS Cotton Galba A XVIII (Æthelstan Psalter), fol. 200<sup>r</sup>.

Figure 23, p. 155. Christ with the instruments of the Passion, and choruses of angels and prophets. London, British Library, MS Cotton Galba A XVIII (Æthelstan Psalter), fol. 2<sup>v</sup>.

Figure 24, p. 156. The Nativity and Baptism of Christ. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Rawlinson B.484, fol. 85 (a stray leaf from the Æthelstan Psalter (London, British Library, MS Cotton Galba A XVIII)).

Figure 25, p. 157. The Ascension of Christ painted in the 930s and copied from a sixth- or seventh-century Syrian painted cycle (cf. Figure 26), and *Incipit* to Psalm 101. London, British Library, MS Cotton Galba A XVIII (Æthelstan Psalter), fols 120<sup>v</sup> and 121<sup>r</sup>.

Figure 26, p. 158. Rabbula Gospels, AD 580, Syrian, from Apamea in Antioch. Florence, Biblioteca Mediceo-Laurenziana, MS Plut. I, 56, fol. 13<sup>v</sup>.

### Ortenberg, “The King from Overseas”

Figure 27, p. 216. King Æthelstan and St Cuthbert. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 183, fol. 1<sup>v</sup>.

Figure 28, p. 224. Last Judgement with Christ holding the instruments of His passion, the cross, spear, and sponge. London, British Library, MS Cotton Galba A XVIII, fol. 2<sup>v</sup>.

Figure 29, p. 225. Christ showing his wounds, enthroned with martyrs, confessors, and virgins. London, British Library, MS Cotton Galba A XVIII, fol. 21<sup>r</sup>.

### MacLean, ‘Monastic Reform and Royal Ideology in the Late Tenth Century’

Figure 30, p. 259. *Benedictional of Æthelwold*: Death and Coronation of the Virgin. London, British Library, MS Additional 49598, fol. 102<sup>v</sup>.

Figure 31, p. 261. King Edgar to Æthelwold, bishop; grant of 3 hides (*mansae*) at Madeley, Staffs (Sawyer, no. 801, AD 975 (? for 974)). London, British Library, Harley Charter 43 C.6.

Figure 32, p. 267. The Arundel Psalter, Christ Church Canterbury (1012x23), image of St Benedict and monks. London, British Library, MS Arundel 155, fol. 133.

### West, ‘Legal Culture in Tenth-Century Lotharingia’

Figure 33, p. 354. The *Collectio Angilramni*, dealing with judicial procedure, was added in this tenth-century Lotharingian manuscript to Regino of Prüm’s canon law collection (Regino does not appear himself to have known the text). Trier, Stadtbibliothek, MS 927 (1882), p. 382.

Figure 34, p. 361. A capitulary text has been crossed out and erased, as part of the tenth-century ‘upgrading’ of this manuscript from a small selection of Louis the Pious’s capitularies to a copy of Ansegis’s capitulary collection. Berlin, Deutsche Staatsbibliothek, MS Phillipps 1737, fol. 6<sup>v</sup>.

Figure 35, p. 362. This image of a king in a tenth-century Lotharingian legal manuscript may have drawn inspiration from earlier exemplars, but should nevertheless still be seen as representing tenth-century ideals of kingship. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS lat. 9654, fol. A<sup>v</sup>.

### **Hamilton, ‘The Early Pontificals’**

Figure 36, p. 412. The Leofric Missal’s record of Leofric’s gift of the missal to Exeter Cathedral alongside a record of later manumissions. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 579, fol. 1<sup>r</sup>.

Figure 37, p. 425. Depiction of Gundekar with his predecessors. Eichstatt, Diözesanarchiv, MS B.4 (Pontificale Gundekarianum), fol. 18<sup>r</sup>.

Figure 38, p. 428. The Leofric Missal’s record of Leofric’s obit. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 579, fol. 3<sup>v</sup>.

### **Crick, ‘Insular History?’**

Figure 39, p. 523. Sawyer, no. 230: Christ Church, Canterbury. London, British Library, MS Cotton Augustus ii. 86.

Figure 40, p. 524. Sawyer, no. 110: Christ Church, Canterbury. London, British Library, MS Cotton Augustus ii. 99.

Figure 41, p. 527. Sawyer, no. 111: Christ Church, Canterbury. London, British Library, Stowe Charter 4.

Figure 42, p. 536. Sawyer, no. 132: Christ Church, Canterbury. Canterbury, Dean and Chapter, Chart. Ant. C.69.

Figure 43, p. 537. Sawyer, no. 168: MS 2: Christ Church, Canterbury. London, British Library, Stowe Charter 10.

Figure 44, p. 538. Sawyer, no. 175, MS 2: Christ Church, Canterbury. London, British Library, Stowe Charter 11.



Figure 45, p. 539. Sawyer, no. 236: Glastonbury. Longleat, Marquess of Bath, Muniment 10564.

Figure 46, p. 540. Sawyer, no. 43: Selsey. Chichester, West Sussex Record Office, Cap. I/17/1.

Figure 47, p. 542. Sawyer, no. 67: Worcester. London, British Library, Additional Charter 19788.

Figure 48, p. 543. Sawyer, no. 280: Rochester. London, British Library, Cotton Charter viii. 30.

Figure 49, p. 544. Sawyer, no. 1458: Rochester. London, British Library, Cotton Charter viii. 20.

## Maps

### Lebecq and Gautier, 'Routeways between England and the Continent'

Map 1, p. 26. Tenth- and early eleventh-century London.

Map 2, p. 30. The northern seas around the year 1000.

### Vanderputten, 'Flemish Monasticism, Comital Power, and the Archbishops of Canterbury'

Map 3, p. 71. Flanders *c.* 1000, from *Atlas de la France de l'an mil: état de nos connaissances*, ed. by Michel Parisse and Jacqueline Leuridan (Paris: Picard, 1994).

### Zotz, 'Kingship and Palaces in the Ottonian Realm and in the Kingdom of England'

Map 4, p. 312. 'The Ottonians as kings and emperors', from *NCMH*, III, map 4, pp. 234–35.

Map 5, p. 314. 'England *c.* 900–1016', from *NCMH*, III, map 9, p. 457.

Map 6, p. 320. 'Main royal routes and transit zones of kings in Germany, *c.* 936–1075', from John W. Bernhardt, *Itinerant Kingship and Royal Monasteries in Early Medieval Germany, c. 936–1075* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), p. 318.

Map 7, p. 322. 'Ground plan of the palace of Tilleda (tenth and first part of the eleventh century)', from *Die Deutschen Königspfalzen: Repertorium der Pfalzen, Königshöfe und übrigen Aufenthaltsorte der Könige im Deutschen Reich des Mittelalters*, vol. II: *Thüringen*, ed. by C. Ehlers, L. Fenske, and T. Zotz (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 2000), after p. 582.

Map 8, p. 324. 'Ground plan of the Palace of Cheddar', from Philip Rahtz, *The Saxon and Medieval Palaces at Cheddar: Excavations, 1960–62*, BAR, British Series, 65 (Oxford: BAR, 1979), p. 54.

Map 9, p. 325. 'The itineraries of King Edward the Elder and King Æthelstan', from David Hill, *An Atlas of Anglo-Saxon England* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1981), p. 87.

Map 10, p. 326. 'The itinerary of King Edgar the Peaceable and King Edward the Martyr', from David Hill, *An Atlas of Anglo-Saxon England* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1981), p. 90.

### **Davies, 'Where are the Parishes? Where are the Minsters?'**

Map 11, p. 382. Principal regions of northern Iberia in the tenth century.

Map 12, p. 384. Sources of important tenth-century Spanish charter collections.

### **Brink, 'Pastoral Care before the Parish'**

Map 13, p. 404. Plan of excavation at Björned, Ångermanland, Sweden.

Map 14, p. 406. Plan of excavated cemetery at Keldudalur (Iceland).

### **Meijns, 'The Policy on Relic Translations'**

Map 15, p. 481. Some relic translations in the County of Flanders (second half of the ninth century to 918).

## *Tables*

### **Foot, 'Dynastic Strategies'**

Table 1, p. 240. The West Saxon Royal Family.

Table 2, p. 247. The West Saxon Royal Family in Europe.

**Zotz, ‘Kingship and Palaces in the Ottonian Realm and in the Kingdom of England’**

Table 3, p. 317. Genealogy of the Ottonians and the Henrys of Bavaria.

Table 4, p. 319. The Dynasty of Wessex and its Connections to the Continent.

**Billett, ‘The Divine Office and the Secular Clergy’**

Table 5, p. 438. Antiphons for Lauds and Vespers during Holy Week in Office Books of Corbie, Worcester, and Exeter.

Table 6, pp. 463–64. Advent Responsories and Verses in DCL, MS A.IV.19 and CCCC, MS 41.

Table 7a, pp. 465–66. Sources in *CAO* with Advent Responsory Lists Identical to that in DCL, MS A.IV.19.

Table 7b, p. 467. Responsories and Verses of Advent I, Listed in Order of their Sources’ Relatedness to DCL, MS A.IV.19 and CCCC, MS 41.

Table 7c, p. 468. Responsories and Verses of Advent II, Listed in Order of their Sources’ Relatedness to DCL, MS A.IV.19 and CCCC, MS 41.

Table 7d, p. 469. Responsories and Verses of Advent III, Listed in Order of their Sources’ Relatedness to DCL, MS A.IV.19 and CCCC, MS 41.

Table 7e, pp. 470–71. Responsories and Verses of Advent IV, Listed in Order of their Sources’ Relatedness to DCL, MS A.IV.19 and CCCC, MS 41.



## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

From the moment that invitations were sent to potential participants, it became clear from the enthusiasm of responses how warmly Wilhelm Levison's memory is held by scholars around the world. The difficulty for the organizers lay in fitting everyone who wanted to contribute into a tight programme and finding a date which would suit everyone — in the end, and to their great regret, not all colleagues who would have wished to contribute could be accommodated in the conference's dates.

Our conference was nevertheless very well attended in those grey December days, and the discussions and informal contacts that arose from it were stimulating and rewarding. Our thanks to the Leverhulme Trust for sponsoring the Levison Network, and to Network participants and partner-institution leaders: Walter Pohl and Anton Scharer (Vienna), Alain Dierkens (Brussels), Kate Cooper and Paul Fouracre (Manchester). For everything which has made the conference and the volume possible, the editors would like to extend their thanks to St John's College for hosting it, to Event Durham for organizing it, to the Dean of Durham, Michael Sadgrove, for his hospitality and welcome to the participants, and to the general editor of the series in which the volume is published, Elizabeth Tyler, and the commissioning editor of Brepols Publishers, Simon Forde, for their willingness to publish and their help and support throughout.

A very stimulating lecture by James Campbell is — to the editors' great regret — not in this volume owing to the author's other publishing commitments, and the absence of Birthe Biddle's paper is also a source of great regret.

The editors and publisher are very grateful to the following for permission to reproduce illustrations: Basil Blackwell and Toronto University Press (Maps 9–10); Berlin, Deutsche Staatsbibliothek (Figure 34); Boulogne, Bibliothèque municipale (Figures 1–7); Cambridge, Corpus Christi College (Figure 27);

Cambridge University Press (Maps 4–5, 8); Canterbury Cathedral, Dean and Chapter (Figure 42); Eichstatt, Diozesanarchiv (Figure 37); Florence, Biblioteca Mediceo-Laurenziana (Figure 26); Guðný Zoëga, Ragnheiður Traustadóttir, and Leif Grundberg (Maps 13–14); London, British Library (Figures 8–10, 22–23, 25, 28–32, 39–41, 43–44, 47–49); London, Victoria and Albert Museum (Figure 18); Longleat, Marquess of Bath (Figure 45); Messrs Picard (Map 3); New York, Pierpont Morgan Library (Figures 11–13); Orléans, Médiathèque (Figures 14–17); Oxford, Bodleian Library (Figures 24, 36, 38); Oxford, Corpus Christi College (Figure 20); Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France (Figures 19, 35); Philip Rahtz (Map 7); Trier, Stadtbibliothek (Figure 33); Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht (Map 6); West Sussex Record Office (Figure 46); Worcester Cathedral Library (Figure 21).

Conrad Leyser  
David Rollason  
Hannah Williams  
March 2009

## ABBREVIATIONS

[I–X] <i>Æthelred</i>	The laws of Æthelred, king of the English, edited in Liebermann, <i>Gesetze</i> , I, 216–70; edited and translated in Robertson, <i>Laws</i> , pp. 52–133; <i>II</i> , <i>III</i> , <i>V</i> , and <i>VII</i> <i>Æthelred</i> , and extracts from <i>VIII</i> <i>Æthelred</i> , are translated in <i>EHD</i> , I, nos 42–46
[I–VI] <i>Æthelstan</i>	The laws of Æthelstan, king of the English, edited in Liebermann, <i>Gesetze</i> , I, 146–83; edited and translated in Attenborough, <i>Laws</i> , pp. 122–69; <i>II</i> , <i>V</i> , and <i>VI</i> <i>Æthelstan</i> are translated in <i>EHD</i> , I, nos 35–37
<i>Æthelweard, Chronicle</i>	<i>The Chronicle of Æthelweard</i> , ed. and trans. by Alistair Campbell, Nelson’s Medieval Texts (London: Nelson, 1962)
<i>ASC</i> (Swanton)	<i>The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle</i> , trans. by Michael J. Swanton (London: Dent, 1996)
<i>ASE</i>	<i>Anglo-Saxon England</i>
<i>Asser</i> (Keynes-Lapidge)	<i>Asser’s Life of King Alfred and Other Contemporary Sources</i> , trans. by Simon Keynes and Michael Lapidge (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1983)
<i>Asser</i> (Stevenson)	<i>Asser’s Life of King Alfred together with the Annals of Saint Neot’s Erroneously Ascribed to Asser</i> , ed. by W. H. Stevenson (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1959)

Attenborough, <i>Laws</i>	<i>The Laws of the Earliest English Kings</i> , ed. and trans. by F. L. Attenborough (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1922; repr. Felinfach: Llanerch, 2000)
BAR	British Archaeological Reports
BAV	Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana
<i>BEASE</i>	<i>The Blackwell Encyclopaedia of Anglo-Saxon England</i> , ed. by Michael Lapidge and others (Oxford: Blackwell, 1999)
BL	London, British Library
BM	Bibliothèque municipale
BnF	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France
CBA	Council for British Archaeology
CCCC	Cambridge, Corpus Christi College
CCCM	Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis (Turnhout: Brepols, 1966–)
[I–II] <i>Cnut</i>	The laws of Cnut, king of the English, edited in Liebermann, <i>Gesetze</i> , I, 278–371; edited and translated in Robertson, <i>Laws</i> , pp. 154–219; extracts from I–II <i>Cnut</i> are translated in <i>EHD</i> , I, no. 49
<i>Councils and Synods</i>	<i>Councils and Synods with Other Documents Relating to the English Church</i> , vol. I: AD 871–1204, ed. by D. Whitelock, M. Brett, and C. N. L. Brooke, 2 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1980)
<i>DA</i>	<i>Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters</i> (supersedes <i>Deutsches Archiv für Geschichte des Mittelalters</i> (1937–44)
DCL	Durham, Cathedral Library
<i>Dunsæte</i>	<i>Dunsæte</i> , Ordinance concerning the Dunsæte, edited in Liebermann, <i>Gesetze</i> , I, 374–79



<i>Dunstan LTC</i>	<i>St Dunstan: His Life, Times and Cult</i> , ed. by Nigel Ramsay, Margaret Sparks, and Tim Tatton-Brown (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 1992)
<i>Dunstan Memorials</i>	<i>Memorials of Saint Dunstan, Archbishop of Canterbury</i> , ed. by William Stubbs, RS, 63 (London: Longman, 1874; repr. Wiesbaden: Kraus Reprint, 1965)
[II–IV] <i>Edgar</i>	The laws of Edgar, king of the English, edited in Liebermann, <i>Gesetze</i> , I, 194–215; edited and translated in Robertson, <i>Laws</i> , pp. 20–39; II–III and IV Edgar are translated in <i>EHD</i> I, nos 40–41
[I–III] <i>Edmund</i>	The laws of Edmund, king of the English, edited in Liebermann, <i>Gesetze</i> , I, 184–91; edited and translated in Robertson, <i>Laws</i> , pp. 6–15; II <i>Edmund</i> is translated in <i>EHD</i> I, no. 38
[I–II] <i>Edward</i>	The laws of Edward the Elder, king of the Anglo-Saxons, edited in Liebermann, <i>Gesetze</i> , I, 138–45; edited and translated in Attenborough, <i>Laws</i> , pp. 114–21
EEMF	Early English Manuscripts in Facsimile
EETS	Early English Text Society
<i>EHD</i> , I	<i>English Historical Documents</i> , vol. I: c. 500–1042, ed. by D. Whitelock, 2nd edn (London: Eyre Methuen, 1979)
<i>EHR</i>	<i>English Historical Review</i>
<i>EME</i>	<i>Early Medieval Europe</i>
<i>Flodoard</i> (Fanning-Bachrach)	<i>The Annals of Flodoard of Reims 919–966</i> , trans. by S. Fanning and B. Bachrach, Readings in Medieval Civilizations and Cultures, 9 (Peterborough, ON: Broadview, 2004)
<i>Flodoard</i> (Lauer)	<i>Les Annales de Flodoard de Reims</i> , ed. by Philippe Lauer [Paris: Picard, 1905/6?]

<i>FmaS</i>	<i>Frühmittelalterliche Studien</i>
HBS	Henry Bradshaw Society
Hrotsvitha, <i>Gesta Ottonis</i>	Hrotsvitha of Gandersheim, <i>Gesta Ottonis</i> , in <i>Hrotsvit Opera omnia</i> , ed. by Walter Berschin (Munich: Sauer, 2001)
Lapidge, <i>A-LL</i>	Michael Lapidge, <i>Anglo-Latin Literature 900–1066</i> (London: Hambledon, 1993)
<i>LdMA</i>	<i>Lexikon des Mittelalters</i> , 9 vols (Munich: Artemis, 1977–98)
Levison, <i>ECEC</i>	Wilhelm Levison, <i>England and the Continent in the Eighth Century: The Ford Lectures Delivered in the University of Oxford in the Hilary Term, 1943</i> (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1946)
Leyser, <i>CPME</i>	Karl Leyser, <i>Communications and Power in Medieval Europe</i> , vol. I: <i>The Carolingian and Ottonian Centuries</i> , ed. by Timothy Reuter (London: Hambledon, 1994)
Liebermann, <i>Gesetze</i>	<i>Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen</i> , ed. by Felix Liebermann, 3 vols (Halle: Max Niemeyer, 1903–16)
<i>LLASE</i>	<i>Learning and Literature in Anglo-Saxon England: Studies Presented to Peter Clemoes on the Occasion of his Sixty-fifth Birthday</i> , ed. by Michael Lapidge and Helmut Gneuss (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985)
Malmesbury, <i>GRA</i>	William of Malmesbury, <i>Gesta Regum Anglorum</i> , ed. and trans. by R. A. B. Mynors, R. M. Thomson, and M. Winterbottom, OMT, 2 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998)
MGH	Monumenta Germaniae Historica
Briefe	Die Briefe der deutschen Kaiserzeit
Capit. episc.	Capitula episcoporum
Capit. reg.	Capitularia regum Francorum
Dip. Reg. Imp.	Diplomatum Regum et Imperatorum Germaniae
Ep. Sel.	Epistolae Selectae

Lib. Mem. Nec.	Libri Memoriales et Necrologia
Necr.	Necrologia Germaniae
Poet. Lat.	Poetae Latini medii aevi
SS	Scriptores in folio
SS rer. Germ.	Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum separatim editi
SS rer. Germ, n.s.	Scriptores rerum Germanicarum, Nova series
SS rer. Merov.	Scriptores rerum merovingicarum
NCMH, I	<i>New Cambridge Medieval History</i> , vol. I: c. 500–c. 700, ed. by Paul Fouracre (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005)
NCMH, II	<i>New Cambridge Medieval History</i> , vol. II: c. 700–c. 900, ed. by Rosamond McKitterick (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995)
NCMH, III	<i>New Cambridge Medieval History</i> , vol. III: c. 900–1024, ed. by Timothy Reuter (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999)
NCMH, IV	<i>New Cambridge Medieval History</i> , vol. IV: c. 1024–c. 1198, ed. by David E. Luscombe, 2 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003)
Nelson, <i>PREME</i>	Janet L. Nelson, <i>Politics and Ritual in Early Medieval Europe</i> (London: Hambledon, 1986)
ODNB	<i>The Oxford Dictionary of National Biography</i> , ed. by H. C. G. Matthew and Brian Harrison (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004); online version available at < <a href="http://www.oxforddnb.com/">http://www.oxforddnb.com/</a> >
OMT	Oxford Medieval Texts
Ortenberg, <i>ECC</i>	Veronica Ortenberg, <i>The English Church and the Continent in the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries</i> (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992)
Oswald LI	<i>St Oswald of Worcester: Life and Influence</i> , ed. by N. Brooks and C. Cubitt (London: Leicester University Press, 1996)

<i>PL</i>	<i>Patrologia Latina</i> , ed. by J.-P. Migne, 217 vols + 4 index vols (Paris: Migne, 1841–61)
PML	New York, Pierpont Morgan Library
<i>PP</i>	<i>Past and Present</i>
Rasmussen, <i>Pontificaux</i>	Niels Krogh Rasmussen, <i>Les Pontificaux du haut moyen âge: Genèse du livre de l'évêque</i> , ed. by Marcel Haverals, <i>Spicilegium Sacrum Lovaniense, Études et Documents</i> , 49 (Leuven: Spicilegium Sacrum Lovaniense, 1998)
<i>RbPH</i>	<i>Revue belge de Philologie et d'Histoire</i>
Reuter, <i>MPMM</i>	Timothy Reuter, <i>Medieval Politics and Modern Mentalities</i> , ed. by Janet L. Nelson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006)
<i>Revb</i>	<i>Revue bénédictine</i>
<i>Richer</i> (Hoffmann)	<i>Richer von Saint-Remi Historiae (Richeri Historiarum Libri IIII)</i> , ed. by Hartmut Hoffmann, <i>MGH SS</i> , 38 (Hannover: Hahn, 2000)
<i>Richer</i> (Latouche)	<i>Richer, Histoire de France (888–995)</i> , vol. I: 888–954, ed. and trans. by R. Latouche, 2nd edn, 2 vols (Paris: Librairie Ancienne, 1967)
Robertson, <i>Laws</i>	<i>The Laws of the Kings of England from Edmund to Henry I</i> , ed. and trans. by A. J. Robertson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1925) (repr. 2 vols, Felinfach: Llanerch, 2000)
Robinson, <i>TSD</i>	Joseph Armitage Robinson, <i>The Times of Saint Dunstan: The Ford Lectures Delivered in the University of Oxford in the Michaelmas Term, 1922</i> (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1923)
RS	Rolls Series (Chronicles and Memorials of Great Britain and Ireland during the Middle Ages)
<i>Rudolfina Dip.</i>	<i>Die Urkunden der burgundischen Rudolfinger</i> , ed. by T. Schieffer and H. E. Mayer, <i>MGH, Regum</i>

- Burgundiae e stirpe Rudolfina Diplomata (Munich: Monumenta Germaniae Historica, 1977)
- Sawyer Peter H. Sawyer, *Anglo-Saxon Charters: An Annotated List and Bibliography*, Royal Historical Society Guides and Handbooks, 5 (London: Royal Historical Society, 1968); a new edn of Sawyer with additions, ed. by S. E. Kelly and others, is forthcoming; see meanwhile S. E. Kelly, *The Electronic Sawyer: An Online Version of the Revised Edition of Sawyer's Anglo-Saxon Charters [S1–S1602]*, <<http://www.trin.cam.ac.uk/chartwww/esawyer.99/esawyer2.html>>. Cited by number.
- Settimane Settimane di Studio del Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo
- Thietmar (Holtzmann) *Die Chronik des Bischofs Thietmar von Merseburg und ihre Korveier Überarbeitung*, ed. by Robert Holtzmann, MGH, SS, n.s., 9 (Berlin: Weidmann, 1935)
- Thietmar (Warner) 'The Chronicon of Thietmar of Merseburg', in *Ottonian Germany*, trans. by David A. Warner (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2001)
- TRHS *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*
- Vita Oswaldi Byrhtferth of Ramsey, *Vita Oswaldi archiepiscopi Eboracensis*, in *Byrhtferth of Ramsey, the Lives of St Oswald and St Ecgwine*, ed. and trans. by Michael Lapidge, OMT (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2009)
- Widukind (Bauer-Rau) *Res gestae Saxonicae*, ed. and trans. by A. Bauer and R. Rau, *Quellen zur Geschichte der sächsischen Kaiserzeit*, 2nd rev. edn (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1977), pp. 16–183; reproduces the text of *Widukind* (Lohmann-Hirsch) with a German translation which revises two earlier ones.
- Widukind (Lohmann-Hirsch) Widukind of Corvey, *Rerum gestarum Saxoniarum libri tres* = *Die Sachsengeschichte des Widukind von Korvei*, ed. by Hans-Eberhard Lohmann and Paul

Hirsch, 5th edn, MGH, SS rer. Germ., 60 (Hannover: Hahn, 1935)

Wormald, *MEL*

Patrick Wormald, *The Making of English Law: King Alfred to the Twelfth Century*, vol. I: *Legislation and its Limits* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1999)

## INTRODUCTION: ENGLAND AND THE CONTINENT

Conrad Leyser

Wilhelm Levison was one of the legendary giants of twentieth-century historical scholarship, his *England and the Continent in the Eighth Century* one of its canonical texts.<sup>1</sup> To date, five scholarly gatherings have been held to commemorate the sixtieth anniversary of Levison's death in 1947; this volume collects the papers delivered at one of these meetings, held at Durham University in December of 2007 and sponsored by the Leverhulme Trust. These gatherings — the other four of which took place in Vienna, Bonn, Manchester, and Brussels — were occasions of lively celebration of Levison's memory and his work. The reader, however, is entitled to ask 'Why Levison, and why the tenth century?'.

A goal of the 2007 commemorations, explicitly stated or not, was to set down in writing the oral 'lore' of Levison — a living tradition for the postwar generation of medievalists, but by no means self-evident to their twenty-first-century successors. Levison's story has often been told,<sup>2</sup> but it bears at least brief rehearsal here. If he had died some ten years earlier, Levison would have been remembered as a brilliant technician and a beloved teacher — no less, but perhaps also no more. Until the mid-1930s, Levison had devoted himself to the Great Tradition of German medieval scholarship, crisscrossing the libraries of Europe checking manuscript

My thanks to Letha Böhringer, Kate Cooper, R. I. Moore, Henrietta Leyser, Hannah Williams, and in particular to David Rollason for help, patience, and inspiration.

<sup>1</sup> Levison, *ECEC*.

<sup>2</sup> In English, see David Rollason, 'Wilhelm Levison', in *The Blackwell Dictionary of Historians*, ed. by J. Cannon (Oxford: Blackwell, 1988), s.n.; Felice Lifshitz, 'Levison, Wilhelm 1876–1947', in *Encyclopaedia of Historians and Historical Writing*, ed. by Kelly Boyd (London: Fitzroy Dearborn, 1999), pp. 717–18; Yitzhak Hen, 'Wilhelm Levison', in *ODNB*.

variants to produce definitive editions of early medieval texts, in particular those concerning missionary saints such as Willibrord and Boniface. Then his life was thrown off course by Nazi persecution; in 1939, just before the outbreak of war, Levison and his wife fled Germany for England. The network of scholarly contacts he had built up over his career, and also the early medieval network of exchanges he had studied, suddenly assumed a new meaning. In finding a home at the shrine of St Cuthbert in Durham, in lecturing on the missions of Willibrord and Boniface to the Continent, Levison fused his own story with that of the medieval past his work had revealed. In this sense, he was the impresario of his own legend.

The outset of Levison's career was a familiar tale of success for the son of a prosperous, assimilated German Jewish family of the Rhineland.<sup>3</sup> His family were sufficiently well-off to allow at least one of their children to convert financial into cultural capital. From the age of twenty, Levison began to make his way into the upper echelons of the German historical establishment. In 1899, he began forty years of unstinting labour for the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, the institute for historical research on the Middle Ages established in the early nineteenth century. Very crudely speaking, the task of the *Monumenta* was to lend the authority of scholarship to the venture of German nationalism.<sup>4</sup> A meticulous sifting of the historical record of the kingdoms in the post-Roman West was thus a search for the origins of contemporary national identity. Having earned his spurs with aplomb as a manuscript researcher, Levison was seemingly afforded an element of *Spielraum* to develop his interest in the *Lives* of the saints. This represented an expansion to the scholarly range of the *Monumenta*, whose pioneering generations had concentrated on more obviously 'this-worldly' texts such as annals.

Named as he was after Kaiser Wilhelm, Levison and his generation participated without inhibition in the project of German nationhood.<sup>5</sup> Until the Nazis came

<sup>3</sup> S. Lassig, *Jüdische Wege ins Bürgertum: Kulturelles Kapital und sozialer Aufstieg im 19. Jahrhundert* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 2004). My thanks to Letha Böhringer for drawing this study to my attention.

<sup>4</sup> Patrick J. Geary, *The Myth of Nations: The Medieval Origins of Europe* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002), pp. 15–40 is a broadly cast critique of the nationalist agenda. See further Rudolf Schieffer, 'Weltgeltung und nationale Verführung: Die deutschsprachige Mediävistik vom ausgehenden 19. Jahrhundert bis 1918', in *Die deutschsprachige Mediävistik im 20. Jahrhundert*, ed. by Peter Moraw and Rudolf Schieffer, *Vorträge und Forschungen*, 62 (Ostfildern: Thorbecke, 2005), pp. 39–61.

<sup>5</sup> Letha Böhringer, "glaube ich durch Schrift und Tat der deutschen Sache mehrfach genützt zu haben": Wilhelm Levison als politische Persönlichkeit', in *Wilhelm Levison (1876–1947): Ein*



to power, and indeed in the years immediately following, the idea that there might be a contradiction between Jewish and German identities seemed frankly bizarre. Conversely, a twenty-first-century audience, all too wise after the event, strains to imagine the mindset of bourgeois Jewry in the mid-1930s — the perfectly reasonable conviction that the Nazis were an aberration that would pass, that one's neighbours, and indeed one's servants, would not have their heads turned by such nonsense. Levison remained committed to his homeland until the last possible moment. In 1939, he took up an invitation to come to Durham University. Eight years earlier, he had accepted an honorary degree from the university, granted in recognition of his work on the history of Northumbria. Durham now became home for him and his wife, Elsa.

Forcibly exiled, Levison used his intellectual patrimony to address his changed circumstances. He diverted the nationalist energies of his Monumentist tradition to shape a new agenda for the scholarly community, one transcending national identities. In the spring of 1943, as the Allied offensive started to take shape, Levison delivered the Ford Lectures in Oxford under the title 'England and the Continent in the Eighth Century'. His principal subject was the conversion to Christianity twelve hundred years ago of the Frisians and the Saxons at the hands of English churchmen: then as now, Levison argued, England had saved the Continent from barbarism; the parallel was explicit.<sup>6</sup> What he left implicit — but his Oxford audience could not have failed to appreciate — was the sense in which he himself was a missionary, an apostle for scholarship as a tool of survival and an instrument of community. The Ford Lectures, published in 1946, are a stunning example of the truism that a scholar's life is his work, and that our image of the past is always conditioned by our present circumstance. Levison took these truisms and made of them a lasting monument.

That said, his legacy bore fruit more quickly in Germany than in England. Not that *Wiederaufbau*, the task of postwar reconstruction, was easy. One need only glance at the 'Nekrolog' included in the Monumenta Germaniae Historica's *Deutsches Archiv* for 1951 to appreciate the grounds for sombre anxiety.<sup>7</sup> The 'Nekrolog' is a series of short obituaries for Monumentists who had died since the production of the *Deutsches Archiv* had been halted in 1944. It is a painfully objective

*jüdisches Forscherleben zwischen wissenschaftlicher Anerkennung und politischem Exil*, ed. by Matthias Becher and A. Plassmann (Siegburg: Franz Schmitt, 2010), pp. 251–317. My thanks to the author for making a copy of this available in advance of publication.

<sup>6</sup> E.g. Levison, *ECEC*, p. 173.

<sup>7</sup> *DA*, 8 (1951), 250–67.

snapshot of an intellectual community possible in the pre-Nazi era, subsequently bent and broken out of all recognition. Besides Levison, the list included on the one hand Karl Brandi, whose successor in Göttingen, Percy Ernst Schramm, had actively collaborated with the Nazi regime, and on the other, Ernst Perels, a Jewish scholar who chose to remain in Germany through the war and who died in the concentration camp of Buchenwald. Like Levison, Perels had lost his official post in 1935, under the Nürnberg laws.<sup>8</sup> He had continued working on his edition of the letters of Hincmar of Reims, in an unofficial capacity: when the first volume of these letters was published in 1939, Perels's name was not on the title page. Colleagues at the Monumenta seem to have sheltered him for as long as possible, but in 1944, his son Justus was involved in the 20 July plot to assassinate Hitler. The Gestapo came for Perels in the middle of October of that year, and he was murdered the following April, in the last round of *Vernichtungsaktionen*, records the 'Nekrolog'.

It fell to Levison's pupils, and in particular Theodor Schieffer, to move beyond the anxious formality of the *Deutsches Archiv* obituaries. Schieffer had joined the Monumenta in the mid-1930s, and in 1955 he was elected to its Board of Directors.<sup>9</sup> With his *Winfried-Bonifatius und die Christliche Grundlegung Europas*, published the previous year, Schieffer picked up the torch lit by Levison's *England and the Continent*.<sup>10</sup> In Levison's and Schieffer's vision, Boniface was the Anglo-Saxon missionary who had lent crucial moral authority to the Carolingian regime. In contemporary political terms, one might hazard, Schieffer's work on the interdependence of the polities of the Latin West gave voice to the same postwar conviction from which sprang the Common Market and its successor, the European Union. As for Germany, so for the Monumenta, here was a pathway towards a reintegrated world, in which the past could be openly confronted and set to rights. To give a small but telling example: in 1975, the Monumenta republished the first volume of Hincmar of Reims's correspondence, this time with Ernst Perels's name restored on the front page.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>8</sup> On Perels, see now Ines Oberling, *Ernst Perels (1882–1945): Lehrer und Forscher an der Berliner Universität* (Bielefeld: Verlag der Regionalgeschichte, 2005). On Schramm, see David Thimme, *Percy Ernst Schramm und das Mittelalter: Wandlungen eines Geschichtsbildes* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 2006).

<sup>9</sup> Horst Fuhrmann, 'Theodor Schieffer 1910–1992' (Munich: MGH, 1992).

<sup>10</sup> Theodor Schieffer, *Winfried-Bonifatius und die Christliche Grundlegung Europas* (Freiburg: Herder, 1954).

<sup>11</sup> *Hincmari Archiepiscopi Remensis Epistolae* (*Die Briefe des Erzbischofs Hinkmar von Reims*), vol. 1, ed. by Ernst Perels, MGH, Epistolae, 8.1 (Berlin: Weidmann,

The culmination of Schieffer's custodianship of the legacy of his teacher came perhaps the following year, when a celebration took place in Bonn of the centenary of Levison's birth in 1876. Schieffer gave a long address, dealing directly with the history of Levison's persecution and exile. His words were supplemented by Horst Fuhrmann, now director of the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*; and there was a word from Baudoin de Gaiffier, representing the Bollandists, with whom Levison had had a great deal of contact.<sup>12</sup> A European scholarly community, of the kind Levison had known and come to embody, was here reconstituted around his memory.

It is noticeable that no English scholar spoke at Bonn in 1976 (in contrast to the Bonn conference of 2007, it should immediately be noted).<sup>13</sup> Levison family members from England were present, among them Karl Leyser, but this English silence was an accurate comment on the extent of Levison's postwar influence in England, and perhaps also of the still tentative state of postwar relations between England and Germany. In the 1950s and 1960s, the implications of *England and the Continent in the Eighth Century* were not yet widely appreciated.<sup>14</sup> At Durham, as David Rollason has shown, Levison's memory, and in particular his books, were zealously guarded — but this was at the active expense of collaboration with German colleagues (a situation now happily resolved thanks largely to Rollason's intervention).<sup>15</sup> The Continental horizon of English medieval research culture was defined by France, not Germany. This was the era of Elizabeth David's *French Provincial Cooking* (1960), and of R. W. Southern's immensely influential *The Making of the Middle Ages*.<sup>16</sup> Appearing in 1953, Southern's book gently but firmly guides its readers away from the Saxon empire, with its strangely 'misfiring

1975). Theodor's son Rudolf Schieffer, the current director of the MGH, is undertaking the completion of the edition.

<sup>12</sup> *In Memoriam Wilhelm Levison, (1876–1947): Reden und Grussbotschaften bei der Gedenkfeier der Universität zum 100. Geburtstag am 31. Mai 1976*, ed. by Theodor Schieffer and others, Alma Mater: Beiträge zur Geschichte der Universität Bonn, 40 (Cologne: Hanstein, 1977).

<sup>13</sup> *Wilhelm Levison (1876–1947): Ein jüdisches Forscherleben*, ed. by Becher and Hen.

<sup>14</sup> I owe this observation to James Campbell.

<sup>15</sup> See David Rollason, 'Levison in Exile', in *Wilhelm Levison (1876–1947): Ein jüdisches Forscherleben*, ed. by Becher and Plassmann, pp. 319–32.

<sup>16</sup> Elizabeth David, *French Provincial Cooking* (London: Michael Joseph, 1960); R. W. Southern, *The Making of the Middle Ages* (London: Hutchinson, 1953).

leadership', and towards the valleys of the Seine and the Thames as the crucible of the new European civilization.<sup>17</sup>

Only in the 1970s did this begin to change; as the United Kingdom entered the European Common Market, medievalists at Oxford and beyond rediscovered an interest in Levison's subject. One turning point was perhaps the Ford Lectures of 1970, delivered by Michael Wallace-Hadrill on the theme 'Early Germanic Kingship in England and the Continent'.<sup>18</sup> Wallace-Hadrill's title immediately directed attention back to Levison, and his preface emphasized the extent of his debt to Eugen Ewig, Levison's pupil and successor at Bonn. Wallace-Hadrill's project and method were not the same as Levison's: he sought less to trace particular channels of influence and contact than to initiate a comparative discussion of parallel developments. Nor were he and his pupils very interested in Germany itself: 'Germanic' kingship in fact tended to mean 'West Frankish'.<sup>19</sup> Nonetheless, this was a fillip to 'England and the Continent in the Early Middle Ages' as a subject for further research.

In bringing early medieval Germany to the fore, crucial impetus was provided by Karl Leyser. Mid-nineteenth-century marriage alliances had brought the Leysers and the Levisons together, as Levison traced in his compendious work of genealogy, *Die Siegburger Familie Levison und verwandt Familien*, which he completed just before his death.<sup>20</sup> Otto Leyser, Karl's father, grew up with Wilhelm; conversely Arthur Levison, Wilhelm's brother, who became a successful businessman in London, was instrumental in organizing and financing the escape from Germany for Wilhelm and (three years earlier in 1936) the sixteen-year-old Karl Leyser and his younger sister Dorothee alike.<sup>21</sup> In 1939, Leyser came up to Oxford to read

<sup>17</sup> Southern, *Making of the Middle Ages*, pp. 19–25. See further, Timothy Reuter, 'Nur im Westen was Neues? Das Werden prämoderner Staatsformen im europäischen Hochmittelalter', in *Deutschland und der Westen Europas im Mittelalter*, ed. by Joachim Ehlers (Stuttgart: Thorbecke, 2002), pp. 327–51, translated as 'All Quiet Except on the Western Front? The Emergence of Pre-modern Forms of Statehood in the Central Middle Ages', in Reuter, *MPMM*, pp. 432–58.

<sup>18</sup> John Michael Wallace-Hadrill, *Early Germanic Kingship in England and on the Continent* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1971).

<sup>19</sup> As is evident from *Ideal and Reality in Frankish and Anglo-Saxon Society: Studies Presented to J. M. Wallace-Hadrill*, ed. by Patrick Wormald, with Donald Bullough and Roger Collins (Oxford: Blackwell, 1983).

<sup>20</sup> Wilhelm Levison, *Die Siegburger Familie Levison und verwandte Familien* (Bonn: Röhrscheid, 1952). Both the Levisons and the Leysers married into the Leubdorfs. See Tables 2 and 12.

<sup>21</sup> Böhringer, 'Wilhelm Levison als politische Persönlichkeit'.

history, but his studies were interrupted by the outbreak of war.<sup>22</sup> In 1943, as Levison delivered the Ford lectures in Oxford, he was in Morecambe, training for service in the Black Watch. After the war, Leyser returned to Oxford to resume his studies and his contact with the Levisons. Writing to Karl in December 1946 (a month before his death), Wilhelm reports on the state of his health and the publication of the family genealogy, while expressing interest in Maurice Powicke's seminar on 'Church and State in the Thirteenth Century'.<sup>23</sup>

It was not Leyser's initial goal as a scholar to continue Levison's work. His doctoral project, begun under Powicke's supervision, was a study of Archbishop Peckham — a subject perfectly in tune with the tenor of medieval scholarship in postwar Oxford. This was abandoned when he assumed a teaching post at Magdalen College, Oxford, where his senior colleague and mentor Bruce McFarlane suggested he begin work on Germany since there were so few young scholars linguistically qualified to work in that area. (McFarlane may also have been pulling against the Francophile current represented by Powicke and Southern.)<sup>24</sup> However begun, Leyser's subsequent work on medieval Germany made an obscure world accessible to an English audience. His first substantial publication, 'England and the Empire in the Twelfth Century', appearing in 1960, was unmistakably Levisonian in its concern to trace the lines of contact and exchange between the two ruling houses.<sup>25</sup> The observation made here that, 'Between the Old English kingdom and the empire some community of sentiment and interest had existed ever since 929, when Æthelstan sent to the court of the Liudolfings two of his sisters' became the basis for the later study, 'The Ottonians and Wessex' — which in turn provides a point of departure for several of the contributions to this book.<sup>26</sup>

Leyser's election in 1984 to the Chair of Medieval History at Oxford gave him a platform from which to resolve the tension between the Francophone and the

<sup>22</sup> Henry Mayr-Harting, 'Karl Leyser', *Proceedings of the British Academy*, 94 (1996), 599–624.

<sup>23</sup> Letter dated 22 December 1946 (private collection).

<sup>24</sup> K. B. McFarlane, *Letters to Friends 1940–1966*, ed. by Gerald Harriss (Oxford: Magdalen College, 1997), esp. p. 212 for a degree of waspishness towards Southern.

<sup>25</sup> Karl Leyser, 'England and the Empire in the Early Twelfth Century', *TRHS*, 5th ser., 10 (1960), 61–83; repr. in his *Medieval Germany and its Neighbours 900–1250* (London: Hambleton, 1982).

<sup>26</sup> Leyser, 'England and the Empire', p. 62. Karl Leyser, 'Die Ottonen und Wessex', *FmaS*, 17 (1983), 73–97; trans. as 'The Ottonians and Wessex', in Leyser, *CPME*, pp. 73–104. See below, for example the essays by Foot and Ortenberg.

Germanic currents in medieval historical research at Oxford and beyond.<sup>27</sup> On the surface, his inaugural lecture 'The Ascent of Latin Europe' is framed as a critique of the overly structuralist approach of Annales School medievalists to social change in the West at the turn of the first millennium. In offering a series of readings of Ralph Glaber, Adhémar of Chabannes, and Thietmar of Merseburg, Leyser appealed to the humanist tradition of Powicke and Southern. At the same time, he delivered a tacit rebuke to this tradition for the narrowness of its canon. The prominence Leyser accorded to Thietmar ('as important as Rousseau, or at least he should be') represents an insistence that the 'making of the Middle Ages' was a process that took place on the Elbe, as much as the Seine and the Thames.<sup>28</sup> Overall, Leyser's evocation in this lecture of the importance of European intellectual community recalls the closing pages of *England and the Continent in the Eighth Century*, with their appeal to a 'common heritage' established in the Middle Ages, cutting across modern national boundaries.<sup>29</sup> Conversations in the 1980s between Karl Leyser and David Rollason about possible Levison commemorations are the distant forbear of our Levison Network and the Durham Conference.

To chart the history of Levison's influence in past generations in the United Kingdom would be little short of a history of early medieval scholarship as a whole. Here we would note only the most obvious landmarks. The study of Anglo-Saxon England has been transformed, in some ways beyond recognition. The production in 1982 of *The Anglo-Saxons*, jointly authored by Eric John, James Campbell, and Patrick Wormald, afforded a non-specialist public a non-insular account of English history in this period.<sup>30</sup> Lavishly illustrated and brilliantly designed, each page of this book reminds the reader of the ramifying network of exchanges (and of conflicts) making Anglo-Saxon society possible. The effects on specialist discussion are plain to see. In the lively 'Minster' controversy in the mid-1990s, for example, even those who wished to argue for an insular rather than a Continental account of English churches had to do so within a newly comparative framework.<sup>31</sup>

<sup>27</sup> Karl Leyser, 'The Ascent of Latin Europe', in Leyser, *CPME*, pp. 215–32.

<sup>28</sup> The aside on Thietmar features in a preface to the published version of the lecture (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1984), not reproduced in Leyser, *CPME*.

<sup>29</sup> Levison, *ECEC*, p. 173.

<sup>30</sup> James Campbell, Eric John, and Patrick Wormald, *The Anglo-Saxons* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1982).

<sup>31</sup> David Rollason and Eric Cambridge, 'The Pastoral Organization of the Anglo-Saxon Church: A Review of the "Minster Hypothesis"', *EME*, 4 (1995), 87–104; and John Blair,

Likewise, the study of the early Middle Ages as a whole is now set on a broad and comparative basis. Two landmarks here are the volumes edited by Wendy Davies and Paul Fouracre, *The Settlement of Disputes in Early Medieval Europe* and *Property and Power in the Early Middle Ages*. These collaborative works, spanning the Celtic world and Byzantium, render accessible to an undergraduate audience the tradition of scholarship on charters in which Levison and his peers had been schooled. They show how these traditional *Hilfswissenschaften* can be combined with processual anthropology, all in the service of vivid social history.<sup>32</sup> On a different scale, the 1990s witnessed the European Science Foundation project on the Transformation of the Roman World. Levison could hardly have imagined, but would surely have applauded, a collaboration of this size; and he would surely have given his blessing to the goal of rewriting the nineteenth-century nationalist understanding of the barbarian invasions and the post-Roman kingdoms.<sup>33</sup>

These developments have made possible the appearance of explicitly Levisonian works in the past few years. I am thinking for example of Joanna Story's *Carolingian Connections: Anglo-Saxon England and Carolingian Francia, c. 750–870* which began as a PhD thesis at Durham under the supervision of David Rollason, and which continues the story of contact and exchange deep into the ninth century;<sup>34</sup> and of Janet Nelson's series of lectures, 'England and the Continent in the Ninth Century', conceived in open homage to Levison, while departing in new directions (such as the history of the body).<sup>35</sup> A third work we will miss: Karl Leyser's pupil Timothy Reuter was about to embark upon a comparative study of bishops in Latin Europe before his untimely death in 2002. Here we would have

'Ecclesiastical Organization and Pastoral Care in Anglo-Saxon England', *EME*, 4 (1995), 193–212; see now John Blair, *The Church in Anglo-Saxon Society* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005).

<sup>32</sup> *The Settlement of Disputes in Early Medieval Europe*, ed. by Wendy Davies and Paul Fouracre (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986); *Property and Power in the Early Middle Ages*, ed. by Wendy Davies and Paul Fouracre (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995).

<sup>33</sup> Ian Wood, 'Report: The European Science Foundation's Programme on the Transformation of the Roman World and Emergence of Early Medieval Europe', *EME*, 6 (1997), 217–27.

<sup>34</sup> Joanna E. Story, *Carolingian Connections: Anglo-Saxon England and Carolingian Francia, c. 750–870* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003).

<sup>35</sup> Janet L. Nelson, 'England and the Continent in the Ninth Century: I, Ends and Beginnings', *TRHS*, 6th ser., 12 (2002) 1–21; Nelson, 'England and the Continent in the Ninth Century: II, The Vikings and Others', *TRHS*, 6th ser., 13 (2003), 1–28; Nelson, 'England and the Continent in the Ninth Century: III, Rites and Rituals', *TRHS*, 6th ser., 14 (2004), 1–24; Nelson, 'England and the Continent in the Ninth Century: IV, Bodies and Minds', *TRHS*, 6th ser., 15 (2005), 1–27.

seen expanded on a broad canvas the role played by churchmen in the making of Europe. As it stands, Reuter's collected essays, shepherded to publication by Janet Nelson, are in themselves trenchant Levisonian interventions.<sup>36</sup>

All of this said, the national traditions against whose current Levison sought to swim remain strong. Despite the initiative of the European Science Foundation, medievalists, as all Humanities scholars, look to their national governments in the first instance for financial support for their research. The work of private funding bodies, such as the Leverhulme Trust, which made our project possible, is also nationally based in the first instance — while affording opportunities to develop links with colleagues from other countries, of which we have sought to avail ourselves. One can hope that schemes such as the Leverhulme's will multiply and cross-fertilize with, for example, the Humboldt Foundation's interest in and commitment to mobility as the hallmark of a modern scholarly career. This would be the shape in outline of a future lived in Levison's memory.

'*England and the Continent in the Tenth Century* is one of the unwritten works of early medieval historiography' it was observed as long ago as 1975.<sup>37</sup> The point was repeated some twenty years later by a German scholar, hoping no doubt with his essay to spur colleagues into action.<sup>38</sup> Since then, the urgency of the task has only increased, as has the unlikelihood that any one scholar would be able to undertake it: hence the collective effort at Durham, the fruits of which we offer here.

Not the least of the challenges is posed by modern tenth-century scholarship itself. Although no longer regarded by most as an 'age of iron', the tenth century must still play Cinderella to her sisters, the ninth and the eleventh centuries.<sup>39</sup> Our reflexes are trained to look back to Charlemagne and his Empire, or forwards to the epoch of 'feudal transformation' and Gregorian Reform. Assessment of the period in between — a medieval Middle Ages! — suffers as a result: we view, for example,

<sup>36</sup> Reuter, *MPMM*, esp. chaps 16, 20, 22.

<sup>37</sup> Donald Bullough, 'The Continental Background of the Reform', in *Tenth-Century Studies*, ed. by David Parsons (London: Phillimore, 1975), pp. 20–36 (p. 20).

<sup>38</sup> Jürgen Sarnowsky, 'England und der Kontinent im 10. Jahrhundert', *Historisches Jahrbuch*, 114 (1994), 45–84 (p. 45).

<sup>39</sup> Harald Zimmermann, *Das dunkle Jahrhundert* (Graz: Verlag Styria, 1971) was perhaps the last systematic exponent of this view. Heinrich Fichtenau, *Lebensordnung des 10. Jahrhunderts* (Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann, 1984), trans. by Patrick Geary as *Living in the Tenth Century: Mentalities and Social Orders* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991) was at pains to signal a change of direction.



the Ottonian Empire or the Normans either in terms of the dissolution of the Carolingian Empire, or through the lens of the shape of things to come. Timothy Reuter's axiom for his *New Cambridge Medieval History*, vol. III: *c. 900–1024* was 'to think of the period not as "pre" or "post" anything, but rather as of itself'.<sup>40</sup>

There are signs that this call has been heeded. Scholars are finding the process of Carolingian 'decline' increasingly alluring as a vantage point from which to offer accounts of the Empire as a whole; the great narrators of European history in the tenth century are receiving fresh attention, as are the treasure troves of surviving manuscripts.<sup>41</sup> Even that sum of tenth-century corruption, papal Rome, is proving susceptible to revisionism.<sup>42</sup>

Meanwhile, at their own pace, scholars of tenth-century England have been working their way across the Channel with increasing conviction. James Campbell and the late Patrick Wormald have argued powerfully that the Old English State should be seen as the fulfilment of the Carolingian project — in other words that tenth-century England is a repository for eighth- and ninth-century influences.<sup>43</sup>

<sup>40</sup> Timothy Reuter, 'Reading the Tenth Century', in *NCMH*, III, pp. 1–24 (p. 24). Reuter's introduction is the best short introduction in English to modern scholarship.

<sup>41</sup> For an overview, see Stuart Airlie, 'After Empire: Recent Work on the Emergence of Post-Carolingian Kingdoms', *EME*, 2 (1993), 153–61; specific studies include Simon MacLean, *Kingship and Politics in the Late Ninth Century: Charles the Fat and the End of the Carolingian Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003); Jason Glenn, *Politics and History in the Tenth Century: The Work and World of Richer of Reims* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004); Walter Pohl, *Werkstätte der Erinnerung: Montecassino und die Gestaltung der langobardischen Vergangenheit*, Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung, Erg.-Band 39 (Vienna: Oldenbourg, 2001); Henry Mayr-Harting, *Church and Cosmos in Early Ottonian Germany: The View from Cologne* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007).

<sup>42</sup> Chris Wickham, "'The Romans According to their Malign Custom': Rome in Italy in the Late Ninth and Tenth Centuries', in *Early Medieval Rome and the Christian West*, ed. by J. M. H. Smith (Leiden: Brill, 2000), pp. 151–67; Sebastian Scholz, *Politik – Selbstverständnis – Selbstdarstellung: die Päpste in karolingischer und ottonischer Zeit* (Stuttgart: Steiner, 2006).

<sup>43</sup> James Campbell, 'Observations on English Government from the Tenth to the Twelfth Century', *TRHS*, 5th ser., 25 (1975), 39–54, now in his *Essays in Anglo-Saxon History* (London: Hambledon, 1986); Patrick Wormald, 'Pre-modern "State" and "Nation": Definite or Indefinite?', in *Staat im frühen Mittelalter*, ed. by Stuart Airlie, Walter Pohl, and Helmut Reimitz (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2006), pp. 179–89. For a critique, see Timothy Reuter, 'The Making of England and Germany, 850–1050: Points of Comparison and Difference', in *Medieval Europeans: Studies in Ethnic Identity and National Perspectives in Medieval Europe*, ed. by Alfred P. Smyth (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1998), pp. 53–70; and now Reuter, *MPMM*, pp. 284–99.

Michael Wood's discussion of King Æthelstan of England as 'an English Charlemagne' was similarly concerned with the impact of the Continent on England.<sup>44</sup> And there has of course been keen scholarly interest in the Continental origins of the tenth-century monastic reform movement in England, a concern which is evident in the work of earlier scholars such as J. Armitage Robinson and David Knowles,<sup>45</sup> subsequently developed in the collection of essays on *Tenth-Century Studies*, published in 1975 by David Parsons.<sup>46</sup> Within this tradition, Veronica Ortenberg's book *The English Church and the Continent in the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries*, published in 1992, represented an important contribution on the subject of ecclesiastical contacts and pilgrimage.<sup>47</sup>

The 2007 Levison anniversary represented an opportunity to bring these currents in English history together with wider revisionist attention to the period — an attempt, in short, at the unclimbed summit of England and the Continent in the tenth century. Our goal has been to encourage consideration both of direct links and contacts across the Channel (as Levison himself did), and of parallel developments and perhaps different developments on either side of that waterway (as Wallace-Hadrill did).

Structured much as the conference was, the first section of this volume examines the actual points of contact between England and the Continent, tracing the seaways and maritime contacts, the evidence of names for people from the Continent being in England, the nature of contacts across the Channel; and it also deals specifically with known episodes of correspondence and movements of individuals or groups. In the second section of the book, authors examine the way that kingship developed from a comparative perspective, in terms of the view of English kingship from the Continent, and the dynastic strategy of English kings there, and developments in the ideology and practice of kingship, including the way in which coronations were perceived on both sides of the Channel. This leads on to the third section, which examines aspects of the mechanics of government — the nature of royal palaces in England and on the Continent and the functioning and

<sup>44</sup> Michael Wood, 'The Making of King Athelstan's Empire: An English Charlemagne', in *Ideal and Reality in Frankish and Anglo-Saxon Society*, ed. by Wormald, with Bullough and Collins, pp. 250–72.

<sup>45</sup> Robinson, *TSD*; David Knowles, *The Monastic Order in England: A History of its Development from the Times of St Dunstan to the Fourth Lateran Council, 940–1216*, 2nd edn (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1963).

<sup>46</sup> *Tenth-Century Studies*, ed. by David Parsons (London: Phillimore, 1975).

<sup>47</sup> Ortenberg, *ECC*.

nature of law on both sides of the Channel. The fourth section then contains a series of studies of the Church in a similarly comparative perspective, while the fifth turns in innovative ways to the issue of how the past was shaped and valued in the tenth century.

Not unexpectedly, perhaps, no overarching story emerges from these essays. Even were twenty-first-century scholars less averse to Grand Narrative, we would still be likely to find that Europe in the tenth century resists construal along the centripetal lines of Levison's eighth century. In other words, not all roads lead to Magdeburg or to Winchester in the way that, for the earlier period, they appear to lead to Aachen. Levison could conclude his Ford Lectures with an evocation of the 'devotion and the enterprise of English emigrants in the eighth century had a large share in creating [...] a common heritage which is even now a living reality among the individual nations in spite of their differences and their present struggles'.<sup>48</sup> Our lot is fortunate in being less divided, meaning perhaps greater freedom to explore difference and struggle, ambivalence and incoherence. This is not to say, however, that we can relax in our cultivation of the common heritage, and it is in this spirit that we offer the present volume.

Worcester College, University of Oxford

<sup>48</sup> Levison, *ECEC*, p. 173.



Part I

Routeways, Contacts, and Attitudes



## ROUTEWAYS BETWEEN ENGLAND AND THE CONTINENT IN THE TENTH CENTURY

Stéphane Lebecq and Alban Gautier

I go aboard my ship with my wares, and row over parts of the sea, selling my goods, and buying precious things which cannot be produced in this country. Then, with great peril on the sea, I bring them here to you. Sometimes I suffer shipwreck, and lose all my things, scarce escaping with my life.<sup>1</sup>

These words were put into the mouth of a merchant (*mercator/mancgere*), who must have been thought of as English, by Ælfric of Eynsham in the first years of the eleventh century. If we follow his presentation, trade emerges around the year 1000 as a rather quiet activity, consisting of regular there-and-back travels between England and a wide range of overseas countries. The only risk, which was nevertheless a real one, appears to have been shipwreck. These remarks of Ælfric, a schoolmaster and moralistic teacher from southern England, may actually be dated to within a period that witnessed the return of a relative 'peace of the seas' after two centuries of turmoil. It must indeed be stressed that the situation around the year 1000 had considerably evolved compared to what it had been a century before. The late ninth and early tenth centuries had seen, with the decline and eventually the demise of the old *emporium* or *wiks*, the end of a communications system which was about two and a half centuries old. On the other hand, it is only in the very early eleventh century that we can trace, after a good deal of

The authors would like to thank Martin Biddle and Brigitte Meijns for useful comments and references given at the time of the conference.

<sup>1</sup> G. N. Garmonsway, *Ælfric's Colloquy* (London: Methuen, 1939; rev. edn, Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 1978), pp. 33–34. English trans. by K. Crossley-Holland, *The Anglo-Saxon World: An Anthology* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1982), p. 224.

experiment, the emergence of new exchange networks based on a new generation of ports and brought to life by a new generation of tradesmen, now better equipped and organized than their seventh- to ninth-century forerunners. This means that, throughout the tenth century, merchants had to adapt to the new conditions imposed on circulation in the northern seas by the Viking thalassocracy.

### *Flashback: The 'Emporial System'*

Beginning in the seventh century, a rather coherent communications system had been built around the seas of north-western Europe: it was within this system that relationships between England and the Continent had operated. Both archaeological and written sources enable us to understand its main axes which were as follows:<sup>2</sup>

between south-eastern England and northern Gaul, more precisely between on the one hand London and the Kentish harbours (Sandwich, Fordwich, etc.), and on the other Quentovic on the Canche estuary: the eighth-century *Vita Wilfridi* speaks of this route as the *via rectissima* between England and Rome;<sup>3</sup> between eastern England (that is, the coast from London to York, including especially the East-Anglian *emporium* of Ipswich) and the Rhine delta, where Dorestad was the key, through the Meuse and Rhine basins, to a huge hinterland stretching from a rich and powerful Austrasia to Italy, Venice, and the Mediterranean;

between Wessex and southern England, through *Hamwic*, and the Seine estuary, where Rouen was an important outlet of the Paris Basin.

The majority of these *emporia* are known by names ending with the suffix *-vic* or *-wich*; and indeed they were *wiks* or *vici* (singular *vicus*), a word inherited from classical Latin but now used to refer to new urban agglomerations, often created *ex nihilo* in river-mouth sites, well adapted to both flat- and round-bottomed ships, and generally equipped with wharf structures in wood or any other perishable

<sup>2</sup> S. Lebecq, 'The Northern Seas (Fifth to Eighth Centuries)', in *NCMH*, 1, 639–59; and Lebecq, 'Communication and Exchange in Northwest Europe', in *Ohthere's Voyages: A Late 9th-Century Account of Voyages along the Coasts of Norway and Denmark and its Cultural Context*, ed. by J. Batley and A. Englert, Maritime Culture of the North, 1 (Roskilde: Viking Ship Museum, 2007), pp. 170–79.

<sup>3</sup> *The Life of Bishop Wilfrid by Eddius Stephanus*, ed. and trans. by B. Colgrave (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1927; repr. 1985), chap. 25 (pp. 219–20).



material. Even where old cities were concerned, as was the case with London or York, they were doubled by suburban trading places which were given names such as *Lundenwic* (in the area appropriately named the Strand) and *Eoforwic* (at the confluence point of the rivers Ouse and Foss).<sup>4</sup>

In these *emporia* many commodities were transferred from one ship to another, or stocked for some time in the warehouses: 'raw' materials and other commodities from Britain such as metals, cloth, salt, and slaves; and processed products from the Continent such as wine, millstones, weapons, and many other artefacts from the Paris Basin and the Rhineland.<sup>5</sup> One problem is that many of these commodities are not visible in the archaeological records. Although some, such as slaves, are cited in the written sources, others, such as wool and several perishable agricultural products, were probably already being traded through these networks but have neither been recorded in written sources nor left any trace archaeologically. People also embarked and disembarked at *emporia*, among them the well-documented churchmen and pilgrims travelling to and from Rome, who were a particular object of study for Wilhelm Levison.

The creation of the *wiks* was closely connected with local and regional élites, and above all with kings, who were represented there by *procuratores*, *praefecti*, *ministeriales*, or *wicgerefan*. Legislation, particularly from the Anglo-Saxon world, bears witness to the main activities of these officials: maintaining order and levying tolls.<sup>6</sup> These activities were normally supported by important coin-making workshops, where minting was geared towards exchange and trade to a greater extent than it had been before. The London and Canterbury mints on the one hand, and the ones in Quentovic and Dorestad on the other, appear to have been particularly productive.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>4</sup> See the gazetteer of relevant sites in R. Hodges, *Dark Age Economics: The Origins of Towns and Trade (AD 600–1000)* (London: Duckworth, 1982), esp. chap. 4: 'A Gazetteer of Emporia', pp. 66–86; or, more recently, D. Hill and R. Cowie, *Wics: The Early Mediaeval Trading Centres of Northern Europe*, Sheffield Archaeological Monographs, 14 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001).

<sup>5</sup> Lebecq, 'The Northern Seas', pp. 651–52. On salt, see J. R. Maddicott, 'London and Droithwich, c. 650–750: Trade, Industry and the Rise of Mercia', *ASE*, 34 (2005), 7–58.

<sup>6</sup> For example, the London *wicgerefa* mentioned in *Hlothere and Eadric*, 16, ed. by L. Oliver, *The Beginnings of English Law*, Toronto Medieval Texts and Translations, 14 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2002), pp. 160–61. On the Continental record, see N. Middleton, 'Early Medieval Port Customs, Tolls and Controls on Foreign Trade', *EME*, 13 (2005), 313–58 (pp. 320–21).

<sup>7</sup> For the South-East English coinage, see P. Grierson and M. Blackburn, *Medieval European Coinage*, vol. 1: *The Early Middle Ages (5th–10th Centuries)* (Cambridge: Cambridge University

It must be stressed that, at least in the first decades of the Viking phenomenon, the arrival of the Vikings did not really disturb this system, which was remarkably well adapted to the kind of exchanges that existed in northern Europe in the time of the Carolingian supremacy and of the emergence of Mercia as dominant kingdom in the Midlands and southern England.<sup>8</sup> But, as we move forward into the ninth century, the picture becomes blurred: the frequency of Viking raids on these ports (especially on Dorestad, plundered several times in the middle years of the ninth century, and to a lesser degree on London and the Thames estuary) must have weakened them: the more vulnerable ones, especially those which had been created out of nothing in unstable alluvial environments open to silting, were eventually abandoned, their names even forgotten as was the case with Quentovic or *Hamwic*.<sup>9</sup>

### *The Vikings in the West: A New Deal?*

Eastern and northern England, together with important coastal zones on the Continent, were now following a Scandinavian agenda. This should have meant some kind of reorientation of commercial routeways towards Scandinavia, and indeed products of demonstrable Scandinavian or Baltic origin, such as amber, steatite, or Oriental silks imported via the Baltic, have been found in several ports and urban sites of eastern England such as London, Ipswich, Norwich, and York.<sup>10</sup> It comes as no surprise that the most significant finds were made in *Eboracum*/*Eoforwic*, which became *Jorvik* in the Vikings' language, the capital of the Danish kingdom established in the south of former Northumbria, that is, modern York: in the late ninth- and tenth-century levels of *Jorvik* were found walrus ivory, amber from the Baltic, steatite bowls, and whetstones from Norway, even Byzantine silk brought

Press, 1986), pp. 155–89; for the Continental evidence, pp. 133–38 and 144–51. For a new appreciation of the respective importance of the mints, see S. Coupland, 'Trading Places: Quentovic and Dorestad Reassessed', *EME*, 11 (2002), 209–32.

<sup>8</sup> See for instance R. Hodges, *Towns and Trade in the Age of Charlemagne* (London: Duckworth, 2000).

<sup>9</sup> For Quentovic, see S. Lebecq, 'Quentovic: un état de la question', *Studien zur Sachsenforschung*, 8 (1993), 73–82 (pp. 81–82); for Hamwic, see *Excavations at Hamwic*, vol. II: *Excavations at Six Dials*, ed. by P. Andrews, CBA Research Report, 109, Southampton Archaeology Monographs, 7 (York: CBA, 1987), esp. pp. 248–56.

<sup>10</sup> D. Griffiths, 'Exchange, Trade and Urbanization', in *From the Vikings to the Normans*, ed. by W. Davies, Short Oxford History of the British Isles, 3 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), pp. 73–106 (p. 102).

through Scandinavia along the Russian rivers.<sup>11</sup> In *Jorvik*, on the other hand, were minted a great number of coins, whose circulation from Viking Ireland to Scandinavia bears witness to the vitality of the city.<sup>12</sup> Of course, this new orientation could be seen as heralding the future integration of England into Cnut's Anglo-Danish Empire, which was actually prepared by his father Swein in several expeditions as early as the 990s.

Even then, the importance of these new trade routes must not be stressed too much. First, the political rapprochement between England and Swein's Danish dynasty is clearly much later than this phenomenon, even if we take into account Swein's first raids before the year 1000. Secondly, many of these products did not necessarily come directly from Scandinavia and could perfectly well have been brought through German or northern French ports. The significant quantity of English coins retrieved on tenth- and eleventh-century Polish sites<sup>13</sup> can be explained as the result of activity by German intermediaries as well as by Scandinavian ones. Above all, most of them were luxury items and only arrived in England in very small quantities: we may mention the few walrus tusks which were brought as a gift to King Alfred of Wessex by Ohthere in the 980s.<sup>14</sup> Silk comes into the same category, being still very rare in the tenth century, even if it was one of the only goods which certainly came directly via Scandinavia:<sup>15</sup> the Russian/Scandinavian route developed precisely at that time, but it is only in the eleventh century

<sup>11</sup> Richard Hall, *Viking Age York* (London: Batsford/English Heritage, 1994), pp. 85–86.

<sup>12</sup> See Grierson and Blackburn, *Medieval European Coinage*, pp. 316–25; on the coin-minting equipment discovered in Coppergate excavations, see Hall, *Viking Age York*, pp. 90–92.

<sup>13</sup> A. Gieysztor, 'Les Structures économiques en pays slaves à l'aube du Moyen Âge jusqu'au XI<sup>e</sup> siècle et l'échange monétaire', in *Moneta e Scambi nell'Alto Medioevo: 21–27 Aprile 1960*, Settimane, 8 (Spoleto: Centro italiano di studi sull'alto Medioevo, 1961), pp. 455–84; *Viking Age Coinage in the Northern Lands: The Sixth Oxford Symposium on Coinage and Monetary History*, ed. by M. Blackburn and D. M. Metcalf, BAR, International Series, 122 (Oxford: BAR, 1981); A. Mikolajczyk, 'Between Elbe and Vistula: The Inflow of the German Coins onto the West Slavonic Lands in the Tenth and Eleventh Century', *Acta Praehistorica et Archaeologica*, 16–17 (1984–85), 183–201; T. S. Noonan, 'The Vikings in the East: Coins and Commerce', in *Developments around the Baltic and the North Sea in the Viking Age*, ed. by B. Ambrosiani and H. Clarke, Birka Studies, 3 (Stockholm: Riksantikvarieämbetet, 1994), pp. 215–36; L. Leciejewicz, 'Kaufleute in westslawischen Frühstädten in archäologischer Sicht', in *Burg – Burgstadt – Stadt: Zur Genese mittelalterlicher nichtagrarischer Zentren in Ostmitteleuropa*, ed. by H. Brachmann (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1995), pp. 60–67.

<sup>14</sup> *Ohthere's Voyages*, ed. by Bately and Englert, pp. 92–93 (note by E. Roesdahl).

<sup>15</sup> J. Richards, *Viking Age England* (London: Batsford, 1991), p. 89.

that silk appears to have become really significant among the English élite beyond royalty.<sup>16</sup> The York excavations have actually shown that the old routeways remained important, and even dominant, well into the tenth century, as is shown for instance by the presence of basalt millstones from the Eifel in the Rhineland, pottery from the Cologne region, and many other wine containers, which (in contrast to material from Scandinavia) were found in large quantities.<sup>17</sup> But, since the last merchants of Dorestad, indisputably the platform for exchanges between the Rhineland and the northern seas between the late seventh and the mid-ninth century, had abandoned that *vicus* by the Rhine after the last Viking raid in 863, these artefacts must have been brought through other ports.

It is actually in those years, that is, the late ninth and all through the tenth century, that the new map of north-western European ports emerged. As far as the succession to Dorestad is concerned, things are pretty clear: several diplomas issued by Carolingian and post-Carolingian kings of Lotharingia and later of Germany (in 896, then from 919 to 931) extend the competence of their Dorestad agents to the ports of Deventer on the IJssel and Tiel on the Waal, that is, the southern or western arm of the Rhine.<sup>18</sup> These two ports eventually replaced their renowned predecessor. Tiel obviously inherited the 'English' orientation of Dorestad: we know that in 1018 its tradesmen complained to their emperor Henry II about the difficulties they encountered when going to England and the fact that the 'British' could not come to them in Tiel because of the heavy tolls newly levied on the Lower Rhine by the rising power of the counts of Holland.<sup>19</sup>

This first substitution of a new centre of trade and travel for a former one is well documented and heralds several substitutions of others which, in contrast to the Dorestad/Tiel case, were often made in total documentary obscurity, between

<sup>16</sup> R. Fleming, 'Acquiring, Flaunting and Destroying Silk in Late Anglo-Saxon England', *EME*, 15 (2007), 127–58, esp. pp. 131–32.

<sup>17</sup> Hall, *Viking Age York*, pp. 85–86.

<sup>18</sup> See the royal diplomas given to the Church of Utrecht in S. Muller and A. C. Bouman, *Oorkondenboek van het Sticht Utrecht tot 1301*, 5 vols (Utrecht: A. Oosthoek, 1920–25), I, 94–96 (no. 88, Zwentibold, 896), pp. 101–02 (no. 97, Henry the Fowler, 919–31). See S. Lebecq, *Marchands et navigateurs frisons du haut Moyen Âge*, 2 vols (Lille: Presses Universitaires de Lille, 1983), I: *Essai*, pp. 145–49 and 161–63, and II: *Corpus des sources écrites*, pp. 412–14.

<sup>19</sup> S. Lebecq, 'Ælfric et Alpert: existe-t-il un discours clérical sur les marchands dans l'Europe du Nord à l'aube du XI<sup>e</sup> siècle?', *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale*, 27 (1984), 85–93, esp. p. 86. See Alpert, *De diversitate temporum*, II, chap. 20, an obscure episode on which the *Gesta* of the Bishops of Cambrai can shed some light (Lebecq, *Marchands et navigateurs frisons*, II, 186).

the late ninth and the early eleventh century. It is during a long tenth century that Montreuil-sur-Mer developed on the edge of what had been Quentovic,<sup>20</sup> and Southampton in the vicinity of the declining *Hamwic*.<sup>21</sup> Alone among the major sites of the 'emporial' period, the old Roman cities, which could boast an illustrious historical and monumental past, survived as trade centres: on the Continent, Rouen, which had benefited from the demise of almost all the smaller ports of the lower Seine valley and had become at the turn of the century a fortified centre of refuge for the Frankish population of the area;<sup>22</sup> and, in England, York and especially London which 'became the undisputed commercial and political focus of the English kingdom'.<sup>23</sup> An exception would be Ipswich, which was not a Roman city but appears to have been prosperous at the time of *Domesday Book*, even if archaeology has not been able to show such prosperity for the tenth century.<sup>24</sup> It is interesting to note that the old *wik* area of London, that is the Strand, seems to have been abandoned in the first decades of the ninth century: the Alfredian reoccupation of 886 meant that the main commercial wharves were displaced from their former suburban location into the old Roman walled city of *Londinium/Lundenburh*.<sup>25</sup> It may be that, just as in Montreuil-sur-Mer or Rouen, the protection of the walls had in the late ninth century become important for tradesmen in a less secure context. The new stability from the 920s onwards found merchants in these new locations where kings and princes were able to keep them, making it easier for the new rulers who had emerged as a result of the Viking era to collect tolls from them. Such fortifications, or at least walled protection, are indeed known for Scandinavian sites such as Haithabu or in the Viking establishments in Ireland.<sup>26</sup>

<sup>20</sup> See *Quentovic et les origines de Montreuil-sur-Mer*, ed. by S. Lebecq and others, Actes des colloques de Montreuil, Étaples, Le Touquet et Lille, forthcoming.

<sup>21</sup> P. Holdsworth, 'Saxon Southampton', in *Anglo-Saxon Towns in Southern England*, ed. by J. Haslam (Chichester: Phillimore, 1984), pp. 331–44.

<sup>22</sup> J. Le Maho, 'The Fate of the Ports of the Lower Seine Valley at the End of the Ninth Century', in *Markets in Early Medieval Europe: Trading and 'Productive' Sites, 650–850*, ed. by T. Pestell and K. Ulmschneider (Macclesfield: Windgather, 2003), pp. 234–47 (pp. 242–43).

<sup>23</sup> As stated by Griffiths, 'Exchange, Trade', p. 104.

<sup>24</sup> K. Wade, 'Ipswich', in *The Rebirth of Towns in the West, AD 700–1050*, ed. by R. Hodges and B. Hobley, CBA Research Report, 68 (London: CBA, 1988), pp. 93–100 (p. 97).

<sup>25</sup> A. Vince, *Saxon London: An Archaeological Investigation* (London: Seaby, 1990), pp. 19–20; R. Cowie, 'Mercian London', in *Mercia: An Anglo-Saxon Kingdom in Europe*, ed. by M. P. Brown and C. A. Farr (London: Leicester University Press, 2001), pp. 194–209 (pp. 206–09).

<sup>26</sup> Else Roesdahl, *The Vikings* (London: Penguin, 1998), pp. 129–32, 225.

One document vividly illustrates this new importance of London and its emergence as a major port for communication between England and the Continent. The law-code usually known as *IV Æthelred* includes in its second section a tariff of tolls (*telonea*) for the port of London.<sup>27</sup> It was attributed by Felix Liebermann to the reign of Æthelred II, more precisely (if such precision is possible) to the years between 991 and 1002.<sup>28</sup> For the sake of the argument, we can say that it was issued around the year 1000, and that it provides us with an interesting picture of the situation as it could have appeared at the end of the tenth century. The code states the duties of the royal *custodes* stationed at Aldersgate and Cripplegate, that is, at the main eastern and northern gates of the city,<sup>29</sup> and most interestingly the taxes owed by all merchants disembarking at Billingsgate,<sup>30</sup> that is, in the area by the Thames just downstream from London Bridge, an area which seems to have been one of the two places where port activity was booming in the city. The second was in Queenhithe, just above the bridge, an area known as *Ætheredes hid* in the acts of a late ninth-century council, which suggests that it may have been developed by Æthelred, ealdorman of the Mercians and Alfred the Great's son-in-law.<sup>31</sup> The Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of Worcester owned enclosures or *hagae* in Queenhithe at least from the early tenth century onwards,<sup>32</sup> and a probable eleventh-century warehouse has been discovered there in recent excavations.<sup>33</sup> The code actually mentions a bridge on the Thames, probably the one that was broken down by the Norwegian Olaf Haraldsson in 1014, if we are to believe the scald Ottar the Black and the well-known rhyme — in Samuel Laing's (very free) translation:

<sup>27</sup> *IV Æthelred*, in Robertson, *Laws*, pp. 70–73; Liebermann, *Gesetze*, I, 232–37.

<sup>28</sup> Liebermann (*Gesetze*, III, 162) relied on the fact that England seems to have been at peace with Normandy at the time when the law-code was compiled, which would mean that it could have been drawn up between 991 (the treaty between Æthelred and Richard I) and 1002 (the massacre of the Danes on St Brice's Day). This dating (especially its lower boundary) seems rather weak and does not preclude a later date, for instance in the reign of Cnut, even if Danes are not mentioned among the beneficiaries of trade privileges (Robertson, *Laws*, p. 48).

<sup>29</sup> *IV Æthelred* 1.

<sup>30</sup> *IV Æthelred* 2.

<sup>31</sup> Vince, *Saxon London*, pp. 20–22: Council of Chelsea (898/99).

<sup>32</sup> *Aspects of Saxo-Norman London*, vol. III: *The Bridgehead and Billingsgate to 1200*, ed. by A. Vince, London and Middlesex Archaeological Society Special Papers, 14 (London: London and Middlesex Archaeological Society, 1992), pp. 16–17.

<sup>33</sup> C. Thomas, *The Archaeology of Medieval London* (Stroud: Sutton, 2002), pp. 16–17.

London Bridge is broken down  
Gold is won, and bright renown.<sup>34</sup>

It was either the old Roman bridge, many times repaired, or a more recent construction. What seems certain is that the larger vessels could not sail under it: Swein's army was actually surprised and hindered by its presence during a bid against London in 1013.<sup>35</sup> This means that most ships had to anchor at Billingsgate, where their merchandise was easily taxed before being transferred to Queenhithe and other wharves up-river, where it could be loaded on to smaller boats and follow its course up the Thames (see Map 1).

To Billingsgate came merchants from many places in France, Lotharingia, and Germany. For the French kingdom, the code mentions men from Rouen (*homines de Rotomago*),<sup>36</sup> men from Flanders (*Flandrenses*), Ponthieu (*Ponteinsenses*), Normandy (*Normannia*), and *Francia*.<sup>37</sup> Flemish merchants could have come from the important and rich *portus* of Gent (on the Scheldt), but also from the ports of Veurne (then on the Yser), Brugge (on the Rei), and Saint-Omer (on the Aa). All of these ports could have been reached by water, even if this had only recently become possible and still presented difficulties in the case of the last two: the Rei and the Aa had been more or less impracticable for traffic during the tenth century, and the great floodings which modified the coastline and improved the riverine accesses to these ports only began in the first decades of the eleventh century.<sup>38</sup> The Ponthieu merchants may have sailed from Montreuil-sur-Mer, the natural successor to the now defunct Quentovic, but other locations such as Rue, Saint-Valery-sur-Somme (where in 1066 William the Conqueror would wait for favourable

<sup>34</sup> Snorri Sturluson, *Heimskringla, Óláfs saga helga* (Saga of Olaf the Saint), ed. by Bjarni Aðalbjarnarson, Íslenzk Fornrit, 27 (Reykjavík: Hið íslenzka fornritafélag, 1945), chap. 13; Samuel Laing's translation, *The Chronicle of the Kings of Norway*, 3 vols (London: Longman, 1844), can now be read on OMACL at <<http://omac1.org/Heimskringla/haraldson1.html>> [accessed 9 September 2010]. Another translation of the verse, closer to the original text, can be found in *EHD*, 1, 332 (no. 13, sec. 7).

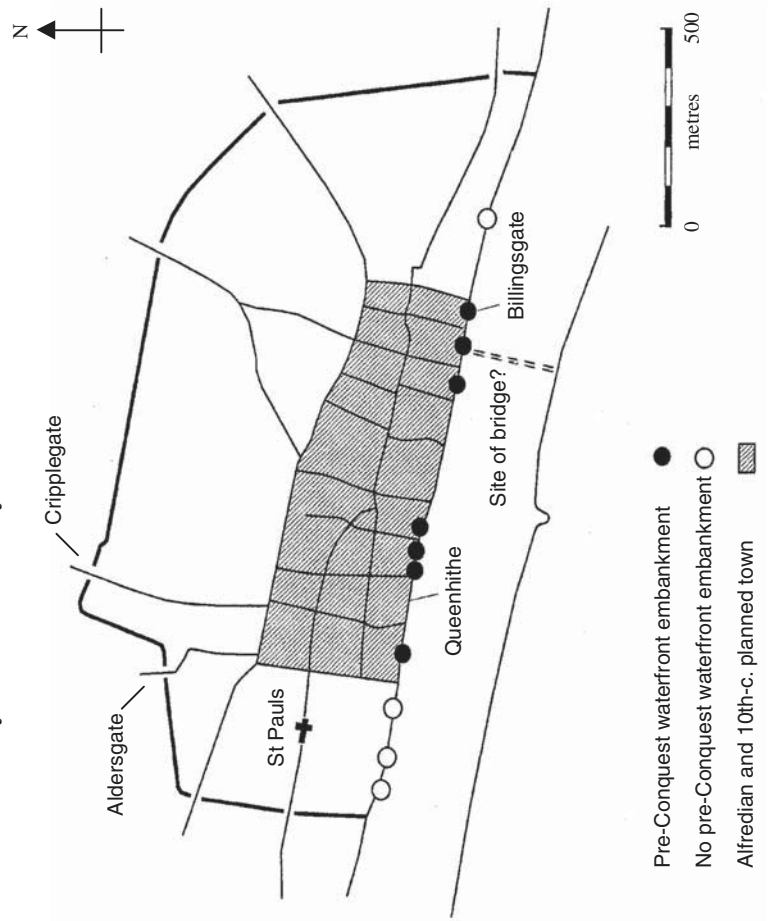
<sup>35</sup> *Two of the Saxon Chronicles Parallel with Supplementary Extracts from the Others*, ed. by Charles Plummer, 2 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1892–99), E, s.a. 1013.

<sup>36</sup> *IV Æthelred* 2.5.

<sup>37</sup> *IV Æthelred* 2.6.

<sup>38</sup> Adriaan Verhulst, 'La Vie urbaine dans les anciens Pays-Bas avant l'an mil', *Le Moyen Âge*, 92 (1986), 185–210, esp. pp. 207 (Brugge) and 208 (Veurne); Verhulst, *The Rise of Cities in Northwest Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), pp. 75–78 (Gent) and pp. 88–92 (Brugge); Alain Derville, *Saint-Omer: des origines au début du XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Lille: Presses Universitaires de Lille, 1995), pp. 63–66.

Tenth- and early eleventh-century London



Map 1. Tenth- and early eleventh-century London.  
Redrawn by A. Gautier after A. Reynolds, *Later Anglo-Saxon England* (Stroud: Tempus, 1999).



winds), or Abbeville cannot be ruled out: contacts between all areas of Ponthieu and England were of course an old story, since the migration period at least, Ponthieu being (with the surroundings of Caen in Normandy) one of the areas in France where artefacts of 'Anglo-Saxon' type have been retrieved in the largest numbers.<sup>39</sup>

Norman merchants were also present in London. The 'men of Rouen' enjoyed special privileges when they traded in fish and wine, which could have been a consequence of the 991 agreement between Duke Richard I and King Æthelred II.<sup>40</sup> Those listed under the *Normannia* heading were also probably from Rouen, as far as traders in other commodities were concerned, but they could also have originated from smaller ports of the Lower Seine which re-emerged in the tenth century with new populations, probably of Scandinavian origin,<sup>41</sup> or even from Fécamp, which developed considerably with the foundation and growth of the ducal palace.<sup>42</sup>

Finally, the mention of *Francia* could mean one of three things: a cover-all name for tradesmen from the whole West Frankish kingdom (but then why did the code list particular provinces?); or men of the Île-de-France passing through Rouen (but then how were they distinguished from their Norman counterparts?); or men from Montreuil-sur-Mer, which after 987 was firmly part of the French royal demesne (but then where did the *Ponteïenses* come from?).

Another oddity is the absence of men from Boulogne and the ports of the Boulogne county. One explanation could be that they are included in the cover-all '*Francia*' heading, another being their inclusion in the 'men from Flanders': but Boulogne, under its Count Baldwin I (c. 988–1024), seems to have broken free from the hegemony of the Flemish counts, whose power on the southern borders of their principality waned in the late tenth century, after the death of Arnulf I.<sup>43</sup> A final possibility would be that the Boulonnais sailors confined themselves to short cross-Channel trips to Dover and other small ports in Kent and Sussex, never

<sup>39</sup> J. Soulat, 'Le Mobilier de type anglo-saxon entre le Ponthieu et la basse vallée de la Seine', *Revue archéologique de Picardie*, 3/4 (2007), 77–89.

<sup>40</sup> Frank Merry Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, 3rd edn, Oxford History of England, 2 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971), pp. 375–76.

<sup>41</sup> Le Maho, 'Fate of the Ports', p. 244.

<sup>42</sup> Annie Renoux, *Fécamp: du palais ducal au palais de Dieu* (Paris: Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1991).

<sup>43</sup> Heather J. Tanner, *Families, Friends and Allies: Boulogne and Politics in Northern France and England, c. 879–1160*, *The Northern World*, 6 (Leiden: Brill, 2004), pp. 20–68.

making the full journey around the Kentish forelands to London — a venture that the Rouen and Ponthieu merchants and fishermen were clearly ready to make: for them, contacts and trade with Southampton (Winchester, an important city and market, was easily reached from Southampton by the river Itchen) and the other Channel ports were clearly not enough, and the London market was plentiful and attractive enough to draw them into the North Sea hub.

Lotharingians from Huy (*Hogge*) and Liège (*Leodium*), as well as from Nivelles (*Nivella*) in Brabant, seem to have been less privileged, paying when they went through London both toll and an *ostensio*, that is, a special due for displaying their goods.<sup>44</sup> All three cities were mainly ecclesiastical centres. The first two, on the Meuse, also became in the tenth century important ports of trade, probably at the expense of a declining Maastricht.<sup>45</sup> The presence of people from Nivelles is more surprising: this rather small town was not situated on a major river, but between the headwaters of the Dyle, a tributary of the Scheldt, and the valley of the Sambre, a tributary of the Meuse, and it was never known as a centre of international trade. The growing agricultural production of the region could explain its being mentioned in the law-code, as it was exported through the Scheldt or more probably the Meuse.<sup>46</sup>

On the other hand, the absence of the important port of Antwerp at the mouth of the Scheldt may seem surprising. It is probable that, as opposed to merchants from the ecclesiastical towns of Huy and Liège, those from other ports in Lower Lotharingia such as Antwerp and Maastricht were considered alongside German merchants as ‘men of the emperor’. Antwerp became the site, in the late tenth century, of a major imperial castle, and the *vicus* there had been in existence at least a century before.<sup>47</sup>

As a matter of fact, ‘men of the emperor’ (*homines imperatoris*) enjoyed large concessions, ‘being held worthy of the same good laws as we are’ and being allowed to buy some food without paying dues for the journey home.<sup>48</sup> These important privileges were given in return for a rather symbolic fee: three pieces of cloth, an important quantity of pepper, a few gloves, and some vinegar to be rendered twice a year, at Christmas and at Easter. Unfortunately, the code does not make it clear

<sup>44</sup> *IV Æthelred* 2.7.

<sup>45</sup> Verhulst, *Rise of Cities*, pp. 70–75.

<sup>46</sup> Verhulst, *Rise of Cities*, p. 111.

<sup>47</sup> Verhulst, *Rise of Cities*, pp. 98–100.

<sup>48</sup> *IV Æthelred* 2.8–10.

whether this fee was paid by the ‘men of the emperor’ collectively or by each merchant individually. The fact that the payment was due at fixed dates makes the first possibility more probable: individual merchants could not have been certain to be there in person at the right moments in the year. This would mean that German merchants had in London some kind of organization through which they could negotiate as a unified body with the king or his agents. No wonder they were incensed at the new tolls exacted on the Lower Rhine by the Count of Holland! Or maybe this arrangement was part of a settlement to ease their predicament?

This collective organization of merchants from the Rhineland comes as no surprise: they would actually have come from Tiel, where a merchant guild was in existence in the early eleventh century and had its own regulations recognized by an imperial charter, or maybe from Cologne, the old metropolis on the Rhine which played a major role in the early development of the first Teutonic Hanse. Later in the twelfth century, a ‘guildhall of the men of Cologne’ is known to have existed in London, near Dowgate north-east of the bridge.<sup>49</sup> This privileged link with Germany is fully in tune with the important political links that we know united the Ottonian and West Saxon dynasties.<sup>50</sup>

This means that, by the early eleventh century, London had recovered the pre-eminence which it had enjoyed at the height of Roman times (see Map 2). Just as in the second to fourth centuries, the political unification of the southern two-thirds of the island, which was a product of the tenth century, encouraged the promotion of the old city — a city which had indeed re-emerged in the context of the makeshift unification provided by Mercian ascendancy in the eighth and early ninth centuries.<sup>51</sup> The position of the city was notable for many assets: just below the upper end of the Thames tidal zone, at the first narrow point allowing the construction of a bridge which provided both a way through and a compulsory barrier for larger ships, at the centre of the former Roman road network, it could easily be connected with even the remotest places in the kingdom of the English, just as it had been with those of the Roman province of Britain.

<sup>49</sup> C. Brooke, ‘The Central Middle Ages’, in *The City of London From Prehistoric Times to c. 1520*, ed. by M. D. Lobel, *The British Atlas of Historic Towns*, 3 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989), pp. 30–41 (pp. 31–32).

<sup>50</sup> Leyser, ‘The Ottonians and Wessex’, in Leyser, *CPME*, pp. 73–104.

<sup>51</sup> Cowie, ‘Mercian London’, pp. 194–209.



Map 2. The northern seas around the year 1000. Drawn by A. Gautier.

### *Structural Matters: Of Ships and Men*

One of the interests of *IV Æthelred* is that its concern is not only with tolls, but also with people, commodities, and vessels. The guardians at the main gates are mentioned,<sup>52</sup> and so are the many agents responsible for collecting the tolls, that is, king's reeves controlling the port. The code mentions several of them by name: we learn about a 'port-reeve' (*portireva*), a 'town-' or 'enclosure-officer' (*tungravio*), another kind of 'official' or 'provost' (*alius praepositus*),<sup>53</sup> along with an 'exactor' (*cacepollus*)<sup>54</sup> and all 'those who are in charge of ports' (*ipsi qui portos custodiunt*).<sup>55</sup> These officials, whose presence was not confined to London, made sure that merchants did not withhold toll and looked to the conformity of weights. They were clearly the successors of the *wicgerefan* and *procuratores* of the eighth and ninth centuries.

Another interesting group is that of the burghmen (*burhmanni*).<sup>56</sup> London was not only well situated and protected by its wall, it also enjoyed the king's favour. Institutional advantages were piled upon geographical ones: the burghmen of London seem to have been allowed some kind of pre-emption (*forceap*) on the goods together with some sort of toll-exemption, which means that they had been granted important privileges which, added to the exceptional political status and geographical position of the city, explain its prominence around the year 1000.

Concerning wares, several are mentioned in the law-code, some of which differ considerably from those which are known to have passed through the pre-ninth-century *wiks*. Of course, wine was still foremost, passing through Rouen from the Île-de-France; fat (*dissutum unctum*), probably from sheep, pigs, and sea mammals (all three animals are directly or indirectly mentioned), remained an important product, used both for food and lighting as well as in candle and soap making; pepper, an exotic spice probably passing through Venice and the Rhineland and which the dying Bede had treasured,<sup>57</sup> was one of the only spices which was fairly common, even north of the Alps, during the whole early Middle Ages.<sup>58</sup> On the

<sup>52</sup> *IV Æthelred* 1.

<sup>53</sup> *IV Æthelred* 3.

<sup>54</sup> *IV Æthelred* 3.3.

<sup>55</sup> *IV Æthelred* 9.2.

<sup>56</sup> *IV Æthelred* 2.10.

<sup>57</sup> *Epistola de obitu Bedae*, ed. by B. Colgrave and R. A. B. Mynors, in *Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969), pp. 580–87 (p. 584).

<sup>58</sup> B. Laurioux, 'De l'usage des épices dans l'alimentation médiévale', *Médiévales*, 5 (1983), 15–31, esp. p. 25.

other hand, 'new' commodities had emerged. Vinegar is interesting as a product exacted from German merchants from the Lower Rhine, who had to render it annually and who for centuries had been trading in wine from the Rhineland. In later times, vinegar was often produced at the outlet of major wine-producing regions, where wine which had gone sour could be transformed into vinegar: it was the case from early modern times in Orléans, a natural staging-post for wines of the Loire valley on their way to Paris. Catches from the sea are mentioned twice, once just as fish without any further details, and once as *craspiscis*, that is, sea mammal (whale or porpoise), fat and flesh.<sup>59</sup> Fishing of course was not a new activity, but the early eleventh century saw the rise of a new fishing industry, especially around fresh and lightly processed herring.<sup>60</sup> Robin Fleming has shown that a new élite demand must have boosted a very lucrative fishing industry around the year 1000:<sup>61</sup> *IV Æthelred* confirms this, since a heavy toll was now levied on fish. Above all, wool is mentioned, being possibly the first occurrence of a major commodity which was to be traded between England and the Continent in later centuries.<sup>62</sup> This does not mean that it had not been traded before, as it could have been one of the 'invisible' commodities that archaeology cannot inform us about, but this early mention does coincide with the beginnings of the rapid rise of a booming draping industry in the towns of the western Low Countries.

All these new products had one thing in common: they were not primarily rare and precious goods, traded in small quantities for an exclusively princely or élite consumption, but commodities destined for a larger public and particularly for further industrial processing abroad, whether it be textile making, candle making, or fish preservation. A richer and more numerous élite, both rural and urban, in England as in Germany and the Low Countries, was creating the bases of high medieval international trade.

<sup>59</sup> S. Lebecq, 'Scènes de chasse aux mammifères marins (mers du Nord, VI<sup>e</sup>–XII<sup>e</sup> siècles)', in *Milieus naturels, espaces sociaux: études offertes à Robert Delort*, ed. by E. Mornet and F. Morenzoni, *Histoire ancienne et médiévale*, 47 (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 1997), pp. 240–53 (p. 244).

<sup>60</sup> A. Gautier, 'Du hareng pour les princes, du hareng pour les pauvres, IX<sup>e</sup>–XII<sup>e</sup> siècle', in *Boire et manger aux Pays-Bas: de la sacro-sainte pomme de terre à la purée de piment*, ed. by T. Beaufils, *Revue française d'études néerlandaises*, 1 (Strasbourg: Département d'études néerlandaises, Université Marc Bloch, 2007), pp. 25–38.

<sup>61</sup> R. Fleming, 'The New Wealth, the New Rich and the New Political Style in Late Anglo-Saxon England', *Anglo-Norman Studies*, 23 (2000), 1–22 (p. 17).

<sup>62</sup> Contra T. H. Lloyd, in *The English Wool Trade in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977), p. 2, who prefers to emend the manuscripts reading *lanam* to *lardum* (bacon or lard), more coherent with the mention of fat and pigs in the same sentence.

For this, various kinds of vessel were needed. The code explicitly sets apart the following: the small fishing *batus* ('boat') and the *navicula* ('small ship'), whose toll was fixed at one *obolum*, that is, a halfpenny; the *navis major* ('larger ship') which had sails and owed one penny; and finally the even larger *ceol vel hulcus* ('keel or hulk'), which was taxed four pence.<sup>63</sup> As in the case of the Roskilde Scandinavian ships, retrieved in two underwater archaeological campaigns,<sup>64</sup> we are provided with an interesting range of vessels used around the year 1000, from the smaller ones which were certainly not used in international exchanges but could have been put to sea for fishing or for coastal trade, to the biggest tonnages, which maintained the connections with Continental ports.

The former may well have been simple 'logboats', similar to the tenth-century boat found in 1989 in Clapton (London Borough of Hackney), which was 3.75 m long and 0.65 m wide and could be rowed by a single paddler.<sup>65</sup> The larger ones may have looked like the one, also dated from the tenth century, found in Graveney (near Faversham on the northern coast of Kent), which was 14 m long and 3.9 m wide: the Graveney ship could sail up to seven knots with a five-man crew, even when burdened by the heavy load of Rhineland basalt grinding stones she carried at the time she sank.<sup>66</sup>

The words used by the redactors of the code for referring to large ships are interesting as well. There seems to be a hesitation between the words *ceol* and *hulcus*. The first one is cited, as *cyul*, as early as the sixth century by Gildas, who refers to the typical *longa navis* of the migration period;<sup>67</sup> the modern word 'keel' is related to it. *Hulcus* is probably a Continental Germanic word, which may originally have referred to a monoxyle bottom (that is, one made from a single piece of timber) heightened with planks.<sup>68</sup> Both words are probably an attempt at

<sup>63</sup> IV *Æthelred* 2.1–4.

<sup>64</sup> *The Skuldelev Ships*, vol. 1: *Topography, Archaeology, History, Conservation and Display*, ed. by Ole Crumlin-Pedersen and Olaf Olsen, *Ships and Boats of the North*, 4.1 (Roskilde: Viking Ship Museum, 2002).

<sup>65</sup> P. Marsden and others, 'A Late Saxon Logboat from Clapton, London Borough of Hackney', *International Journal of Nautical Archaeology and Underwater Exploration*, 18 (1989), 89–111.

<sup>66</sup> *The Graveney Boat: A Tenth-Century Find from Kent*, ed. by V. Fenwick, BAR, British Series, 53 (Oxford: BAR, 1978).

<sup>67</sup> *De Excidio et conquestu Britanniae*, 23.3, ed. by M. Winterbottom, *Gildas: The Ruin of Britain and other Documents*, *History from the Sources, Arthurian Period Sources*, 7 (Chichester: Phillimore, 1978), p. 97: 'tribus, ut lingua eius exprimitur, cyulis, nostra longis nauibus'.

<sup>68</sup> Detlev Ellmers, *Frühmittelalterliche Handelsschifffahrt in Mittel- und Nordeuropa* (Neumünster: Leinen, 1972), pp. 60–61. The word *hulk* would derive from a Germanic \**holh* ('hollow'),

making sense of the coexistence of various ship-building traditions, going from Scandinavian longships (the war *langskip* and the rounder *knörr*) to flat-bottomed *kogge* (being what the Graveney boat was), through round-bottomed ships of the *hulk* type, whose pictorial representation can be followed from the ninth-century coins from Quentovic and Dorestad to the twelfth-century baptismal fonts of Winchester and to the thirteenth-century seals of New Shoreham.<sup>69</sup>

These *knörr*, *kogge*, or *hulk* were the kind of ships which, around the year 1000, maintained communications between York, London, or Southampton and Cologne, Tiel, or Rouen. These ships allowed their owner to risk his life, justifying, as Ælfric understood it, his own profit. These high returns could even allow his personal promotion to the rank of thegn: as stated in the *Gethynchtho*, an English law-treatise compiled between 1002 and 1023 for Bishop Wulfstan I of Worcester, 'if a merchant (*massere*) has thrived, so that he has been thrice over the wide sea at his own expense, he will then be worthy of the rights of a thegn'.<sup>70</sup>

All conditions were now combined to stimulate a renewal of relations between England and the Continent: strategic, with the progressive return to peace at sea; political, with the unification of England around what was becoming a real capital; institutional, with the organization of Continental (and maybe English) merchants into guilds; economic, with the beginnings of growth and a renewed élite demand stimulating trade; logistic, with the construction of increasingly large sailing ships with more and more varied capacities; social, with the emergence of a new urban élite with assets to invest and a craving for luxury and sub-luxury goods, both in foodstuffs and textiles; and mental, with the reassertion of both the function and the image of the sea-going merchant. Of all this renewed activity, London had emerged as the undisputed focal point: William the Conqueror understood this very well when, in the weeks that followed his victory at Hastings, he did all that was in his power to seize it.<sup>71</sup>

Université de Lille III

Université du Littoral Côte d'Opale, Boulogne-sur-Mer

from which the verbal forms *bolkan* (Old Low German), *hölken* (Middle Low German), meaning 'to hollow out', 'to scoop out': A. Lasch and C. Borchling, *Mittelniederdeutsches Handwörterbuch*, II. 2 (Neumünster: Wachholtz Verlag, 1969), p. 340.

<sup>69</sup> Lebecq, *Marchands et navigateurs frisons*, I, 166–69.

<sup>70</sup> *Be leode gepincðum 7 lāge* (*Gepyncðo*) 6, ed. by Liebermann, *Gesetze*, I, 456–59.

<sup>71</sup> David Bates, *William the Conqueror* (Stroud: Tempus, 2004), pp. 109–10.



## CONTINENTAL GERMANIC PERSONAL NAMES IN TENTH-CENTURY ENGLAND

John Insley

While it is true that there has been a good deal of progress in the study of Old English personal nomenclature in recent years, the investigation of the Continental Germanic element has been curiously neglected.<sup>1</sup> The standard work is still Thorvald Forssner's Uppsala dissertation of 1916.<sup>2</sup> This can be supplemented by Olof von Feilitzen's contribution to the *Smith-Festschrift* of 1963<sup>3</sup> and by an article of 1971 by Feilitzen and Christopher Blunt about the names of the moneyers of King Edgar.<sup>4</sup> In general, research activity in this area of English anthroponymy has largely focused on the early Middle English period. This is not surprising when one considers that in comparison with the Old English period far more material is available for the years after 1066. There

<sup>1</sup> The following linguistic conventions have been used throughout this paper. Angle brackets (<>) have been used to indicate the orthographic unit, the grapheme. The unit of speech sound, the phoneme, is indicated by //. Contextual variants (allophones) are indicated by square brackets ([ ]). Reconstructed forms are preceded by an asterisk. Small capitals have been used for moneyers' names (following *Sylloge of Coins of the British Isles* usage) and for the modern forms of place-names when these are being examined as linguistic units; italics are used for linguistic forms and early spellings of onomastic material.

<sup>2</sup> Thorvald Forssner, *Continental Germanic Personal Names in England in Old and Middle English Times* (Uppsala: K. W. Appelbergs Boktryckeri, 1916).

<sup>3</sup> Olof von Feilitzen, 'Some Continental Germanic Personal Names in England', in *Early English and Norse Studies: Presented to Hugh Smith in Honour of his Sixtieth Birthday*, ed. by Arthur Brown and Peter Foote (London: Methuen, 1963), pp. 46–61.

<sup>4</sup> Olof von Feilitzen and Christopher Blunt, 'Personal Names on the Coinage of Edgar', in *England before the Conquest: Studies in Primary Sources presented to Dorothy Whitelock*, ed. by Peter Clemons and Kathleen Hughes (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971), pp. 183–214.

is a wealth of reliably edited records, and many names are readily accessible in Reaney and Wilson's surname dictionary.<sup>5</sup>

Forssner designated Continental Germanic names 'Old German'. This is a somewhat unfortunate usage, since it completely obscures the dialectal provenance of the names. Forssner was aware of the heterogeneous nature of his material and expressed regret that no compendium of the Germanic personal names in use in Romance areas existed in his time.<sup>6</sup> Ultimately, he had to rely on the second edition of Ernst Förstemann's *Altdeutsches Namenbuch*,<sup>7</sup> though he attempted to augment Förstemann's forms with the Romance variants wherever possible. On a lexical level, the identification of Continental Germanic personal names in England is relatively straightforward. Name elements such as *Agin-*, *Amal-*, *Brand-*, *Erl-*, *Gôz-*, *Îsan-*, *Ôd-*, *Odal-*, and *Thank-* are typical of the anthroponymic systems of the Continental dialects of West Germanic and are not found in Old English.<sup>8</sup> The same is true of such monothematic names as *Drogo*, *Fulco*, and *Wido* and of suffix-formations like *Hamelin*, *Tezelin*, *Derekin*, and *Tepekin*. Here I have in the main used examples from the period after 1066.

The problem of the identification of dialectal provenance is the same as in the Old English period, though after 1066 we have the problem that the names are invariably transmitted through Latin texts. Here it is often the case that normalized Latin forms replace those of the English or Anglo-Norman vernacular. For example, the normalized Latin form *Amalricus* is used for Old French *Amauri* and *Willelmus* stands for Old Northern French *Williaume*.<sup>9</sup> There are also cases in which it is not possible to decide whether a particular personal name is of Continental Germanic origin or whether it is Old English or Scandinavian. An example of this kind from the post-Conquest period is the latinized *Osbertus*. Formally this could reflect Old English *Ōsbe(o)rht*, but we have the complication that the name is frequent in Normandy, where the name could reflect the borrowing of Old English *Ōsbe(o)rht* prior to 1066 or, and this is probably more likely, a survival from earlier settlements in Normandy from the Ingvaëonic areas of the coastal

<sup>5</sup> Percy H. Reaney, *A Dictionary of English Surnames*, 3rd edn with corrections and additions by R. M. Wilson (London: Routledge, 1991).

<sup>6</sup> Forssner, *Continental-Germanic Personal Names*, pp. vi–vii.

<sup>7</sup> Ernst Förstemann, *Altdeutsches Namenbuch*, vol. 1: *Personennamen*, 2nd edn (Bonn: Hantstein, 1900).

<sup>8</sup> See Forssner, *Continental-Germanic Personal Names*, pp. 273–78.

<sup>9</sup> Forssner, *Continental-Germanic Personal Names*, pp. 25–26, 255–57.

regions of the North Sea (cf. OSax *Ôsberht*).<sup>10</sup> It is often the context which is decisive. One of the moneyers of King Eadred bore the name HILDVLF.<sup>11</sup> We have no further information on him, so that the name can either represent East Scandinavian *Hildulf* or a Continental name corresponding to West Frankish *Hildulfus*. A further possibility is that we are concerned with a reflex of Old English *Hildewulf*. On the other hand, the name of the moneyer HILDVLF, HILDOLF, who was active at York in the time of Æthelred II and Cnut,<sup>12</sup> is almost certainly Scandinavian, since it appears in a context and location where Scandinavian names were common. Again, the Old Norse personal name *Hróaldr* appears sporadically in Old English sources as *Hrowald*, *Rold*, *Roold*, etc.,<sup>13</sup> but there is also a Continental *Roald*, a Romance form of Frankish *\*Hrôðowald* (< *\*Hrôpa-walda*). The Continental name was popular in Brittany, and in post-Conquest England we find Bretons with this name who belonged to the feudal aristocracy. An example is Roaldus, hereditary constable of the earls of Richmond in Yorkshire at the beginning of the twelfth century. The Breton origin of Roaldus is made clear by the name of his father, *Harscod* (< Old Breton *Hoiarnscoit*) and by that of his son, *Alan*,<sup>14</sup> a name well attested in the Breton aristocracy. Outside this feudal caste, there is no reason to doubt that Middle English examples of *Roaldus* represent the Scandinavian *Hróaldr*. For example, the Roaldus who held a *toftum* and a *croftum* at Lea in Lancashire c. 1210<sup>15</sup> can hardly have been a member of the feudal

<sup>10</sup> See Olof von Feilitzen, *The Pre-Conquest Personal Names of Domesday Book*, Nomina Germanica, Arkiv för germansk namnforskning utgivet av Jöran Sahlgren, 3 (Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1937), p. 338.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. Feilitzen and Blunt, 'Personal Names on the Coinage of Edgar', p. 198 and n. 6; C. E. Blunt, B. H. I. H. Stewart, and C. S. S. Lyon, *Coinage in Tenth-Century England from Edward the Elder to Edgar's Reform* (Oxford: Oxford University Press for the British Academy, 1989), p. 298.

<sup>12</sup> Veronica Smart, 'Cnut's York Moneyers', in *Otium et Negotium: Studies in Onomatology and Library Science Presented to Olof von Feilitzen*, ed. by Folke Sandgren (Stockholm: Norstedt and Söner, 1973), pp. 221–31 (p. 226).

<sup>13</sup> Erik Björkman, *Nordische Personennamen in England in alt- und frühmittel-englischer Zeit: Ein Beitrag zur englischen Namenkunde*, Studien zur englischen Philologie, 37 (Halle a.S.: Niemeyer, 1910), p. 69; Gillian Fellows Jensen, *Scandinavian Personal Names in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire*, Navnestudier udgivet af Institut for Navneforskning, 7 (Copenhagen: Akademisk forlag, 1968), pp. 219–21.

<sup>14</sup> For the family of Roald the Constable, see *Early Yorkshire Charters*, vol. v: *The Honour of Richmond*, Pt II, ed. by Charles Travis Clay (Wakefield: Yorkshire Archaeological Society, 1936), pp. 89–95.

<sup>15</sup> Lancashire Record Office, Preston, DDHo H 408.

aristocracy or the knightly classes, and there is no reason to doubt that his name is ultimately a reflex of Old Norse *Hróaldr*, Old Danish, Old Swedish *Rōald*, a name whose presence in Lancashire is a consequence of the Scandinavian settlements of the tenth century. Again, the context is decisive in the interpretation of the etymology of the name.

Feilitzen was aware of the difficulties involved in attempting to ascertain the dialectal provenance of Continental Germanic personal names in England. In particular, he saw the paucity of regional studies of the French material as a fundamental problem. In 1963, he wrote,

On the whole, however, collections like these that deal with specific areas on the Continent are disappointingly few. This is particularly true of France where the works of Drevin, Michaëlsson and Jacobsson cover only a small part of the field, geographically and chronologically. Hence the assignment of the supposed Continental etyma of ME names to their precise area of origin or dialect is often impossible, and it is inevitable that the majority of parent forms adduced should be described rather vaguely as Old German (OG). However, there can be no doubt that the Low German element was very important. A few name bearers are explicitly described as Flemings or Saxons (cf. *Ailbodo*, *Thiedlef*) and some themes, such as *-lef* (see *Brunlef*) and *Sūth-* (see *Sudhard*), point distinctively to that provenance.<sup>16</sup>

Feilitzen developed the theme of dialect origins in the article he wrote with Christopher Blunt about the names of Edgar's moneyers, remarking:

On general historical grounds it seems reasonable to assume that many of them [i.e. Continental Germanic personal names] are Old Low German, more specifically Old Saxon or Old Flemish (Old Low Franconian), whereas others are undoubtedly of West Frankish origin.<sup>17</sup>

Feilitzen's premise is undoubtedly the best starting point. The moneyers' names are the best source for Continental Germanic personal names in England in the Old English period, and it would seem appropriate to examine them in the context of the onomastic dialectology of northern Gaul and the North Sea basin.

Continental Germanic personal names occur predominantly among the names of moneyers in the Old English period. Continental Germanic personal names are strongly represented in the names of the moneyers of the so-called St. Edmund Memorial Coinage of c. 895–915,<sup>18</sup> examples being ADAL-, ADELBERT, ANSFRED,

<sup>16</sup> Feilitzen, 'Some Continental Germanic Personal Names', p. 47.

<sup>17</sup> Feilitzen and Blunt, 'Personal Names on the Coinage of Edgar', p. 208.

<sup>18</sup> See C. E. Blunt, 'The St. Edmund Memorial Coinage', *Proceedings of the Suffolk Institute of Archaeology*, 31 (1968), 234–54; and Veronica Smart, 'The Moneyers of St. Edmund', *Hikuin*, 11 (1985), 83–90.

GISELFRED, GVNDBERT, ODVLf, RATHER, WALVCVS, WANDEFRED, and WINEDVLf.<sup>19</sup> However, the inscriptions of this group of coins are frequently blundered, and they often present problems of interpretation. For example, we have a coin with the moneyer's name PANCRAÐ.<sup>20</sup> Veronica Smart correctly interpreted this name as belonging to *Dancrad*, *Thancrad*.<sup>21</sup> More precisely, the etymon is Old Saxon *Thancrād*. Initial <P> in the inscription is a mistake for <Þ> or perhaps rather for <Ð>.

The tenth-century coinages of the West Saxon kings are generally more tractable in terms of the interpretation of moneyers' names and for this reason the present paper will examine the Continental Germanic moneyers' names of the coinages of Æthelstan (924–39) and Edgar (959–75). The names of Æthelstan's moneyers are taken from the list of moneyers in Christopher Blunt's article of 1974 on the coinage of that king,<sup>22</sup> while those of Edgar are taken from the paper of Feilitzen and Blunt<sup>23</sup> and from the Blunt, Stewart, and Lyon volume on coinage in tenth-century England.<sup>24</sup> The Continental Germanic moneyers' names on Æthelstan's coinage are as follows: ABONEL, ABUN, ABBON, ADELBERT, AMELRIC, ARNVLF, BALD(E)RIC, BALDWIN, BEORARD, BEORGER, BERNGAR, EFRARD, FOLCRED, FREDARD, FROTGER, FVLRAÐ, GISLEMER, GODFRED, GVNTERE, HARGER, HILDEBERT, H<I>LDVLf, HVBALD, INCSELBERT, INGELRI, MAGNARD, MATHELBERT, MATHELWOLD, ODO, RÆ(GE)NVLF, RIHARD, ROTBERT, WARENGOT, WIARD. Those of Edgar are the following: ABENEL, ADEL-, AÐELAVER, ADELGER, AGULF, ALBART, BALDRIC, BALDWIN, BER(E)NARD, EOFEAR-, EAFAERARD, EOFERMVND, EFEOROLF, ERCONBOLD, FLODGER, FLODVLf, FLODVIN, FOLCHARD, FRÐALD, GINAND, GVNfred, HARCER, -GER, HEREBERT, HERIGER, HEREMAN, HILDVLf, INGELBERT, INGCEL-, INGOLBERD, INGOLRIES, ISEMBERT, LANDBRIHT, LANDFERÐ, MANGOD, MARSCALE, MEINARD, NORÐBERD, OGEA, OÐELRIES, RANVVIN, RAÐVLf, REGENOLD, REGEN-, RÆGNVLf, REINA<R>D, RIC(C)OLF, RICVLf, TEODRED, ÐEODGAR.

<sup>19</sup> See the list in Smart, 'Moneyers of St. Edmund', pp. 84–87.

<sup>20</sup> Smart, 'Moneyers of St. Edmund', p. 86; Blunt, Stewart, and Lyon, *Coinage in Tenth-Century England*, p. 304.

<sup>21</sup> Smart, 'Moneyers of St. Edmund', p. 86.

<sup>22</sup> C. E. Blunt, 'The Coinage of Athelstan, King of England 924–939', *British Numismatic Journal*, 42 [special volume for the seventieth birthday of Christopher Evelyn Blunt, ed. by Michael Dolley, John Porteous, and H. E. Pagan] (1974), 35–160 (pp. 134–40).

<sup>23</sup> Feilitzen and Blunt, 'Personal Names on the Coinage of Edgar', pp. 185–207.

<sup>24</sup> Blunt, Stewart, and Lyon, *Coinage in Tenth-Century England*, pp. 281–312.

These forms show a noticeable degree of Romance influence. For example, the Romance form *Flod-* stands for Germanic *\*Hlōþa-* in FLODGER, FLODVLF, and FLODVIN, and Germanic *\*Hrōþa-* is represented by FROÐ- for Romance *Frod-* in FROÐALD (< Germanic [Frankish] *\*Hrōþa-walda-*).<sup>25</sup> The spelling -VIN for the Germanic name element *-wini* in FLODVIN corresponds to the common West Frankish scribal variant *-uin(us)*. The fricative /χ/ develops to /s/ in two names in *-rih* (< *\*-/rīka-/*), namely, in INGOLRIES (< *\*Angil-a-rīka-*) and OÐELRIES (< *\*Öpila-rīka-*). This Romance feature has parallels elsewhere. We can compare such eighth-century Langobardic names as *Teuderisci*, *Teuderis* (< Germanic *\*Peuða-rīka-*), *Ildirissi* (< Germanic *\*Hildi-rīka-*), and *Teudilascius*, *Teudilas(s)i*, *Teudilais* (< Germanic *\*Peuða-laika-*).<sup>26</sup> The fricative /χ/ is lost in the element *\*-/berhta-/*, as in ADELBERT and HILDEBERT. Loss of [h] in names in */-hard/* is frequent. The voiced velar fricative [ɣ] is lost in HUBALD < *Hugibald* and WIARD < *Wighard*. FVLRAD < *Fulcrād* and HARGER < *Hardgēr* are typical West Frankish forms, though the reduction of the medial consonant cluster can reflect a Germanic development. ABONEL, ABUN, and ABBON are variants of Frankish *Abbo* with Romance diminutive suffixes. At the same time, there is quite extensive anglicization of the material. In EAFER-, EOFRARD, and EOFERMVND, Germanic *\*Ebur-* is rendered by the specifically Old English *Eofor-*. Late Old English *-briht* (< *\*-/berhta-/*) and *-ferð* (< *\*-/friþu-/*) replace the corresponding Frankish elements in LANDBRIHT and LANDFERÐ, respectively. In the form INCGELBERT, it would seem that the first syllable has undergone palatalization of */ing-/* > */indʒ-/*.

The form ÐEODGAR<sup>27</sup> is interesting. Formally, the name is English, being a compound of *Þēod-* and *-gār*, but we might well ask whether it is in fact a loan-translation of a Continental name; compare Old High German *Thiotgēr*, Old Saxon *Thiadgēr*. The onomastic reflexes of Germanic *\*peuð-ō-* (feminine) 'people, nation,

<sup>25</sup> See Werner Kalbow, *Die germanischen Personenennamen des altfranzösischen Heldenepos und ihre lautliche Entwicklung* (Halle a.S.: Niemeyer, 1913), p. 145; Felitzen and Blunt, 'Personal Names on the Coinage of Edgar', p. 209.

<sup>26</sup> See Maria Giovanna Arcamone, 'Die langobardischen Personenennamen in Italien: Nomen und gens aus der Sicht der linguistischen Analyse', in *Nomen et gens: Zur historischen Aussagekraft frühmittelalterlicher Personenennamen*, ed. by Dieter Geuenich, Wolfgang Haubrichs, and Jöeg Jarnut, *Ergänzungsbände zum Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde*, 16 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1997), pp. 157–75 (pp. 166–67, 168).

<sup>27</sup> Felitzen and Blunt, 'Personal Names on the Coinage of Edgar', p. 205. This Lewes moneyer continued to be active into the reign of Æthelred II; cf. Georg Galster, *Sylloge of Coins of the British Isles*, vol. VII: *Royal Collection of Coins and Medals National Museum, Copenhagen*, Pt II: *Anglo-Saxon Coins: Æthelred II* (London: Oxford University Press and Spink and Son, 1966), no. 468.

tribe' are common in East Germanic and in the inland dialects of West Germanic (Franconian, Alemannic, Bavarian, Langobardic),<sup>28</sup> but seem to be less frequent in the North Sea Germanic area. The numerous Old Saxon names in *Thiad-* can probably be satisfactorily explained as a result of Frankish penetration of northern Germany in the wake of its conquest by Charlemagne. It is, however, noteworthy that names in *Ēod-* are attested at an early date among the Anglo-Saxons — Old English *Ēōdrīc* and Old English *Ēōdbald* are attested in the Bernician royal house at the end of the sixth and the beginning of the seventh century.<sup>29</sup> It might be that the use of such names by the Bernician house is a pale reflection of the prestige of the Merovingians, who used names in *Theud-* with some frequency. Be that as it may, there are several English place-names whose first elements are personal names in *Ēod-*, for example, THEDDINGWORTH (Leicestershire), a collective formation in *-inga-* formed from the hypocoristic *\*Ēōda*,<sup>30</sup> and THEBERTON (Suffolk), whose first element is the dithematic *Ēōdbe(o)rht*.<sup>31</sup> The name element was clearly fully integrated into the Old English onomastic system. We can see this clearly in the fact that we find hypocoristic variants such as *\*Teot(t)a*, the first element of TEDDINGTON (Gloucestershire),<sup>32</sup> and *\*Tēodec*, the first element of TEWKESBURY (Gloucestershire).<sup>33</sup> The age of these names is not clear, though at least Theddingworth, as a

<sup>28</sup> A possible moneyer from an area beyond the North Sea and northern French areas which are the normal source of Continental Germanic personal names in England is DEODGELD, -GILD, -GYLD, the name of a Lincoln moneyer of Æthelred II; cf. Galster, *Anglo-Saxon Coins: Æthelred II*, nos 604–07. A parallel is Old High German *Theotgelt*, *Deotgelt*, which is attested in the Confraternity Book of Reichenau; see *Das Verbrüderungsbuch der Abtei Reichenau (Einleitung, Register, Faksimile)*, ed. by Johanne Autenrieth, Dieter Geuenich, and Karl Schmid, MGH, Lib. Mem. Nec., n.s., 1 (Hannover: Hahn, 1979), p. 157 (th 59).

<sup>29</sup> Cf. *Handbook of British Chronology*, ed. by E. B. Fryde and others, 3rd edn, Royal Historical Society Guides and Handbooks, 2 (London: Offices of the Royal Historical Society, 1986), p. 4; Hilmer Ström, *Old English Personal Names in Bede's History: An Etymological-Phonological Investigation*, Lund Studies in English, 8 (Lund: Gleerup; London: Williams and Norgate; Copenhagen: Levin and Munksgaard, Ejnar Munksgaard, 1939), pp. 36, 177.

<sup>30</sup> Barrie Cox, *A Dictionary of Leicestershire and Rutland Place-Names*, English Place-Name Society Popular Series, 5 (Nottingham: English Place-Name Society, 2005), p. 103; Barrie Cox, *The Place-Names of Leicestershire*, Pt 4: *Gartree Hundred*, Survey of English Place-Names, 84 (Nottingham: English Place-Name Society, 2009), pp. 268–69.

<sup>31</sup> Eilert Ekwall, *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of English Place-Names*, 4th edn (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1960), p. 465.

<sup>32</sup> A. H. Smith, *The Place-Names of Gloucestershire*, Pts 1–4, English Place-Name Society, 38–41 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1964–65), II, 45–46.

<sup>33</sup> Smith, *Place-Names of Gloucestershire*, II, 61–62.

name in **-inga-**, has the appearance of some antiquity. Nevertheless, it seems clear that names with Old English *Þeod-* as first element are not certainly attested in independent use outside Northumbria before the tenth century. It may well be the case that the element fell into disuse and that its reappearance in the tenth century was the result of Continental influence. Already in 1930, Dorothy Whitelock suggested that the name of Bishop Theodred of London (926–51) ‘may be a German name’.<sup>34</sup> Theodred bequeathed to another Þeodred a white chasuble which he had bought in Pavia and a massbook which a man with the Continental name *Gosebricht* (Frankish *Gauz-*, *Gôzbert*) had bequeathed to him.<sup>35</sup> Bishop Theodred also made bequests to a certain *Odgar* (Frankish *Ôd-*, *Ôtgêr*) and to one *Gundwine* (West Frankish *Gunduin(us)*).<sup>36</sup> In a boundary clause attached to a charter of 968,<sup>37</sup> we find the place-name [of] *Teopewolding lege*, [on] *Deodewolding lege*. Feilitzten believed that we are concerned with an Old English personal name \**Þeodweald* here, though he did cite the views of Karlström and Zachrisson that the etymon is rather ‘OG *Theudwald*’.<sup>38</sup> Old Saxon *Thiadold* would be an appropriate Continental etymon.<sup>39</sup> A clear case of a Continental name is provided by *Peodulfus*, the name of a thegn of Æthelred II to whom that king granted five hides *æt Burtune* (? Burton Hastings, Warwickshire);<sup>40</sup> compare West Frankish

<sup>34</sup> *Anglo-Saxon Wills*, ed. with trans. and notes by Dorothy Whitelock (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1930), p. 99.

<sup>35</sup> *Anglo-Saxon Wills*, ed. by Whitelock, p. 4 (no. 1).

<sup>36</sup> *Anglo-Saxon Wills*, ed. by Whitelock, p. 4 (no. 1).

<sup>37</sup> Sawyer, no. 762; *Cartularium Saxonicum: A Collection of Charters Relating to Anglo-Saxon History*, ed. by Walter de Gray Birch, 3 vols and index (London: Whiting and Chas. J. Clark, 1885–99), no. 1218.

<sup>38</sup> Olof von Feilitzten, ‘Some Unrecorded Old and Middle English Personal Names’, *Namn och Bygd*, 33 (1945), 69–98 (p. 90).

<sup>39</sup> For Old Saxon *Thiadold*, see Wilhelm Schlaug, *Studien zu den altsächsischen Personennamen des 11. und 12. Jahrhunderts*, Lunder Germanistische Forschungen, 30 (Lund: Gleerup, 1955), p. 84; Wilhelm Schlaug, *Die altsächsischen Personennamen vor dem Jahre 1000*, Lunder Germanistische Forschungen, 34 (Lund: Gleerup, 1962), p. 162. Cf. also the name of the *comes* (of Chamblly) *Theodoldus/Theudoldus*, who appears in a record of 797; see Régine Hennebicque-Le Jan, ‘Prosopographica neustrica: les agents du roi en Neustrie de 639 à 840’, in *La Neustrie: les pays au nord de la Loire de 650 à 850*, Colloque historique international, 2 vols, ed. by Hartmut Atsma, Beihefte der Francia, 16.1/2 (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1989), I, 231–69 (p. 265 (no. 273)).

<sup>40</sup> Sawyer, no. 929; *Charters of Burton Abbey*, ed. by P. H. Sawyer, Anglo-Saxon Charters, 2 (London: Oxford University Press for the British Academy, 1979), no. 36 (pp. 70–71: [...] *meo fideli homini þeodulfo*, p. 70).



*T(h)eudulfus*,<sup>41</sup> Old Saxon *Thiadulf*,<sup>42</sup> etc. In the will of the Lady Æthelflæd, which dates from the period 980–90, a female slave named *ƿeodild* is granted her freedom.<sup>43</sup> A Continental parallel is Old Saxon *Thiadhild*,<sup>44</sup> *Thiedhild*.<sup>45</sup>

A major problem in any discussion of Continental Germanic personal names in England lies in the anglicization of scribal forms. There are clearly Continental Germanic personal names in England prior to the tenth century — one can cite the seventh-century Frankish bishops of the West Saxons, Agilbert and his nephew Leuthere, who appear in Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica*.<sup>46</sup> There are other examples in later Northumbrian sources. A moneyer of the ninth-century Northumbrian kings Redwulf and Æthelred II bore the name ODILO,<sup>47</sup> and in the earliest (ninth-century) part of the Northumbrian *Liber Vitae*, we find the names *Gerferð*<sup>48</sup> and *Geruini*,<sup>49</sup> which are clearly Frankish, since they contain the Frankish reflex of Germanic \**Gaiza-*, *Gér-*, rather than Old English *Gār-*. Another moneyer of Redwulf and Æthelred II of Northumbria bore the name VENDELBERHT.<sup>50</sup> The same name is

<sup>41</sup> See, for example, *Das Polyptychon von Saint-Germain-des-Prés*, Studienausgabe, ed. by Dieter Hägermann (Cologne: Böhlau, 1993), p. 314 (th 46).

<sup>42</sup> Schlaug, *Die altsächsischen Personennamen vor dem Jahre 1000*, p. 164.

<sup>43</sup> *The Will of Æthelgifu: A Tenth-Century Anglo-Saxon Manuscript. Translated and examined by Dorothy Whitelock, with a note on the document by Neil Ker, and analysis of the properties, live-stock and chattels concerned by Lord Rennell*, trans. by Dorothy Whitelock (Oxford: Printed for presentation to the members of the Roxburghe Club, 1968), p. 11 (line 33: *ƿeodilde*); Whitelock, *Will of Æthelgifu*, p. 59, comments that names in *ƿeod-* are 'often continental, but not necessarily so'.

<sup>44</sup> Schlaug, *Die altsächsischen Personennamen vor dem Jahre 1000*, p. 161.

<sup>45</sup> Schlaug, *Studien zu den altsächsischen Personennamen*, p. 84.

<sup>46</sup> See Frank Merry Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, 3rd edn, Oxford History of England, 2 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971), pp. 122, 132–33. For the family connections of Agilbert, who subsequently became Bishop of Paris, and the links of this family with the monastery of Jouarre, see Alain Dierkens, 'Prolégomènes à une histoire des relations culturelles entre les îles britanniques et le continent pendant le haut moyen âge: la diffusion du monachisme dit colombanien ou iro-franc dans quelques monastères de la région parisienne au VII<sup>e</sup> siècle et la politique religieuse de la reine Bathilde', in *La Neustrie*, ed. by Atsma, II, 371–94 (pp. 376–77).

<sup>47</sup> Veronica Smart, 'The Personal Names on the Pre-Viking Northumbrian Coinages', in *Coinage in Ninth-Century Northumbria: The Tenth Oxford Symposium on Coinage and Monetary History*, ed. by D. M. Metcalf, BAR, British Series, 180 (Oxford: BAR, 1987), pp. 245–55 (p. 253).

<sup>48</sup> *The Durham 'Liber Vitae': London British Library, MS Cotton Domitian A. VII*, ed. by David Rollason and Lynda Rollason, 3 vols (London: British Library, 2007), II, 55 (A.2.111).

<sup>49</sup> *The Durham 'Liber Vitae'*, ed. by Rollason and Rollason, II, 55 (A.2.119).

<sup>50</sup> Smart, 'Personal Names on the Pre-Viking Northumbrian Coinages', p. 253.

recorded in the earliest part of the Northumbrian *Liber Vitae* as *Uendilbercht*.<sup>51</sup> The name is otherwise unattested in Anglo-Saxon records, and it would not be implausible to assume that we are concerned with a Continental Germanic personal name here (cf. Frankish *Wandalbert*, *Wendilbert*).<sup>52</sup> A charter which was drawn up between 699 and 717 and which exists in three later copies<sup>53</sup> is attested by an abbot named *Omolingc*. An Old English name element *Omol-*, *Omul-* is not on record but would correspond to Continental Germanic *Amal-*, *Amul-*, here with the characteristic Mercian /o/ for /a/ before nasals. *Omolingc* corresponds exactly to the Old Low Franconian name *Amulung*, which Tiefenbach has found in Xanten,<sup>54</sup> and it is again conceivable that it is the name of a Continental visitor.

Ultimately, it is only through intensive use of comparative material that we can come nearer to ascertaining the dialectal provenance of Continental Germanic personal names in England, and I would like to illustrate this by examining two examples more closely. The names in question are AMELRIC, the name of a Winchester moneyer of King Æthelstan,<sup>55</sup> and *Ingeram*, the name of a thegn of King Edgar to whom that king granted land at Vange in Essex in a contemporary charter of 963.<sup>56</sup> Although *Amalaricus* is known as the name of a Visigothic king who was murdered in Barcelona in 531,<sup>57</sup> the name *Amalric* seems to be characteristically

<sup>51</sup> *Durham 'Liber Vitae'*, ed. by Rollason and Rollason, II, 156–57 (A.3.757).

<sup>52</sup> Förstemann, *Altdeutsches Namenbuch*, vol. I: *Personennamen*, cols 1527–28; Cf. *Uuandalbertus*, the name of a *dux* in the Paris region who occurs as *comes* in 640 (see Hennebicque-Le Jan, 'Prosopographica neustica', p. 266 (no. 289)) and *Uuandal-*, *Vuandalbertus* in the Polyptyque of Saint-Germain-des-Prés (c. 825–28), for which see *Das Polyptychon von Saint-Germain*, ed. by Hägermann, p. 315 (w 74). Note also X *Vuendilberti* (witness) 890 (charter of the abbey of Sithiu at Saint-Omer): *Diplomatica Belgica ante annum millesimum centesimum scripta*, vol. I: *Texten* ed. by M. Gysseling and A. C. F. Koch, *Bouwstoffen en studiën voor de geschiedenis en de lexicografie van het Nederlands*, I (Brussels: Belgisch Inter-Universitair Centrum voor Neerlandistiek, 1950), p. 83 (no. 48).

<sup>53</sup> Sawyer, no. 1252; *Cartularium Saxonicum*, ed. by Birch, no. 76.

<sup>54</sup> Heinrich Tiefenbach, *Xanten – Essen – Köln: Untersuchungen zur Nordgrenze des Althochdeutschen an niederrheinischen Personennamen des neunten bis elften Jahrhunderts*, Studien zum Althochdeutschen, Herausgegeben von der Kommission für das Althochdeutsche Wörterbuch der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, 3 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1984), p. 343.

<sup>55</sup> Blunt, 'Coinage of Athelstan', p. 135.

<sup>56</sup> Sawyer, no. 717; *Cartularium Saxonicum*, ed. by Birch, no. 1101.

<sup>57</sup> For the name, see Hermann Reichert, *Lexikon der Altgermanischen Namen*, Pt 1: *Text*, Thesaurus Palaeogermanicus, I (Vienna: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1987),

West Frankish. It is symptomatic that the name element *Amal-* is not certainly attested in Hispano-Gothic.<sup>58</sup> Probably the earliest Frankish example of *Amalricus* is found in the *Miracula Austregisili episcopi Biturigi*.<sup>59</sup> Bishop Austregisil of Bourges attended the Synod of Paris in 614, but his *vita* was only written in the ninth century.<sup>60</sup> A *vir inluster* and *dux* named *Amalricus* appears in a charter of Childeric II of 664 or 666 in favour of the church of SS Mary and Stephan in Speyer.<sup>61</sup> The earliest bearer of the name to appear in an original document is the *Amalricus* who appears in the record of a legal dispute of 694 about land in Bayencourt-sur-Matz (départ. Oise, arr. Compiègne, cant. et comm. de Ressons-sur-Matz) in which his father Amalberchtus was a party.<sup>62</sup> The *placitum* itself was held at the royal palace of Valenciennes, and Bayencourt-sur-Matz itself was not far from the royal palace of Compiègne. In the Carolingian period, *Amalricus* was relatively frequent in the Île-de-France. The polyptych of Saint-Germain-des-Prés (c. 825–28) has examples from Jouy-en-Josas (départ. Yvelines),<sup>63</sup> Palaiseau (départ. Essonne),<sup>64</sup> Épinay-sur-Orge (départ. Essonne),<sup>65</sup> Villemeux-sur-Eure (départ. Eure-et-Loir),<sup>66</sup> Thiais (départ. Val-de-Marne),<sup>67</sup> Combs-la-Ville (départ. Seine-et-Marne),<sup>68</sup> Morsang-sur-Seine (départ. Essonne),<sup>69</sup> and Béconcelle (départ. Yvelines).<sup>70</sup> A person named *Amalricus* occurs in 861 in a list of

p. 40. For a convenient English summary of Amalaric's reign, see E. A. Thompson, *The Goths in Spain* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969), pp. 7–12.

<sup>58</sup> See Joseph M. Piel and Dieter Kremer, *Hispano-gotisches Namenbuch: Der Niederschlag des Westgotischen in den alten und heutigen Personen- und Ortsnamen der iberischen Halbinsel* (Heidelberg: Winter, 1976), pp. 72–73.

<sup>59</sup> *Vita Austregisili episcopi Biturigi*, in *Passiones vitaeque sanctorum aevi Merovingici*, vol. II, ed. by Bruno Krusch, MGH, SS rer. Merov., 4 (Hannover: Hahn, 1902), pp. 188–208 (p. 207).

<sup>60</sup> Cf. *Vita Austregisili episcopi Biturigi*, ed. by Krusch, pp. 188–91.

<sup>61</sup> Horst Ebling, *Prosopographie der Amtsträger des Merowingerreiches von Chlothar II. (613) bis Karl Martell (741)*, Beihefte der Francia, 2 (Munich: Fink, 1974), p. 51 (no. XXIX).

<sup>62</sup> *Die Urkunden der Merowinger*, ed. by Theo Kölzer, MGH, Diplomata regum Francorum e stirpe Merovingica, 2 vols (Hannover: Hahn, 2001), pp. 355–57 (no. 141).

<sup>63</sup> *Das Polyptychon von Saint-Germain*, ed. by Hägermann, p. 2 (I, 13).

<sup>64</sup> *Das Polyptychon von Saint-Germain*, ed. by Hägermann, pp. 6, 8, 16 (II, 6. 34. 115).

<sup>65</sup> *Das Polyptychon von Saint-Germain*, ed. by Hägermann, pp. 41, 43 (VI, 12. 34).

<sup>66</sup> *Das Polyptychon von Saint-Germain*, ed. by Hägermann, pp. 76, 78 (IX, 173. 198).

<sup>67</sup> *Das Polyptychon von Saint-Germain*, ed. by Hägermann, p. 123 (XIV, 37).

<sup>68</sup> *Das Polyptychon von Saint-Germain*, ed. by Hägermann, p. 143 (XVI, 56).

<sup>69</sup> *Das Polyptychon von Saint-Germain*, ed. by Hägermann, p. 149 (XVII, 36).

<sup>70</sup> *Das Polyptychon von Saint-Germain*, ed. by Hägermann, p. 192 (XXIV, 16).

serfs at Mitry-Mory (dép. Seine-et-Marne).<sup>71</sup> Further east in the Ardennes, the polyptych of the abbey of Prüm records examples of *Amulricus*, *Amelricus*, and *Amalricus* in the vicinity of Villance (Neufchâteau, province of Luxembourg, Belgium) in 893.<sup>72</sup> In the tenth century and later, the name occurs in Flanders.<sup>73</sup> Outside the Frankish regions, we find early Alemannic examples of *Amalrich*, *Amalrih*, *Amulrich*, etc. in documents from St Gall.<sup>74</sup> Early ninth-century examples of *Amulric*, *Amalric* in records from Werden on the Ruhr and Corvey<sup>75</sup> are probably the names of Frankish followers of the Carolingians. All the evidence suggests that the core area in which the personal name *Amal-*, *Amulric* was old and frequent lay in the Paris basin and its environs. It is probable that King Æthelstan's Winchester moneyer AMELRIC came from this region, though it is naturally the case that this must remain a plausible assumption rather than an established fact.

We can make similar observations about King Edgar's thegn Ingeram. In the above-mentioned *placitum* of 694 about land at Bayencourt-sur-Matz,<sup>76</sup> one of the participants in the suit bore the name *Ingramno*, *Ingoramno*, and the polyptych of Saint-Germain-des-Prés lists a *servus* ('serf') named *Ingramnus* on the estate of Secval (dép. Yvelines, arr. et cant. de Mantes-la-Jolie, comm. de Guerville).<sup>77</sup> The Frankish name-element *Ing(o)-* < \**Ingwia-* seems to be characteristic for Merovingian and Carolingian Neustria, that is, for the areas of northern Gaul occupied by the Salian Franks. We can make similar observations for *Fulrad*, *Hildebert*, and *Isembert*,<sup>78</sup> among others. Such names followed Frankish power and influence to

<sup>71</sup> *Recueil des actes de Charles II le Chauve, roi de France*, ed. by Georges Tessier, Chartes et diplômes relatifs à l'histoire de France publiés par les soins de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, 9, 3 vols (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1943–55), II, 7–9 (p. 8, no. 228).

<sup>72</sup> *Rheinische Urbare*, vol. v: *Das Prümer Urbar*, ed. by Ingo Schwab, Publikationen der Gesellschaft für Rheinische Geschichtskunde, 20 (Düsseldorf: Droste, 1983), pp. 201–07.

<sup>73</sup> C. Tavernier-Vereecken, *Gentse naamkunde van ca. 1000 tot 1253: Een bijdrage tot de kennis van het oudste Middelnederlands*, Bouwstoffen en studiën voor de geschiedenis en de lexicografie van het Nederlands, 11 (Brussels: Belgisch Interuniversitair Centrum voor Neerlandistiek, 1968), p. 5.

<sup>74</sup> *Subsidia Sangallensia*, vol. I: *Materialien und Untersuchungen zu den Verbrüderungsbüchern und zu den älteren Urkunden des Stiftsarchivs St. Gallen*, ed. by Michael Borgolte, Dieter Geuenich, and Karl Schmid, St Galler Kultur und Geschichte, 16 (St Gall: Staatsarchiv und Stiftsarchiv St Gallen, 1986), p. 524 (a 98).

<sup>75</sup> Schlaug, *Die altsächsischen Personennamen vor dem Jahre 1000*, p. 45.

<sup>76</sup> *Die Urkunden der Merowinger*, ed. by Kölzer, I, 355–57 (no. 141).

<sup>77</sup> *Das Polyptychon von Saint-Germain-des-Prés*, ed. by Hägermann, p. 185 (XXII, 80bis).

<sup>78</sup> For these three typically West Frankish names and their appearance in the polyptych of Saint-Germain-des-Prés, see *Polyptyque de l'abbaye de Saint-Germain des Prés rédigé au temps de*

the east and the north and entered England sporadically as a result of the continual contacts between the South of England and Carolingian Neustria.

There are, however, Continental Germanic personal names in England which probably have a different regional provenance. It is clearly the case that the use of lexical items from the general vocabulary as personal names was subject to considerable regional differences throughout the Germanic world. As an example, we may take the word- and name-complexes formed from Germanic *\*þeʒnaz*,<sup>79</sup> namely, Old English *þeg(e)n* (masculine) 'warrior, member of a following; servant',<sup>80</sup> the normal designation for a member of the late Anglo-Saxon (tenth and eleventh centuries) nobility with a *wergeld* of 1200 shillings,<sup>81</sup> Old High German *thegan*, *degan* (masculine) 'warrior, member of a following; servant', Old Saxon *thegan* (masculine) 'boy, man; member of a following',<sup>82</sup> Old Norse *þegn* (masculine) 'man, free man, free man in the service of a king or a chieftain', Old Swedish *þegn* (masculine) 'free man, warrior; (brave) warrior in the service of a king', Runic Swedish *þegn*, *þiagn* (masculine) 'man, warrior, yeoman; ? man (warrior) of high rank in the service of a king or chieftain'.<sup>83</sup> Place-names of the type TEGNABY (Småland) and TEGNEBY (Bohuslän) < Old Swedish *\*þægnabȳR* 'village of the *þægnar*'<sup>84</sup> are a characteristic type of Swedish place-name and are paralleled by other collective formations, such as KARLABY, RINKABY, and SVENABY.<sup>85</sup> It has been suggested that TEGNABY place-names designated settlement of groups of warriors in the service of the *Svea*-kings outside the core region of the ancient

*l'abbé Irminon et publié par Auguste Longnon*, vol. I: *Introduction* (Paris: Champion, 1895), pp. 310 (*Fulrad*), 334–35 (*Hildebert*), 343 (*Isembert*).

<sup>79</sup> The etymology of this word is difficult. Vladimir Orel, *A Handbook of Germanic Etymology* (Leiden: Brill, 2003), p. 418, writes: 'Close to Greek τέκνον "child" < Indo-European *\*tekno-* ... Cf. further Sanskrit *tákman-* "offspring" also derived from IE *\*tek-* "to give birth"'.

<sup>80</sup> See Ferdinand Holthausen, *Altenglisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, 3rd unrev. edn (Heidelberg: Winter, 1934; repr. 1974), p. 362.

<sup>81</sup> Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, pp. 486–87.

<sup>82</sup> See Wolfgang Pfeifer and others, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch des Deutschen*, 3 vols (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1989), p. 263, s.v. 'Degen'.

<sup>83</sup> See Jan Paul Strid, 'Runic Swedish thegns and drengs', in *Runor och runinskrifter*, Föredrag vid Riksantikvarieämbetet och Vitterhetsakademiens symposium 8–11 september 1985, Kungl. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademien Konferenser, 15 (Stockholm: Almqvist and Wiksell, 1987), pp. 301–16 (pp. 301–06).

<sup>84</sup> Strid, 'Runic Swedish thegns and drengs', p. 303; *Svenskt ortnamnslexikon*, ed. by Mats Wahlberg (Uppsala: Språk- och folkminnetsinstitutet, 2003), p. 316.

<sup>85</sup> See *Svenskt ortnamnslexikon*, ed. by Wahlberg, pp. 160–61, s.v. Karlaby.

*Svearike*.<sup>86</sup> Moltke took the view that in Runic Danish *þægn*, *þiagn* was a title of rank in the king's service.<sup>87</sup> The substantive *þægn*, *þiagn* gave rise to the Runic Swedish personal name *Þægn*, *Þiagn*, which occurs frequently in Uppland and is also recorded in Södermanland.<sup>88</sup> The Old Swedish personal name *Thiagn(e)* is sporadically attested in the late Middle Ages in Sweden and Finland.<sup>89</sup> The name is also found in England; compare *Thein* entered in the twelfth century in the Durham *Liber Vitae*.<sup>90</sup> Runic Swedish *Þægn*, *Þiagn* belongs to the group of personal names derived from designations of personal status, occupation, or function. This type is quite frequent in Scandinavia, other Runic Swedish examples being *Boi*, *DrængR*, *Karl(i)*, *Svæinn*, and *VikingR*.<sup>91</sup> In contrast to Scandinavia, *Thegan*-occurs as the first element of normal dithematic personal names in the Continental Germanic dialects. It is particularly frequent in southern Germany. The Confraternity Book of Reichenau has examples of *Theganbold*, *Theganhard*, *Theganmar*, and *Theganolt*, as well as the simplex *Thegan*.<sup>92</sup> In the Low German area, the name-element is rare in the Carolingian and Ottonian periods. In Schlaug's collection of Old Saxon personal names recorded prior to the year 1000, it is only represented by two examples of *Theganrad(us)*.<sup>93</sup> Names in *Thegan*- are, however, well attested in Old Low Franconian and Middle Dutch. Flemish examples include *Theinardus* 1120, *Theganbold* twelfth century, *Theinboldus* 996–1029, and *Theinbertus* 1031–34.<sup>94</sup> It is probably from Flanders and the Low Countries that the element

<sup>86</sup> Cf. Strid, 'Runic Swedish thegns and drengs', p. 305.

<sup>87</sup> Erik Moltke, *Runes and their Origin: Denmark and Elsewhere* (Copenhagen: National Museum of Denmark, 1985), pp. 284–89.

<sup>88</sup> Strid, 'Runic Swedish thegns and drengs', p. 302 and p. 314 n. 4.

<sup>89</sup> Carl-Eric Thors, *Finländska personnamnsstudier / Studies on Swedish Personal Names in Finland*, Acta Academiae Regiae Scientiarum Upsaliensis/Kungl. Vetenskapssamhällets i Uppsala Handlingar, 6 (Stockholm: Almqvist and Wiksell, 1959), p. 88, s. v. Thiagne.

<sup>90</sup> Durham 'Liber Vitae', ed. by Rollason and Rollason, II, 236 (A.6.196).

<sup>91</sup> Sven B. F. Jansson, 'A Newly Discovered Rune-stone in Törnevalla Church, Östergötland', in *Early English and Norse Studies*, ed. by Brown and Foote, pp. 110–19 (p. 114); Strid, 'Runic Swedish thegns and drengs', p. 303.

<sup>92</sup> *Das Verbrüderungsbuch der Abtei Reichenau*, ed. by Autenrieth, Geuenich, and Schmid, p. 155: *Theganbold* (th 25); *Theganhard* (th 28); *Theganmar* (th 30); *Theganolt* (th 33); *Thegan* (th 24).

<sup>93</sup> Schlaug, *Die altsächsischen Personennamen vor dem Jahre 1000*, p. 159.

<sup>94</sup> Tavernier-Vereecken, *Gentse naamkunde van ca. 1000 tot 1253*, pp. 35 (*Theinardus*), 44 (*Theganbold* and *Theinboldus*), 74 (*Theinbertus*).

reached England in the eleventh century. English examples include *Teinfriþe* [mine circwirthan] (Dative) 1057–66 (copy, fourteenth century) < \**Theganfrid* and *Teinardo* [falconario] (Dative) 1130 < *Theganhard*.<sup>95</sup> There is also an interesting hybrid formation, ÐEG(E)NWINE (with ‘wynn’ for <w>), the name of an Exeter moneyer of Cnut and Harthacnut.<sup>96</sup> The second element is Old English *-wine*, and it would seem clear that this hybrid was formed in England. A similar hybrid is the twelfth-century feminine *Thanggeoue* found in the Durham *Liber Vitae*.<sup>97</sup> This name is a compound of Low German *Thank-* and Old English *-geofu*. As a second element, we find Old English *-þeg(e)n* in such Northumbrian names as *Cyniðegn*, *Ēatðegn* (= *Ēadðegn*), *Lēofðegn*, *Tilðegn*, and *Wilðegn*. The second element *-thegan* is also known in Old High German.<sup>98</sup> In Scandinavia, the sole representative of the type is Old Norse *Farþegn*, Old Danish *Farthin*, Old Swedish *Farþiegn*.

Personal names must be examined individually before any conclusions can be reached. In particular, distributional and chronological factors are important in any attempt to ascertain the dialectal provenance of Continental Germanic personal names in England. This is a laborious process, and the researcher is not always rewarded with clear answers. The Continental Germanic moneyers’ names in tenth-century England seem to be predominantly West Frankish in type, and the Romance forms in particular pose questions as to the nature of the linguistic contacts between the moneyers and the English population at large. It is certainly easier to assess the degree of anglicization shown by the names. In the final analysis, the names allow us to make assumptions about the nature of linguistic contact, but the absence of contemporary reports about the language(s) of moneyers means that we cannot go beyond interpreting the name forms on the level of their graphic and lexical form.

Ruprecht-Karls-Universität Heidelberg

<sup>95</sup> Feilitzen, ‘Some Continental Germanic Personal Names in England’, pp. 57–58.

<sup>96</sup> Veronica J. Smart, ‘Moneyers of the Late Anglo-Saxon Coinage: The Danish Dynasty 1017–42’, *ASE*, 16 (1987), 233–308 (p. 302).

<sup>97</sup> *Durham ‘Liber Vitae’*, ed. by Rollason and Rollason, II, 75 (A.2.304).

<sup>98</sup> See Förstemann, *Altdeutsches Namenbuch*, vol. 1: *Personennamen*, col. 1406.





## EXILES, ABBOTS, WIVES, AND MESSENGERS: ANGLO-SAXONS IN THE TENTH-CENTURY REICH

Andreas Bihrer

Around the year 900 three Anglo-Saxon pilgrims in the German Reich had a highly unpleasant experience: they were attacked and beheaded, and then wandered about with their heads under their arms until they found a burial site that appealed to them.<sup>1</sup> Other Anglo-Saxon visitors to the tenth-century Reich met a markedly better fate. The bishops Cenwald and Oda, who acted as messengers to the Reich, were received with honour. Dunstan and the Abbot of the monastery of Mettlach near Trier, one Lioffin, were long remembered admiringly. Edith, the wife of the later Emperor Otto I, and Gregory, abbot of the monastery of Einsiedeln in the heart of what is now Switzerland, were even honoured as saints. In the following paper, the encounters and experiences of these six prominent Anglo-Saxons in the tenth-century Reich will be investigated to demonstrate what their careers can reveal about relationships between England and the Reich in that period.<sup>2</sup>

In this paper I shall analyse instances of contact between the two premodern nations, England and Germany, which were in the process constituting themselves,

<sup>1</sup> This happened, according to the legend, at Sarmenstorf in the Aargau, between Zürich and Basel. The legend is first recorded around 1500 and was transmitted in several versions; cf. most recently Bruno P. Müller, 'Die Angelsachsen-Legende', *Unsere Heimat*, 73 (2005), 3–249.

<sup>2</sup> The following observations have arisen in the course of my research project 'Encounters in Early Medieval Europe: England and the Reich from the mid-ninth to mid-eleventh century'. I have described the project in Andreas Bihrer, 'Verwobene Konstellationen, verknüpfte Erfahrungen: England und das Reich in der Ottonen- und Salierzeit. Thietmar von Merseburg über die Angelsachsen', in *Identität und Krise? Zur Deutung vormoderner Selbst-, Welt- und Fremderfahrungen*, ed. by Christoph Dartmann and Carla Mayer, *Symbolische Kommunikation und gesellschaftliche Wertesysteme*, 17 (Münster: Rhema, 2007), pp. 45–59.

contacts based on encounters between individuals or on the memory of earlier encounters, and on the use of artefacts. This approach to the topic requires three criteria for the selection of data: there must be at least one movement of a historical actor, at least one border crossing, and at least one moment of contact. However, these criteria need not be understood as relating to actual visits taking place in the period itself: they may also relate to the use of an artefact or to a remembrance of past contacts.

The case studies referred to above do not cover the whole of the Continent, but are restricted to the Reich, whose linguistic and ecclesiastical boundary with western Francia was becoming not only a political but also an increasingly sharp cultural boundary during this period. In his outstanding essay 'The Ottonians and Wessex', first published in German in 1983, Karl Leyser noted that 'there is no comprehensive study of the relations between the Empire and England in the tenth century',<sup>3</sup> and that is still the case today. The present paper cannot fill that gap, but will instead concentrate on certain aspects in an attempt to highlight new facets, different to those emphasized by previous research.

Until now, historians studying the external relations of groups, nations, and societies have generally envisaged them as belonging to one of three models:

- relations with neighbours;
- long-distance relations with other cultures;
- relations to the wholly Other, which for mediaevalists means non-European or pagan cultures.<sup>4</sup>

An analysis of the constellation of sources for tenth-century relations between England and the Reich shows, however, that these models are unsuited to this investigation. The present paper therefore suggests that the tenth-century relations between England and the Reich should be understood as representing a different model from the three set out above, that is, 'middle-distance relations'. The definition of this model which I suggest here is based on the frequency of contacts or to the degree of mutual influence, or it may relate to a geographic difference.

<sup>3</sup> Karl Leyser, 'The Ottonians and Wessex', in Leyser, *CPME*, pp. 73–104 (p. 73). Many other historians have pointed to this deficiency; from a German perspective, see for example Ute Schwab, *Einige Beziehungen zwischen altsächsischer und angelsächsischer Dichtung*, Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo, 8 (Spoleto: Centro italiano di studi sull'alto Medioevo, 1988), p. 193.

<sup>4</sup> An introduction with useful bibliography is in Michael Borgolte, 'Mediävistik als vergleichende Geschichte Europas', in *Mediävistik im 21. Jahrhundert: Stand und Perspektiven der internationalen und interdisziplinären Mittelalterforschung*, ed. by Hans-Werner Goetz and Jörg Jarnut, *MittelalterStudien*, 1 (Munich: Fink, 2003), pp. 313–23.

However, physical distance is not a necessary condition, it is rather the mental distance, that is, the perception and categorization of the Other, which is decisive. The crucial point of the definition is that middle-distance relations are defined by the perceptions of historical actors.<sup>5</sup> Groups such as the Vikings or the Slavs, as representatives of an alien, in this case pagan, culture, were perceived as ones with which it was necessary to find a way to coexist more or less peacefully, but relations with them were never middle-distance relations, even during the periods where the peoples in question were geographically speaking neighbours of the Anglo-Saxons or of certain tribes of the Reich.

In the following paragraph I will explain how in middle-distance relations the perception and categorization of the Other differs from that in other forms of relations. Middle-distance relations should be distinguished from relations with neighbours, since in the latter case fixed images, that is, conceptions or ideas, of those neighbours existed, either because there was a good knowledge of the Other as a result of regular interaction or because images of the Other as enemies had developed. In the case of long-distance relations or relations with the wholly Other, there were also fixed images of the Other, although in these cases this was because little or no contact took place, and the degree of mutual influence was relatively low.

This paper argues that in the tenth century England and the Reich enjoyed a middle-distance relationship. It is necessary, however, to differentiate between the relations with England of different parts of the Reich. Despite the dividing sea, England's relations with Flanders were occasionally relations with neighbours, while by contrast those with the Duchy of Bavaria were sometimes long-distance relations. Furthermore, there were in the tenth-century Reich a number of clearly defined spaces, or 'islands' of Insular influence, which had for long enjoyed closer links with England than their surroundings, for example the former Anglo-Saxon mission-centres. Further, it should be borne in mind that relations which are defined by the historical actors on the basis of their perception and categorization of the Other, rather than purely by geographic distance, may change their character so that they cease to be middle-distance relations. The relationship we shall consider here between England and the Reich constituted more or less equal and more

<sup>5</sup> For this concept, cf. e.g. Alois Hahn, 'Die soziale Konstruktion des Fremden', in *Die Objektivität der Ordnungen und ihre kommunikative Konstruktion*, ed. by Walter M. Sprondel (Frankfurt a.M.: Suhrkamp, 1994), pp. 140–63.

or less conflict-free middle-distance relations.<sup>6</sup> It was most closely comparable to the relations between the Reich and Italy and the Papacy or Spain.

The purpose of this paper is not merely to describe the relations between England and the Reich in the tenth century or to categorize it in terms such as 'close', 'influential', or 'good', but rather to place in the foreground the uses to which the relations were put. Central to this inquiry is the question of what possibilities, actual or potential, were latent in encounters with the Other, and also what boundaries were involved in them. We shall therefore concern ourselves with how and why they were used as tools by historical actors such as individuals, groups, or institutions. We shall establish who acted in these relations, with what intentions, and what further interests lay behind their actions. This paper thus views the tenth-century relations between England and the Reich in the perspective of the history of communication, since the attitudes, considerations, and above all the rationale of the actors are at the centre of this analysis of the middle-distance relationship.

What then are the distinctive features of a middle-distance relation? Middle-distance relations can never be central to lines of argument or to the construction of identity or its manifestation, as in contrast to relations with neighbours only a small number of actors are affected, because no permanent contact takes place and the Other is not always manifest. In contrast to long-distance relations and relations with the wholly Other, the conception of the Other in middle-distance relations is not assigned to a fixed pattern and so is not clearly distinguished from oneself, whether as an enemy or as an attractive stranger. It is my thesis, then, that middle-distance relations are characterized on the one hand by a higher degree of instability, and on the other by a greater variability over time. They are more open, easier to reshape, and so much more dynamic. They were therefore very important to contemporaries as a means of pursuing their interests and of emphasizing their own viewpoints, or undercutting or altering the viewpoints of those with whom they were in the relationship. The use of middle-distance relations in communicative situations is therefore very attractive because of its variability, but equally, its instability makes it problematic.

<sup>6</sup> On the level of rulers there was little conflict to be observed in the tenth century; possibly one might mention the operation of an English fleet during the Lotharingian conflict in 939. The significance of the *imperium* and a resulting conflict of status was overemphasized by older German research; cf. Dieter Berg, 'Imperium und Regna: Beiträge zur Entwicklung der deutsch-englischen Beziehungen im Rahmen der auswärtigen Politik der römischen Kaiser und deutschen Könige im 12. und 13. Jahrhundert', in *'Bündnissysteme' und 'Außenpolitik' im späteren Mittelalter*, ed. by Peter Moraw, *Zeitschrift für historische Forschung*, 5 (Berlin: Duncker and Humblot, 1988), pp. 13–38.

An awareness of middle-distance relations, and specifically of the possible uses to which they could be put, makes it possible, in the case study of the relations between the Anglo-Saxons and the Reich in the tenth century or the experiences of Anglo-Saxons in the Reich in that period, to understand a number of remarkable details of connections which up until now have not been understood by researchers, because they had not considered that the historical actors were acting in the context of middle-distance relations. These details may include individual events or items of interest, such as, for example, forms of agreement between rulers, the use of national designations, or the treatment of manuscripts. However, at the centre of this investigation, and forming the structure of this paper, are the following questions relating to the three important levels on which the actors acted or which were created, defined, confirmed, and altered through their actions. Firstly, how did individuals, social groups, and institutions construct 'translocal social spaces', that is, spaces for social interaction which transcended their immediate local areas? Secondly, what role did the encounters between England and the Reich play in the formation of those premodern nations and states? Thirdly, what role did they play in the construction of a culture perceived as common to western Christendom (*Christianitas*) and distinct from that of the pagans?<sup>7</sup>

In the tenth century, these three levels in the relations between England and the Reich were subject to a very particular dynamic and an intense process of transformation as mobility and therefore the number of contacts increased.<sup>8</sup> Moreover, the century saw the beginnings of the formation of premodern nations and states,<sup>9</sup> and

<sup>7</sup> The development of historical research on border areas and zones of transmission in recent years is summarized by Florin Curta, 'Introduction', in *Borders, Barriers, and Ethnogenesis: Frontiers in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages*, ed. by Florin Curta, Studies in the Early Middle Ages, 12 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005), pp. 1–9 (pp. 2–5); on premodern nations, cf. Bernd Schneidmüller, 'Von der deutschen Verfassungsgeschichte zur Geschichte der politischen Ordnungen und Identitäten im europäischen Mittelalter', *Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft*, 53 (2005), 485–500; and on the historical investigation of Latin *christianitas* in the Middle Ages since the 1950s, see Klaus Herbers, 'Europa und seine Grenzen im Mittelalter', in *Grenzüberschreitungen im Vergleich: Der Osten und der Westen des mittelalterlichen Lateineuropa*, ed. by Klaus Herbers and Nicholas Jaspert, Europa im Mittelalter: Abhandlungen und Beiträge zur historischen Komparatistik, 7 (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2007), pp. 21–41.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Stéphane Lebecq and Alban Gautier in this volume.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. note 28 below.

both England and the Reich entered a phase of differentiating themselves from the pagans with whom they had had closer encounters earlier in this century.<sup>10</sup>

The construction of translocal social spaces can, to turn to the first question, be clearly demonstrated from the best-known example of contact between England and the Reich in the tenth century, the marriage between the future emperor Otto I and King Æthelstan's half-sister Edith in 929. The initiative for the marriage was probably that of the emperor of the Reich, Henry I,<sup>11</sup> but it was clearly used by both sides to define new middle-distance relations, as there is unlikely to have been much contact at the royal level between Wessex and the East Franks before this point. This new definition can be seen in the way in which both rulers, but probably chiefly King Æthelstan, used many different methods to construct the relationship, thereby trying to use the variability and openness of the middle-distance relations while preventing them from quickly becoming unstable.

As a particular mark of honour, King Æthelstan sent Cenwald, one of his closest confidants, to the Reich (929–30),<sup>12</sup> with the task of visiting all the important monasteries and probably also some bishops' churches, 'omnibus monasteriis per totam Germaniam' as a record in the monastery of St Gallen says,<sup>13</sup> doubly stressing the comprehensive nature of the emissary's tour. Cenwald was sent to deliver gifts from the King to these spiritual institutions, as well as creating social relationships through confraternity, so that the Anglo-Saxons, who were in fact aliens, became members of spiritual communities in the Reich. According to surviving confraternity books from St Gallen and Reichenau, not only the members of the delegation themselves, Cenwald's family, and the King, but also the leaders of the Anglo-Saxon clergy were enrolled in these books<sup>14</sup> in order to create a bond between the churches of the two kingdoms. So the definition of this new relationship took several different, old and new forms, including the usual exchange of gifts and the marriage itself, as well as the systematic use of confraternity ('*omnibus*

<sup>10</sup> Cf. e.g. *Cultures in Contact: Scandinavian Settlement in England in the Ninth and Tenth Centuries*, ed. by Dawn M. Hadley and Julian D. Richards, *Studies in the Early Middle Ages*, 2 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2000).

<sup>11</sup> On the embassy of Henry I, see Hrotsvitha, *Gesta Ottonis*, pp. 278–79 (vv. 73–101).

<sup>12</sup> On Cenwald's closeness to the King and on the date of his visit, see Wolfgang Georgi, 'Bischof Keonwald von Worcester und die Heirat Ottos I. mit Edgitha im Jahre 929', *Historisches Jahrbuch*, 115 (1995), 1–40 (p. 30).

<sup>13</sup> Simon Keynes, 'King Aethelstan's Books', in *LLASE*, pp. 143–210 (fig. no. XIII, ed. and trans. at pp. 198–99).

<sup>14</sup> Keynes, 'King Aethelstan's Books', figs XIII and XV, ed. and trans. at pp. 198–200.

monasteriis per *totam* Germaniam') and the connection of the churches of the Reich and England, represented in the inscribed Anglo-Saxon names and the phrase 'omnibus monasteriis per totam *Germaniam*'. This search for new forms, encouraged by the variability of middle-distance relations, can also be seen in the fact that King Æthelstan sent two of his half-sisters to the Reich, and allowed the Ottonian rulers of the Reich the choice of bride.<sup>15</sup>

King Æthelstan's actions, especially his use of new methods of establishing relationships, not only resulted in the promotion of personal ties and social networks, but created a new translocal social space transcending the individual encounters of the actors and their social bonds. This space, understood in social as well as geographic terms, neither was geographically identical with England and the Reich nor did it correspond only to the social relations between them, even if they remained central points of reference within it. The translocal social space created by Cenwald's journey and Edith's marriage was the precondition for and framework within which later contact took place, though because of its inherent instability it could only be preserved from dissolution by new actions to sustain relations. This is shown by later embassies,<sup>16</sup> by the exchange of two books between Emperor Otto I and King Æthelstan, probably in the 930s,<sup>17</sup> as well as by an entry for Edmund, king of Wessex (939–46), in the confraternity book of the monastery of Pfäfers, which Archbishop Oda of Canterbury (941–58) had requested to be made, perhaps during his journey to Rome in the 940s, at the King's wish.<sup>18</sup> In contrast to comparable entries, it opens with a reference to the late King Æthelstan and so makes an explicitly stated connection to the creation of the translocal social space in 929. Archbishop Oda's visit to Pfäfers used and expanded this space; the mention of King Æthelstan also attempted to ensure its continuing existence despite its instability. That instability can be seen around 980, when Matilda, Edith's granddaughter and the Abbess of Essen, sent her famous inquiry to England as to the by then forgotten history of her branch of the family.<sup>19</sup> Here we see not only the variability and the opportunities offered by the creation of this translocal social space, but also its varying uses, for Matilda probably wanted to use the integration of Anglo-Saxon elements into her past to enter into competition

<sup>15</sup> On the two sisters, see Hrotsvitha, *Gesta Ottonis*, pp. 279–80 (vv. 111–20).

<sup>16</sup> A survey of the embassies can be found in Leyser, 'The Ottonians and Wessex', pp. 92–97.

<sup>17</sup> See below, p. 65.

<sup>18</sup> Keynes, 'King Aethelstan's Books', fig. XVI, ed. and trans. at p. 201.

<sup>19</sup> Æthelweard, *Chronicle*, pp. 1–2.

with the historiographical efforts of Gandersheim and Quedlinburg, the other two convents led by members of the royal family.<sup>20</sup>

The creation of a still more extensive translocal social space through an encounter may be seen in Dunstan's exile in the abbey of Saint Peter's in Gent in 956, from which a long-term network of relations arose, consisting, especially before the millennium, of a number of different forms of bond exploited by the various actors.<sup>21</sup> In addition to the central Canterbury-Gent axis, the network extended for example to Winchester, Brugge, Egmond, Liège, Trier, Mettlach, and Echternach. This space was given an appreciable degree of stability by its central point in Gent and in particular Saint Peter's Abbey, on which many of the activities converged or at which they were initiated, and which was able to win a prominent place in English affections. This can be seen in the fact that the monastery is named and praised alongside the monastery of Fleury-sur-Loire as a source of advice in the compilation of the *Regularis Concordia*; it was the only Continental institution to possess lands in England before 1066; and it is the only monastery the name of which is entered in majuscules in the *Liber Vitae* of New Minster, Winchester.<sup>22</sup>

In this connection it is appropriate to mention briefly the phenomenon of individuals who spent their careers crossing borders and whom German scholars have called *Grenzgänger*.<sup>23</sup> *Grenzgänger* used the variability of middle-distance relations to their own advantage, and thus also increased the stability of the translocal social space. In the space of this type created between England and the Reich, we can find several examples of *Grenzgänger*, who were particularly able to exploit

<sup>20</sup> On Mathilda of Essen as patron, see Elisabeth M. C. van Houts, 'Women and Writing of History in the Early Middle Ages: The Case of Abbess Matilda of Essen and Aethelweard', *EME*, 1 (1992), 53–68 (pp. 60–61).

<sup>21</sup> On Dunstan's exile, see Douglas Dales, *Dunstan: Saint and Statesman* (Cambridge: Lutterworth, 1988), pp. 41–48. There had undoubtedly been previous contact between England and the monasteries in Gent, for example the support provided to the abbey of Saint Peter's by Alfred's daughter Ælfthryth/Elfrude, the wife of Baldwin II; around 940 an Anglo-Saxon is attested in the monastery of Saint-Bavo; cf. *Ex miraculis et translationibus sancti Bavonis*, ed. by Oswald Holder-Egger, MGH, SS, 15.2 (Hannover: Hahn, 1888), pp. 589–99 (p. 594).

<sup>22</sup> Instances: *Regularis Concordia Anglicae Nationis Monachorum Sanctimonialiumque: The Monastic Agreement of the Monks and Nuns of the English Nation*, ed. by Dom Thomas Symons (London: Nelson, 1953), p. 3; Sawyer, no. 728; Jan Gerchow, *Die Gedenküberlieferung der Angelsachsen: Mit einem Katalog der libri vitae und Necrologien*, Arbeiten zur Frühmittelalterforschung, 20 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1988), p. 323.

<sup>23</sup> On the concept of the 'Grenzgänger', see *Grenzgänger zwischen Kulturen*, ed. by Monika Fludernik and Hans-Joachim Gehrke, Identitäten und Alteritäten, 1 (Würzburg: Ergon, 1999).



its potential. As well as the Anglo-Saxon Lioffin, who was a monk in Gent, abbot in Mettlach, and a monk in Echternach,<sup>24</sup> we should also remember Dunstan's first biographer, known only by his initial, B.<sup>25</sup> Historians have frequently attempted to discover his origins and have suspected that they lay in Saxony, or Flanders, or Lotharingia, or England.<sup>26</sup> However, as the autograph of B's first version of his *Vita Sancti Dunstani* is lost, and we only possess copies which were possibly altered by correctors or scribes, the hagiographer's origins will probably never be recovered. Yet it is far more important for the understanding of the text that B wrote the *Vita* as a *Grenzgänger* who can be located in the translocal social space which his subject Dunstan had created. This interpretation may be supported by a letter, which modern scholars still attribute to B, in which the author never defines himself by his geographical, ethnic, or national origins, but rather by placing himself with reference to patronage relationships and a net of intellectual connections between pupils, teachers, libraries, and the works which they contained.<sup>27</sup>

So far, I have shown how active individuals were able to use the variability of middle-distance relations in the context of translocal social spaces, and how they tried to minimize their instability. Let me now turn to the second question, that of the function of middle-distance relations between England and the Reich in the process of premodern nation-building. Scholars have until recently tended to view nation-building in the two states as separate processes, and have sought the foundation of national identity in the kings and courts of England and the Reich in isolation from each other.<sup>28</sup> In the following, the nation-building process will be

<sup>24</sup> Most recently on Lioffin, see Stefan Flesch, 'Egbert, Trier, Gent und Egmond', in *In het spoor van Egbert: Aartsbisschop Egbert van Trier, de bibliotheek en geschiedschrijving van het klooster Egmond*, ed. by G. N. M. Vis, Egmondse Studiën, 3 (Hilversum: Verloren, 1997), pp. 13–24; and Michael Hare, 'Abbot Leofsig of Mettlach: An English Monk in Flanders and Upper Lotharingia in the Late Tenth Century', *ASE*, 33 (2004), 109–44.

<sup>25</sup> Most recently on B, see Michael Lapidge, 'B. and the Vita S. Dunstani', in *Dunstan LTC*, pp. 247–49; and Michael Winterbottom, 'The Earliest Life of St Dunstan', *Scripta Classica Israelica*, 19 (2000), 163–79.

<sup>26</sup> Saxony: William Stubbs, 'Introduction', in *Dunstan Memorials*, pp. i–cxiii (pp. xii–xxi); Flanders or Lotharingia: Ortenberg, *ECC*, pp. 6–7; England: Nicholas Brooks, *The Early History of the Church of Canterbury: Christ Church from 597 to 1066* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1984), p. 246; and Lapidge, 'B. and the Vita S. Dunstani', p. 249.

<sup>27</sup> *Dunstan Memorials*, pp. 385–88. On the exchange of letters between the abbots of Flemish monasteries and the archbishops of Canterbury, see Steven Vanderputten, 'Canterbury and Flanders in the Late Tenth Century', *ASE*, 35 (2006), 219–44.

<sup>28</sup> As an example of English scholarship, see Sarah Foot, 'The Making of Angelcynn: English Identity before the Norman Conquest', *TRHS*, 6th ser., 6 (1996), 25–49; and for the German,

considered from the perspective of external relations, and will therefore be understood as a process by which both the self and the Other are constituted by recognition of and encounters with and exchange of artefacts and ideas with the Other. It was not, then, merely the centres of power and the political élites who steered the process of nation-building, but also a wider group of actors, that is, those who encountered the people of other premodern nations, used foreign artefacts from them, and recalled contacts with them in the past as part of the process.

Karl Leyser showed that in English sources a consciousness of a common ancestry of the Saxon inhabitants of the Reich and Anglo-Saxon inhabitants of England persisted into the tenth century.<sup>29</sup> However, although Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum*, which contained this idea, was frequently copied in the Reich, and although many reworkings of the Saxon tribal sagas also spread it, the common heritage was rarely mentioned further by German writers in the Reich. Anglo-Saxons like Edith, Cenwald, Lioffin, and Gregory were invariably referred to as *Angli*, that is, 'English', rather than 'Saxons' or 'Anglo-Saxons'. Despite the emergence of a Saxon tribal dukedom, and despite the Saxon royal dynasty in the Reich in the shape of the Ottonians, the notion of a common ethnic ancestry in Saxony and England was only ever deployed in very specific situations and played no great part in the nation-building in either state.<sup>30</sup>

Furthermore, it is striking that the Anglo-Saxons active in the Reich never mention their origins in the admittedly rare documents which they wrote themselves, as I shall discuss in the following paragraph. With regard to the abbots, Lioffin of Mettlach and Gregory of Einsiedeln, recent research has disproved the older theories that English influence can be found in the artistic and historiographical works supported by them, the monastic customaries they gave impetus to, or the manuscripts copied by their scriptoria.<sup>31</sup> The strongest link to England

Joachim Ehlers, 'Was sind und wie bilden sich nationes im mittelalterlichen Europa (10.–15. Jahrhundert)? Begriff und allgemeine Konturen', in *Mittelalterliche nationes – neuzeitliche Nationen: Probleme der Nationenbildung in Europa*, ed. by Almut Bues and Rex Rexheuser, Deutsches Historisches Institut Warschau, Quellen und Studien, 2 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1995), pp. 7–26.

<sup>29</sup> Leyser, 'The Ottonians and Wessex', p. 74.

<sup>30</sup> Leyser, 'The Ottonians and Wessex', p. 74, mentions just four records between 738 and the late eleventh century.

<sup>31</sup> Corrections to the older Lioffin scholarship are in Hare, 'Abbot Leofsige of Mettlach'; corrections to the older Gregory scholarship are in *Studien und Mitteilungen zur Geschichte des Benediktinerordens und seiner Zweige*, 107 (1996), 1–298.

is perhaps Gregory's deliberate choice of name, but by contrast Lioffin altered the spelling of his name in Mettlach to a more Continental-Germanic form.<sup>32</sup> Anglo-Saxons who remained in the Reich as wives or abbots, then, did not wish to put on display any connection to their birthplace, so that it can be assumed that there were more Anglo-Saxons in the Reich whose origins are now no longer visible. This rapid and total assimilation is further evidence for the instability of the relations between England and the Reich, so that those coming into the Reich from England so soon forgot — or at least came to disregard — their origins.

Since an examination of how Anglo-Saxons in the Reich represented themselves shows that their origins were only rarely mentioned, and when they were, it was for reasons of self-interest, it is necessary to analyse in the following section how others perceived them, in order to define the use of middle-distance relations between England and the Reich. The question of whether one can speak of a flowering of the monastery at Mettlach at the end of the tenth century, when the Anglo-Saxon Lioffin was abbot, must remain open.<sup>33</sup> A description of the deeds of the abbots from the 1070s celebrates him as a great reformer, in particular contrast to his predecessor and successor.<sup>34</sup> This short report probably tells us very little about the reality of the tenth century, but much about the appropriation of the abbot for the reforming ambitions of its anonymous author. The latter set out four lines of argument to characterize Lioffin as a reformer. First, he mentioned his English origins, then he described his alleged profession as a doctor, who healed the sickened abbey. Following this, he described Lioffin's period of office, using the *topoi* of the reforming abbot. Finally, reform was manifested in his building activities, as Lioffin pulled down the incomplete, meagre building of his predecessor and put up a splendid church in its place, which, so the author informs us, was still standing in his day.

Lioffin's English origins formed only one line of argument, but they gain a greater meaning when one considers the perception of the Anglo-Saxons in the

<sup>32</sup> Hare, 'Abbot Leofsige of Mettlach', p. 131.

<sup>33</sup> A flowering of Mettlach Abbey under Lioffin was postulated by Theo Raach, *Kloster Mettlach/Saar und sein Grundbesitz: Untersuchungen zur Frühgeschichte und zur Grundherrschaft der ehemaligen Benediktinerabtei im Mittelalter*, Quellen und Abhandlungen zur mittelhessischen Kirchengeschichte, 19 (Mainz: Selbstverlag der Gesellschaft für mittelhessische Kirchengeschichte, 1974), p. 59.

<sup>34</sup> *Ex miraculis sancti Liutwini auctore monacho Mediolacensi*, ed. by Heinrich Volbert Sauerland, MGH, SS, 15 (Hannover: Hahn, 1888), pp. 1261–68 (p. 1265); trans. in Hare, 'Abbot Leofsige of Mettlach', pp. 112–13.

Reich, which is made explicit in the portrayal of Gregory, abbot of Einsiedeln in the last third of the tenth century. During his term of office, the monastery was a centre of reform in the south-west of the Reich. Recent research has succeeded in showing that the impressive activity of the scriptorium and the historians of the monastery had less to do with the initiative of St Wolfgang, a schoolmaster in Einsiedeln (964/66–72) and a widely known saint, than with the leadership of Abbot Gregory.<sup>35</sup> From an early period, countless pieces of evidence show that Gregory was culted as a saint in the surrounding region.<sup>36</sup> In one epitaph, written shortly after his death in 996 and attributed to his successor, his origins are given a central role.<sup>37</sup> The poem, which takes as its theme the eternal fame which is the reward for Gregory's deeds, is constructed as a series of eight lines which parallel each other. The first and last are linked by the use of Gregory's name; the second, which mentions the English origins of the abbot ('Flos Angliae stirpis'), has its parallel in the penultimate one, which speaks of the actions of the angels ('Creditor angelicis psiches subvecta ministris | Gregorii patris sedibus aetheriis'), who were believed to have brought Gregory's soul to God. The connection between *Angli* ('English') and angels, popularized by Bede among others, is used to single out the Anglo-Saxons from the other Christian peoples as a people with a special connection to God. This idea is applied by the epitaph's author to Abbot Gregory and serves to contribute to his glorification, which also serves the ends of the abbots and the monastery itself. Furthermore, in the *vita* of St Wolfgang, composed around 1050 by Otloh of Saint-Emmeram, Gregory's origins also play a prominent role.<sup>38</sup> It is enough for the author to mention Gregory's English origins and to refer

<sup>35</sup> Anton von Euw, 'Die Einsiedler Buchmalerei zur Zeit des Abtes Gregor (964–996)', *Studien und Mitteilungen zur Geschichte des Benediktinerordens und seiner Zweige*, 107 (1996), 183–241 (p. 206), with reference to manuscript production, or *Die Annalen des Klosters Einsiedeln: Edition und Kommentar*, ed. by Conradin von Planta, MGH, SS rer. Germ., 78 (Hannover: Hahn, 2007), pp. 105–11, with reference to historiography.

<sup>36</sup> The instances are collected in *Frühe Klöster, die Benediktiner und Benediktinerinnen in der Schweiz*, Helvetia Sacra, 3.1 (Bern: Francke, 1986), p. 551.

<sup>37</sup> *Die Ottonenzeit*, ed. by Karl Strecker, MGH, Poet. Lat., 5. 1–2 (Leipzig: Hiersemann, 1937), p. 331. Trans.: 'Abbot Gregory, gleaming in shining fame | flower of an English stem, outstanding in his achievements, | had, when he died on the eighth day of November, | earned heaven for his spirit and for his bones this memorial, | as reward for his deeds, | he now rejoicing enjoys the highest happiness. | Angels' hands, as we believe, brought the soul | of Father Gregory to the heavenly throne.'

<sup>38</sup> *Othloni vita sancti Wolfkangi episcopi*, ed. by Georg Waitz, MGH, SS, 4 (Hannover: Hahn, 1841), pp. 521–42 (p. 530). Trans.: 'The servant of God [Wolfgang] resolved to go [to Einsiedeln],

to his conscious decision to spend his life in the monastery, as a result of which he left behind his fatherland, family, and fiancée, in order to evoke for his readers the image of Gregory as a model abbot. Both Lioffin and Gregory were perceived within the Reich as reformers and exemplary abbots, and this was underlined by reference to their origins. The abbots' descent from the English, the very model of a Christian people, is used to promote different and specific interests: in the case of Lioffin's *vita* the cause of reform, in that of Gregory's epitaph the prestige of the monastery, and in the *vita* of St Wolfgang the glorification of the saint.

The image of the Anglo-Saxons as exemplary Christians can be found in countless early medieval sources in the Reich. At the beginning of the eleventh century, Thietmar of Merseburg devoted a remarkably long section of his chronicle to this theme (Bk VII, chs 36–43), in which he holds up to his audience the example of the *Angli* in their fight against the pagans.<sup>39</sup>

In Thietmar's work, but also in the *vita* of Saint Ursula of Cologne, Dunstan, archbishop of Canterbury (959–88), has a central role.<sup>40</sup> While the reference to Dunstan as the narrator of the *vita* can be explained in relation to either the *passio* of Edmund, king and martyr of East Anglia, by Abbo of Fleury, or a probable author of Flanders, who adored Dunstan after his exile in Gent, it is harder to explain why Thietmar either ignorantly or deceitfully gave an eleventh-century Archbishop of Canterbury the name 'Dunsten' (Bk VII, ch. 42). Be that as it may, Thietmar lets Dunstan die a martyr's death and stylizes him as a saint (Bk VII, ch. 43), prominent in the ranks of the mostly exemplary Anglo-Saxons described in the preceding lines (Bk VII, chs 36–41).<sup>41</sup> Given this background, Henry I's wish to win an Anglo-Saxon princess as a wife for his son can be seen as not primarily related to internal or foreign policy considerations but more to the high reputation which Anglo-Saxons enjoyed in the Reich. This is evidenced not just by

because it was well known that the Rule was strictly observed there. At that time the monks of that place were led by a spiritual father, Gregory by name, who came of the race of the Angles, and as a youth had left his fatherland, parents, and betrothed in order to enter the monastery. It is unnecessary to describe his life of obedience to the rule here, as we do not wish to stray from our theme.'

<sup>39</sup> *Thietmar* (Holtzmann), pp. 442–50; trans.: *Thietmar* (Warner), pp. 332–38. A more detailed study of the passages of Thietmar's Chronicle relating to the Anglo-Saxons is in Bihrer, 'Verwobene Konstellationen'.

<sup>40</sup> Wilhelm Levison, *Das Werden der Ursula Legende*, Sonderausgabe aus Heft 132 der Bonner Jahrbücher (Cologne: Ahn, 1928), p. 144.

<sup>41</sup> For a detailed description, see Bihrer, 'Verwobene Konstellationen', p. 56.

some adoring comments of Hrotsvitha of Gandersheim, but also in the essential role of Ottonian women with regard to personal salvation and the memoria of the royal family, and above all the honouring of Edith as a saint.<sup>42</sup>

The previous illustrations have shown how authors in the Reich made use of the potential of middle-distance relations. A pronounced interest in the image of the angelic Anglo-Saxons as a particularly exemplary Christian people is evident, was used with a high degree of variability, and could be adapted to the individual needs of authors. This image of the Anglo-Saxons was neither fixed nor the only one in existence, as other depictions, such as those by Ekkehard of St Gallen (*Casus Sancti Galli*, 81) and Widukind of Corvey (*Res gestae Saxoniae*, I, 6–8) or the negative stereotypes in the characterization of peoples of Late Antiquity show.<sup>43</sup> However, the exemplary character of the Anglo-Saxons leads into my third question: what role did middle-distance relations play in the construction of a culture perceived as common to western Christendom? Here we should, as the previous examples show, distance ourselves from simplified ideas such as that of a cultural gradient or an uncritical acceptance of exported goods.<sup>44</sup> It has been shown, in particular by new research on the circle of King Alfred the Great (871–99),<sup>45</sup> that reception of culture is not a passive process but rather one of creative appropriation, which is

<sup>42</sup> Cf. Hrotsvitha, *Gesta Ottonis*, pp. 289–90 (vv. 395–417); on the role of Ottonian queens, see most recently Ludger Körntgen, ‘Starke Frauen: Edgith – Adelheid – Theophanu’, in *Otto der Große: Magdeburg und Europa. Katalog der 27. Ausstellung des Europarates und Landesausstellung Sachsen-Anhalt*, vol. 1: *Essays*, ed. by Matthias Puhle (Mainz: P. von Zabern, 2001), pp. 119–32; on the veneration of Edith, see Patrick Corbet, *Les Saints ottoniens: sainteté dynastique, sainteté royale et sainteté féminine autour de l’an Mil*, Beihefte der Francia, 15 (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1986), pp. 47–50. According to the twelfth-century novel *Herzog Ernst B*, Edith came from ‘Engelland’: *Herzog Ernst*, ed. by Karl Bartsch (Vienna: Braumüller, 1869), p. 19 (vv. 236–39).

<sup>43</sup> Arno Borst, *Der Turmbau von Babel: Geschichte der Meinungen über Ursprung und Vielfalt der Sprachen und Völker*, vol. II.1 (Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 1958); or Paul Meyvaert, ‘Rainaldus est malus scriptor Francigenus: Voicing National Antipathy in the Middle Ages’, *Speculum*, 66 (1991), 743–63.

<sup>44</sup> On the concept ‘transferts culturels’ and the status of research, see Michel Espagne, ‘Der theoretische Stand der Kulturtransferforschung’, in *Kulturtransfer: Kulturelle Praxis im 16. Jahrhundert*, ed. by Wolfgang Schmale, Wiener Schriften zur Geschichte der Neuzeit, 2 (Innsbruck: Studien, 2003), pp. 63–75.

<sup>45</sup> Cf. e.g. Paul E. Szarmach, ‘Alfred, Alcuin, and the Soul’, in *Manuscript, Narrative, Lexicon: Essays on Literacy and Cultural Transmission in Honor of Whitney F. Bolton*, ed. by Robert Boenig and Kathleen Davis (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 2000), pp. 127–48; or David Pratt, *The Political Thought of King Alfred the Great*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought, 4th ser., 67 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007).

actively influenced by the interests of the recipients. In many cases, as can be seen for example in that of the *Regularis Concordia*,<sup>46</sup> it was the result of deliberate and considered decisions by contemporaries. The idea of a one-sided ‘cultural gradient’ with an inevitable flow of influence from the supposedly more highly developed Continent to the rapidly developing England must be reconsidered, and we must rather ask why the acceptance of alien products in England and in the Reich was used as a means to advance personal interests. Furthermore, it is often problematic to link objects passing between the two states, such as manuscripts or objets d’art, with specific actors such as Cenwald or Dunstan.<sup>47</sup> It is also impossible to show that these two Anglo-Saxon clerics first encountered the reform movement on the Continent rather than in England, or were first given the impulse to work towards it in England during their stay on the Continent.<sup>48</sup> But future research could give a central place to the question of how actors in middle-distance relations exploited its variability in exchanges and tried to limit its instability.

A good example of this is the well-known manuscript exchange between Emperor Otto I and King Æthelstan. Between 929 or 936 and 939 Otto donated a Carolingian Evangeliary from Lobbes to the King of Wessex (BL, MS Cotton Tiberius A II) and Æthelstan sent an Evangeliary of the Metz school to the Otto-nian court (Coburg, Landesbibliothek, MS 1).<sup>49</sup> Here more was at stake than the creation of a translocal social space — it was also an attempt to define the roles of the two rulers and to fix their status both on a national level and within western Christendom. The English king gave the Carolingian Evangeliary donated to him by Otto to the convent of Christ Church Canterbury and had the folios of the rather humble manuscript decorated and given an impressive decorative binding. On folio 15, a notice recording his donation of the book and a poem celebrate this enhancement of the manuscript’s value, while the memorial inscription in a prominent place at the beginning of the Evangeliary text for Otto and his mother

<sup>46</sup> *Regularis Concordia*, ed. by Symons, pp. 3–4.

<sup>47</sup> In contrast to the older scholarship, Nicholas Brooks merely connects the continental influences in Dunstan’s handwriting with his exile; see Nicholas Brooks, ‘The Career of St Dunstan’, in *St Dunstan*, ed. by Lapidge, pp. 1–23 (pp. 16–17). David N. Dumville, *English Caroline Script and Monastic History: Studies in Benedictinism, AD 950–1030*, Studies in Anglo-Saxon History, 6 (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1993), p. 51, is sceptical even in that regard.

<sup>48</sup> The characterization by Robinson, *TSD*, pp. 109–11, which many later scholars followed, was most influential here.

<sup>49</sup> On BL, MS Cotton Tiberius A II, and Coburg, Landesbibliothek, MS 1, see Keynes, ‘King Æthelstan’s Books’, pp. 147–53, 189–93.

also reminds the reader of the connection to the Reich. The history of the manuscript is a good example of how the use of transferred objects in 'productive appropriation', that is, the decoration, and the exploitation of their potential, in this case the manuscript's use as a further gift, was characterized by variability arising from the needs of the user, in this case Æthelstan's need for prestige. It is true that the memorial preserved the memory of Otto I, but the gift of the manuscript by him to Æthelstan was mentioned neither in the notice of Æthelstan's subsequent donation of the book nor in the poem, and so was forgotten, which underlines the instability of the relations between England and the Reich.

The premise of this investigation was the characterization of the interactions between England and the Reich in the tenth century as middle-distance relations. I have shown that this premise, which causes us to concentrate on the two most important characteristics of these relations, variability and instability, can provide more useful explanations for the perceptions, utterances, and actions of historical actors such as Æthelstan and Dunstan, or Otto I and Thietmar of Merseburg. This opens new perspectives on the sources and on peculiarities discussed by scholars and not yet satisfactorily interpreted, such as the sending of two brides to the Reich by Æthelstan for the Emperor to choose one of them, B's manner of presenting himself in his writings, or the image of the *Angli* as a particularly exemplary people. The relationship between England and the Reich in the tenth century can serve as an example of middle-distance relations, in which the functionality of the variability of such relations can be shown as related to the interests of those who were actively engaged in the relations. On the other hand, the instability of such relations is also apparent, whether on the level of translocal social spaces, premodern nations, or the idea of a distinctive culture of western Christendom. In any case, it has been made plain that for tenth-century Anglo-Saxons, the risk of being beheaded in the Reich was lower than the risk of being sanctified.

Albert-Ludwigs-Universität Freiburg



# FLEMISH MONASTICISM, COMITAL POWER, AND THE ARCHBISHOPS OF CANTERBURY: A WRITTEN LEGACY FROM THE LATE TENTH CENTURY

Steven Vanderputten

When Philip Grierson published his seminal article ‘The Relations between England and Flanders before the Norman Conquest’ in 1941, his nearly exhaustive survey of contemporary sources showed that the subject is for the most part poorly documented.<sup>1</sup> When all forged or interpolated texts and documents composed in later centuries are left out of consideration, the number of contemporary witnesses is very small indeed, while their study is beset with a variety of problems relating to dating, authorship, and context. These remarks particularly apply to sources from the latter half of the tenth century, which have hitherto withstood attempts to use them to reconstruct the chronology of interaction between England and Flanders and to understand its implications.<sup>2</sup> Much of what is known about this period is dependent on a widely scattered range of documents and artefacts, almost none of which is very revealing in itself because of a lack of comparative material. As a result of this, and with the notable exception

This paper is based in part on my article ‘Canterbury and Flanders in the Late Tenth Century’, which appeared in *ASE*, 35 (2006), 219–44, and includes an edition and translation of the four letters discussed here as well as more extensive bibliographic references. I wish to thank the editors of *Anglo-Saxon England* for their permission to reproduce parts of the original text. My thanks also to Melissa Provijn for commenting on the draft of this paper.

<sup>1</sup> Philip Grierson, ‘The Relations between England and Flanders before the Norman Conquest’, *TRHS*, 4th ser., 23 (1941), 71–112; see also Ortenberg, *ECC*, pp. 21–40.

<sup>2</sup> Grierson, ‘Relations’, pp. 93–94. On the subject of relations between England and the Continent in general, see Jürgen Sarnowsky, ‘England und der Kontinent im 10. Jahrhundert’, *Historisches Jahrbuch*, 114 (1994), 45–84.

of codicologists and art historians, scholars working in the course of the decades after Grierson's paper was published have been unable to add much of substance to what tenth-century evidence he had presented in his article.<sup>3</sup>

Because interpretation poses such serious challenges, historians of the eleventh century have also been forced to write a history of Anglo-Flemish relations in that period without a clear understanding of its antecedents. A wealth of secondary literature has shown how, from the 1020s onwards, England and Flanders experienced a rapid intensification of their relations and a diversification of artistic, intellectual, and socio-economic exchanges.<sup>4</sup> Besides such well-known literary compositions as the *Encomium* for Queen Emma, written by a monk of the Flemish abbey of Saint-Bertin,<sup>5</sup> or the artistic exchanges that are clearly evident in manuscripts from the period, ample documentation of broader phenomena, such as the involvement of large numbers of Flemish noblemen in the conquest of England, shows that the commitment of England and Flanders to each other had by the later eleventh century become irrevocable. The seemingly instantaneous increase in the sophistication of these artistic and intellectual exchanges and the wide-ranging consequences of the political and economic relations make it evident to any observer that the origins of this intensification of relations must be sought in the preceding period. Yet to understand its underlying motives or even to convey the socio-political circumstances in which it took place has hitherto proven impossible, as the few remaining sources hardly seem to suggest that a privileged relation was in the making.

While some contemporary witnesses may still await discovery, the most promising way to offer some remedy to these problems is to return to Grierson's tenth- and early eleventh-century material and attempt to extricate more meaning from its contents. One of the means to achieve this end is to look at the sources not merely for what they can tell us about what was at stake in cross-Channel relations and what the significance of those relations was, but also for the information they provide regarding the Flemish or English context in which they originated. As far

<sup>3</sup> I refer to Richard Gameson's 'L'Angleterre et la Flandre aux X<sup>e</sup> et XI<sup>e</sup> siècle: le témoignage des manuscrits', in *Les Échanges culturels au Moyen Âge: XXXIX<sup>e</sup> Congrès de la SHMES (Université du Littoral Côte d'Opale, juin 2001)* (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 2002), pp. 165–206, for an excellent introduction to this particular field of study. Ortenberg's book, although valuable in itself, clearly attests to the fact that Grierson's work is not likely to be replaced in the near future.

<sup>4</sup> Grierson, 'Relations', pp. 95–100; Ortenberg, *ECC*, pp. 26–30; and more recently, Gameson, 'L'Angleterre'.

<sup>5</sup> *Encomium Emmae Reginae*, ed. by Alistair Campbell (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998).

as the County of Flanders is concerned, however, our knowledge of its history during the late tenth and early eleventh centuries is equally fragmented. For much of the period covered by this article, comital power was in a state of crisis, with Arnulf II, count of Flanders (976–88), losing much of his territory and with his successor Baldwin IV (988–1035) only starting to restore the county to its mid-ninth-century glory.<sup>6</sup> Charters issued by secular persons are rare, while the only narrative source of any importance for documenting this phase in the history of the county is the *Gesta episcoporum Cameracensium*, written in the early 1020s and determined in its ideology and outlook on society by the then current relations between the Bishop of Cambrai and the Count of Flanders, and by shifting power relations between the counts and the emerging lower nobility.<sup>7</sup>

But whereas contemporary sources directly associated with the Count's exercise of power and the workings of secular society are virtually non-existent, monastic archives do contain a number of records that have yet to be fully explored. Previous generations of scholars have already recognized the intimate relations between monastic houses and the comital family, finding ample evidence for the assumption that comital government drew heavily upon the ideological, administrative, political, and economic support of these institutions.<sup>8</sup> More recently, scholars have turned their attention to some of the less obvious products of monastic literary and artistic culture to understand what was happening in Flemish society.<sup>9</sup> Since this approach takes as its focus of interest sources whose relevance appears to be strictly confined to the monastic (or, at best, ecclesiastical) sphere, its value lies not so much in the promise of revealing unknown facts or in a groundbreaking synthesis of Flemish history. Rather, its primary purpose is to gain a better understanding of the county's internal dynamics and of the key role played by monastic institutions in the development of comital power.

<sup>6</sup> See Karine Ugé, *Creating the Monastic Past in Medieval Flanders* (Woodbridge: York Medieval Press, 2005), pp. 3–4, for an introduction to this subject and ample bibliographical references.

<sup>7</sup> *Gesta episcoporum Cameracensium*, ed. by L. C. Bethmann, MGH, SS, 7 (Hannover: Hahn, 1846), pp. 402–87. On the shifting power relations, see Steven Vanderputten, 'Fulcard's Pigsty: Cluniac Reformers, Dispute Settlement and the Lower Aristocracy in Early-Twelfth-Century Flanders', *Viator*, 38 (2007), 91–115.

<sup>8</sup> See Ugé, *Creating*.

<sup>9</sup> See, e.g., D. C. Van Meter, 'Count Baldwin IV, Richard of Saint-Vanne and the Inception of Monastic Reform in Eleventh-Century Flanders', *Revb*, 107 (1997), 130–48; Diane Reilly, *The Art of Reform in Eleventh-Century Flanders: Gerard of Cambrai, Richard of Saint-Vanne and the Saint-Vaast Bible* (Leiden: Brill, 2006); Ugé, *Creating*; and various publications by Georges Declercq and Brigitte Meijns.

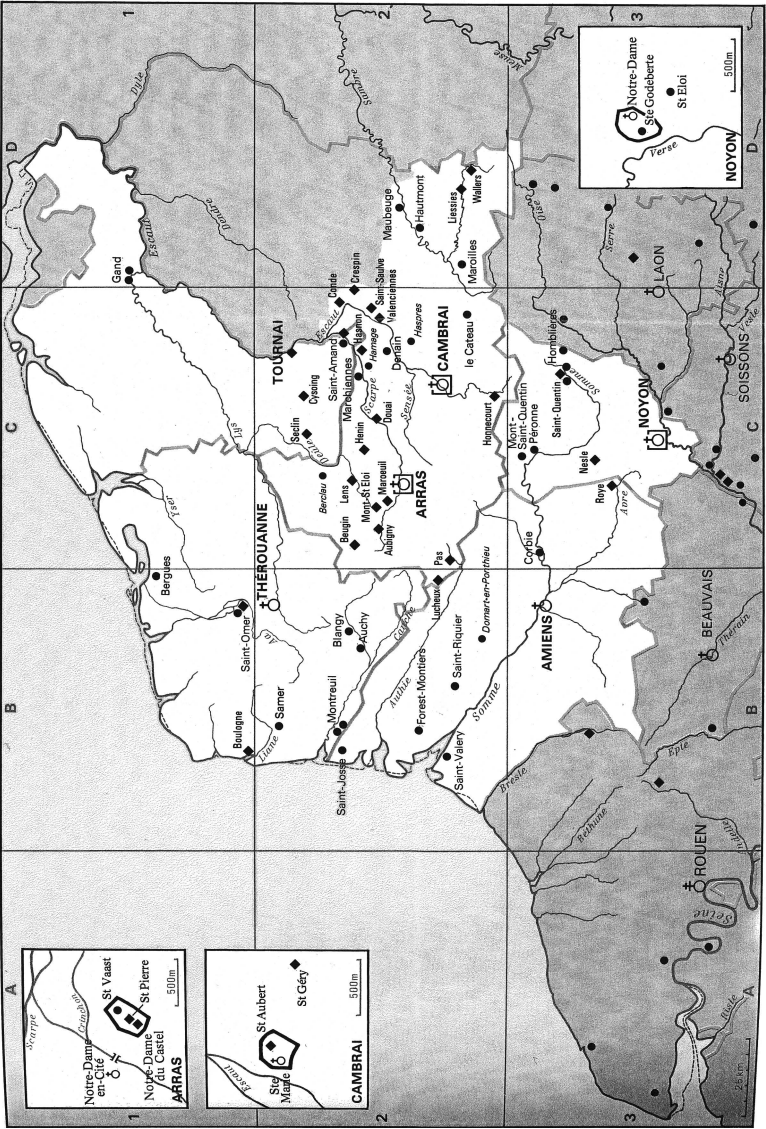
Progress in scholarship on this subject has thus been slowed and scaled down by necessity, as much of the available evidence calls for renewed scrutiny in the light of new questions. To illustrate my point, I shall look at a small collection of letters written by Flemish abbots to the archbishops of Canterbury between the years 980 and 991. Although deeply embedded in religious discourse and obscure because of the lack of context (or, for that matter, the lack of any copies of the replies from the archbishops), these documents are of vital importance to the study of the history of the County of Flanders, since they shed new light on comital politics and the attempts of monastic leaders to establish an international network around their institutions. With the counts aiming to restore their power and expand their influence in the western and southern parts of their territories, monastic institutions became a vital instrument in their attempts to establish regional and international networks. In at least one case, namely that of Saint-Vaast in Arras, managing a monastic network in a manner that was favourable to the count's and the monks' interests implied strategically shifting privileged relations from a Flemish ecclesiastical party to an English one. Other monastic houses nurtured a less aggressive attitude with regard to local hierarchies, but nevertheless maintained a relationship with England that was both beneficial to the financial and socio-political welfare of their own institutions and vital to consolidating the county's international position between the Kingdom of France and the Empire. As we shall see, however, subsequent generations of monks seem to have given little thought to the contribution of their communities to Flemish society.

### *Disrupted Monastic Memories of the Tenth and Early Eleventh Centuries*

From the late ninth century onwards, the history of monasticism in Flanders was interwoven with that of the emerging comital family.<sup>10</sup> Weakened by war, Viking attacks, and forced exile, monastic communities were unable to withstand the pressure of the counts who, drawing on the power of their family, were continuously seeking to establish institutional footholds on their territories. As early as the late ninth century, the counts took into their own hands the lay abbacy of Saint Peter's Abbey in Gent, while territorial expansion allowed Count Arnulf I (918–65) to take possession of the lay abbacy of Saint-Vaast in 932 and that of Saint-Bertin in 933 (see Map 3).<sup>11</sup> Over the next two decades, Arnulf vigorously supported a

<sup>10</sup> Ugé, *Creating*, pp. 2–3.

<sup>11</sup> Ugé, *Creating*, p. 4.



Map 3. Flanders c. 1000, from *Atlas de la France de l'an mil: état de nos connaissances*, ed. by Michel Parisse and Jacqueline Leuridan (Paris: Picard, 1994). Reproduced by permission of Messrs Picard.

campaign of monastic reform led by Abbot Gérard of Brogne, which extended to the abbeys of Saint Peter's in 941, Saint-Bertin shortly in 944, Saint-Bavon in 946/48, Saint-Ricquier in 948–51, Saint-Amand in 952, and Saint-Vaast in 954.<sup>12</sup> Yet in spite of the apparent success of these reforms, their results were in reality fairly limited. Although the Rule of Benedict was now the standard of communal life and the monks were free to elect their own leaders, the Count retained his right of approval in abbatial elections, restituted only part of the properties he and his father had alienated, and generally continued to benefit in various formal and informal ways from the wealth, administrative know-how, and intellectual expertise accumulated in these communities.<sup>13</sup>

Despite these limitations in the material and intellectual independence which the reforms conferred on the monasteries in which they were implemented, they did inspire other monastic communities to reassess their collective identity, while looking at the same time for ways to found it in a legitimizing past.<sup>14</sup> Cartularies,

<sup>12</sup> See A. Hodüm, 'La Réforme monastique d'Arnoul le Grand', *Bulletin trimestriel de la Société Académique des Antiquaires de la Morinie*, 18 (1957), 577–603; Gérard de Brogne et son oeuvre réformatrice: études publiées à l'occasion du millénaire de sa mort (959–1959) (Maredsous: Revb, 1960); Alain Dierkens, *Abbayes et chapitres entre Sambre et Meuse (VII<sup>e</sup>–XI<sup>e</sup> siècle): contribution à l'histoire religieuse des campagnes du Haut Moyen Âge* (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1985), pp. 229–46; Walter Mohr, *Studien zur Klosterreform des Grafen Arnulf I. von Flandern: Tradition und Wirklichkeit in der Geschichte der Amandus-Klöster* (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1992); and Daniel Misonne, 'Gérard de Brogne: Moine et réformateur († 959)', in *Dom Daniel Misonne: réformer monastiques entre Escaut et Moselle du X<sup>e</sup> au XII<sup>e</sup> siècle. Travaux réunis à l'occasion de ses 75 ans*, special issue, *Revb*, 111 (2001), 25–49, 287–94. S. Vanderputten and B. Meijns, 'Gérard de Brogne en Flandre: état de la question sur les réformes monastiques du dixième siècle', forthcoming in *Revue du Nord*.

<sup>13</sup> In the relatively peaceful middle years of Arnulf's government, religious communities became involved in the creative reassessment of the comital past. It was in this context that a priest named Witger compiled the Count's first written genealogy (ed. by G. H. Pertz, MGH, SS, 9 (Hannover: Hahn, 1851), pp. 302–04; see Eckhard Freise, 'Die Genealogia Arnulfi comitis des Priesters Witger', *FmaS*, 23 (1989), 203–43, and Geoffrey Koziol, 'What Charles the Simple Told the Canons of Compiègne: Oral and Written Transmissions of Memory in the *Genealogia Dictata a Karolo Rege*', in *Understanding Monastic Practices of Oral Communication (Western Europe, Tenth–Thirteenth Centuries)*, ed. by S. Vanderputten (forthcoming).

<sup>14</sup> For various approaches to the *mise en forme* of monastic memory, see Anne-Marie Helvétius, *Abbayes, évêques et laïques: une politique du pouvoir en Hainaut au Moyen Âge (VII<sup>e</sup>–XI<sup>e</sup> siècles)* (Brussels: Crédit Communal, 1994); Dominique Iogna-Prat, 'Les Lieux de mémoire du Cluny Médiéval (v. 940—v. 1200)', in *Au cloître et dans le monde: femmes, hommes et sociétés (IX<sup>e</sup>–XI<sup>e</sup> siècles). Mélanges en l'honneur de Paulette L'Hermite-Leclercq*, ed. by P. Henriot and A. M. Legras (Paris: Presses de l'Université de Paris-Sorbonne, 2000), pp. 103–17, and Georges Declercq, 'Originals and

abbatial *gesta*, and hagiographic narratives were all composed in response to this need, and the remarkable efforts invested in such works in the first decades following the reforms created an unprecedented body of narrative memorial texts. One example is that of Saint-Bertin, where in 961–62 the monk and historian Folcuin finished working on his cartulary-chronicle, which was essentially a carefully chosen selection of charters interspersed with narrative passages.<sup>15</sup> Although another important cartulary was produced in the early years of the reform at Saint Peter's, Folcuin's cartulary-chronicle was the first work to combine archival arguments with historical narrative. It constituted an enterprise in historical writing that remained unparalleled at the time and, one suspects, was considered a sophisticated attempt at fulfilling the monks' current memorial ambitions.<sup>16</sup> Heavily influenced by contemporary abbatial politics, Folcuin's work determined the vision of many a community's early history for centuries to come.

Although these writings were beneficial to the monks' efforts to create for themselves a collective identity and to shape or reshape their communal memory, such literary efforts were only in exceptional cases sustained over a long period of time. When Folcuin was appointed Abbot of Lobbes in 965, historical work at Saint-Bertin ground to a sudden halt. Only in the final years of the eleventh century did a monk named Simon of Gent publish a revised edition of Folcuin's original cartulary-chronicle along with a continuation taking the work up to his own time. In the prologue to this, Simon claimed that no information regarding the reigns of abbots could be found between the end of Folcuin's chronicle in 962 and 1021, when Roderic of Saint-Vaast once again reformed monastic discipline at Saint-Bertin.<sup>17</sup> The resulting gap in the monks' collective memory spanned no less than six decades and would never be remedied during the monastery's existence.<sup>18</sup>

Cartularies: The Organization of Archival Memory (Ninth–Eleventh Centuries)', in *Charters and the Use of the Written Word*, ed. by K. Heidecker (Turnhout: Brepols, 2000), pp. 147–70.

<sup>15</sup> The *gesta* are discussed in Steven Vanderputten, "'Literate Memory" and Social Reassessment in Tenth-Century Monasticism', *Mediaevistik*, 17 (2005), 65–94.

<sup>16</sup> Another important cartulary was produced in the early years of Saint Peter's reform: Georges Declercq, *Traditievorming en tekstmanipulatie in Vlaanderen in de tiende eeuw: Het 'Liber Traditionum Antiquus' van de Gentse Sint-Pietersabdij* (Brussels: Verhandelingen van de Koninklijke Academie voor Wetenschappen, Letteren en Schone Kunsten van België, Klasse der Letteren, 1998).

<sup>17</sup> 'nobis licet nihil sit compertum scriptu memorabile', ed. by O. Holder-Egger, MGH, SS, 15.1 (Hannover: Hahn, 1887), p. 635. See S. Vanderputten, 'Individual Experience, Collective Remembrance, and the Politics of Monastic Reform in High Medieval Flanders', *EME*, forthcoming.

<sup>18</sup> When John of Ypres published his version of the abbey's history in the late fourteenth century and was unable to add anything substantial to Simon's version of this phase in the abbey's

There are several explanations for this hazy outlook on two generations' worth of collective memory at Saint-Bertin. Fire raging through the monastic buildings around the year 1000 and again during the abbacy of Abbot Rodericus (1021–42) may have damaged the archives and the monastic library, although this is by no means certain.<sup>19</sup> More significant perhaps is Simon's seemingly topical remark that his predecessors had been negligent in preserving written evidence. Not only did the production of narrative and administrative documents go into a certain decline in the late tenth century, but there are also indications of an intensive process of archival selection taking place over the course of the eleventh century and affecting most profoundly the archives that postdated the compilation of cartularies such as the one of Saint-Bertin.<sup>20</sup> Because of the instability in the social structure of the time, not many laymen who had acted as patrons in the late tenth century could any longer match the status of the rulers and figures of authority from earlier times, and these laymen nearly all slipped from social prominence.<sup>21</sup> One can easily imagine that archivists and historians working several decades after the events saw the late tenth and early eleventh centuries as an intermediate period with protagonists of little historical consequence and legal and historical acts of little long-term pertinence, and therefore gave little priority to the preservation of documents from that period.<sup>22</sup> For those writing in the wake of a new wave of monastic reform, be it the one led by Richard of Saint-Vanne and his followers in the first half of the eleventh century<sup>23</sup> or the introduction of Cluniac customs in Flanders in the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries,<sup>24</sup> there must have been even less incentive to preserve the memory of these 'lost' decades. As early as the late eleventh century, the sixty years that separated Folcuin's last recorded events from the 1020s became known as a dark, uncharted, and perhaps even irrelevant phase of the monastic past.

history, he also blamed a lack of sources: 'de fine huius domini abbatis et aliis factis eius nichil habemus', ed. by O. Holder-Egger, MGH, SS, 25 (Hannover: Hahn, 1880), p. 779.

<sup>19</sup> See Ugé, *Creating*, p. 48.

<sup>20</sup> Steven Vanderputten, 'Transformations in Charter Production and Preservation During the "Iron Age" (Tenth–Early Eleventh Centuries): Some Evidence From Northern France and the Southern Low Countries', *Jaarboek voor Middeleeuwse Geschiedenis*, 7 (2004), 7–30.

<sup>21</sup> Although hardly a *mutation féodale*, these changes particularly affected the western and southern parts of the county; see, among others, Vanderputten, 'Fulcard's Pigsty'.

<sup>22</sup> Ugé, *Creating*, p. 48.

<sup>23</sup> Van Meter, 'Count Baldwin IV'.

<sup>24</sup> Vanderputten, 'Fulcard's Pigsty'.



Despite later generations' lack of interest in delving deeply into their late tenth- and early eleventh-century past, there are, however, some tantalizing shards of evidence suggesting that monastic institutions went through a time then that was far more eventful than scholars of Flemish monastic history have hitherto assumed. Manuscripts, charters, archaeological evidence, and brief references to monastic history in historiographical sources, to name but a few of these shards, all indicate that a number of monasteries had a vibrant existence and that their leaders fiercely defended their communities' interests. The examination of one group of Flemish letters, for instance, will show that the social networks in which the monks were involved were in a constant state of flux in this period, profoundly changing their material, intellectual, and artistic horizon.

### *The Letters from the Canterbury Letter-collection*

Because of the lack of narrative texts and substantial charter material, it is difficult to write a narrative account of Flemish history during the last decades of the tenth century and the early years of the eleventh. This makes it all the more remarkable that four letters written by three Flemish abbots to three successive archbishops of Canterbury in the years from 980 to 991 have until recently eluded close investigation. These documents are found among the Canterbury letters, a miscellaneous collection relating in various ways to the archbishops of Canterbury. Different selections from the collection were incorporated in two independent manuscripts of the first decade of the eleventh century.<sup>25</sup> Although clearly appreciative of the Flemish letters' importance, the compilers were not interested in elucidating their contents or in situating them in a clearly defined historical context. The point of the letters' inclusion was presumably the fact that they documented the archbishops' good relations with monastic houses on the Continent and their influence beyond the boundaries of their own archdiocese. Similar interests are reflected in modern scholarship. Since their first complete edition in Stubbs's *Memorials of Saint Dunstan* in 1874, these letters have been well known among historians of the archbishopric of Canterbury and its ecclesiastical, political, and cultural networks.<sup>26</sup> While these

<sup>25</sup> BL, MS Cotton Tiberius A XV and MS Cotton Vespasian A XIV, both of which are described in Caroline Brett, 'A Breton Pilgrim in England in the Reign of King Æthelstan: A Letter in British Library MS.Cotton Tiberius A.xv', in *France and the British Isles in the Middle Ages and Renaissance*, ed. by G. Jondorf and D. N. Dumville (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1991), pp. 43–70.

<sup>26</sup> *Dunstan Memorials*.

scholars have used the letters as examples of the archbishop's international status, none has tried to elucidate their meaning in a Flemish context. Historians from the Continent, for their part, consider them mere footnotes in the history of Flemish monasticism. We know nothing of the archbishops' replies to these letters, and not a single reference to the correspondence can be found in the archives of the monasteries concerned.

Four short letters do not constitute a particularly solid ground on which to base an investigation of monastic networking. Nevertheless, they are some of the most explicit and longest narrative texts to survive from this phase in Anglo-Flemish relations. In addition, they are among the most explicit contemporary sources to document the late tenth-century history of monasticism in Flanders or, for that matter, Flemish society in general. Even though the most recent letter is at most ten years later than the earliest, the four letters between them contain references to several distinct episodes in the internal affairs of the county. Because of this, it is rewarding to discuss them chronologically.

### **The Letter from Abbot Wido of Saint Peter's at Gent to Dunstan, Archbishop of Canterbury**

The first letter was one from Abbot Wido of Saint Peter's at Gent to Dunstan, archbishop of Canterbury (959–88), and is to be dated between the autumn of 980 and September 986.<sup>27</sup> Although English influences at Saint Peter's can be traced as early as the eighth century, relations between the abbey and England had become a significant political issue when Count Arnulf offered Dunstan asylum there after an altercation between the Archbishop and King Eadwig in 956.<sup>28</sup> After his return to England in 957 and subsequent election as Archbishop of Canterbury in 959, Dunstan was instrumental in promoting a more positive image of the County of Flanders at the English court.<sup>29</sup> It seems beyond reasonable doubt that he was supported in his efforts by the Count himself, who sent at least one diplomatic mission to England in 961–62 in an attempt to restore diplomatic relations with

<sup>27</sup> The most recent edition is in Vanderputten, 'Canterbury', pp. 236–38.

<sup>28</sup> Grierson, 'Relations', pp. 88–89, and Nicholas P. Brooks, 'The Career of St. Dunstan', in *Dunstan LTC*, pp. 1–23 (pp. 14–18).

<sup>29</sup> Dorothy Whitelock, 'The Appointment of Dunstan as Archbishop of Canterbury', in Whitelock, *History, Law and Literature in 10th–11th-Century England* (London: Variorum Reprints, 1981), no. IV, pp. 232–47.

the King and quite possibly find an ally against the King of France.<sup>30</sup> A suspect charter dated to 964 also purports to preserve the memory of a substantial donation of landed property by King Edgar to the monks of Saint Peter's at Gent.<sup>31</sup>

That Dunstan undertook initiatives to introduce Continental monastic practices is shown by the fact that together with King Edgar, Æthelwold, bishop of Winchester (963–84), and Oswald, archbishop of York (971–92), he reformed a large number of English monastic houses, reserving a small role in the proceedings for the monks of Saint Peter's at Gent who were invited to be present at the reforming council of Winchester in 970.<sup>32</sup> Scholars now agree that the impact of the customs of Saint Peter's on the English reform programme was fairly limited compared to the influence exerted by the abbeys of Cluny and Fleury, and that the monks of Gent had been invited to the Council of Winchester more out of courtesy than because they were expected to make any significant contribution.<sup>33</sup> Besides this highly publicized encounter, we also know of at least one contact between England and Flanders to do with the cult of saints. Such a contact presumably explains the introduction of the cult of the obscure St Gudwall to the church of Worcester shortly after the monks of Saint Peter's at Gent had translated her body to their abbey in 959.<sup>34</sup> There may have been a further contact if the entry of his name in the *Liber Vitae* of New Minster, Winchester, proves that Womar, abbot of Saint Peter's (953–80) and Dunstan's host during his stay in Gent, spent his last years at that abbey.<sup>35</sup>

<sup>30</sup> Folcuin, *Gesta abbatum Sithiensium*, ed. by Oswald Holder-Egger, MGH, SS, 13 (Hannover: Hahn, 1881), p. 632.

<sup>31</sup> Jan Dhondt, 'La Donation d'Elfrude à Saint-Pierre de Gand', *Bulletin de la Commission Royale d'Histoire*, 105 (1940), 117–64 (pp. 119 and 124–25). In 1016, Edward the Confessor confirmed his intention to restore a number of possessions to the monks of Saint Peter's, a promise he fulfilled by issuing a charter to this effect in 1040 (Grierson, 'Relations', pp. 95 and 101; and Simon Keynes, 'The Æthelings in Normandy', *Anglo-Norman Studies*, 13 (1991), 173–205 (pp. 177–81).

<sup>32</sup> Catherine Cubitt, 'The Tenth-Century Benedictine Reform in England', *EME*, 6 (1997), 77–94.

<sup>33</sup> Lucia Kornexl, 'The *Regularis Concordia* and its Old English Gloss', *ASE*, 24 (1995), 95–130 (pp. 103–04); Wulfstan of Winchester, *The Life of St Æthelwold*, ed. by Michael Lapidge and Michael Winterbottom, OMT (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), pp. lix–lx; and Christopher A. Jones, *Ælfric's Letter to the Monks at Eynsham* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), pp. 19–20 and 42.

<sup>34</sup> Nigel Baker and Richard Holt, 'The City of Worcester in the Tenth Century', in *Oswald LI*, pp. 129–46 (p. 145).

<sup>35</sup> Simon Keynes, in *The Liber Vitae of the New Minster and Hyde Abbey, Winchester* (Copenhagen: Rosenkilde and Bagger, 1996), p. 88, doubts that Womar retired to England.

It was in the context of these exchanges that Wido was appointed the new Abbot of Saint Peter's in 980.<sup>36</sup> Wido's abbacy, which lasted until his death in 986, was not remembered as having been particularly eventful,<sup>37</sup> although the poor survival rate of contemporary sources makes it exceedingly difficult to verify this. We do, however, know that he was the author of the earliest surviving letter from a Flemish abbot to an Archbishop of Canterbury, in this case Dunstan himself. The contents of the letter are prosaic: referring to a recent delegation which had evidently not yet returned at the time of writing, Wido claims that he has been forced to send another one because his abbey has suffered from the loss of pastures, which he describes as a recurring and disastrous phenomenon. To alleviate the losses incurred, Wido requests financial support from Dunstan. He expresses his wish that Dunstan should send a delegation to Gent with the present bearers of this letter and also with the monk of Saint Peter's, Liefsin, who has brought to Dunstan a 'recent commendatory embassy' and whom Wido hoped would still be in Dunstan's presence.<sup>38</sup>

The exact nature of the recurring losses Wido refers to remains unclear. It seems likely, however, that they were losses of the salt-marsh pastures of the coastal area of Flanders, where the monks of Saint Peter's held important estates<sup>39</sup> which were used primarily for stockbreeding.<sup>40</sup> The disadvantage of the monks' technique of gaining

<sup>36</sup> *Les Annales de Saint-Pierre et de Saint-Amand: Annales Blandinienses – Annales Elmarenses – Annales Formoselenses – Annales Elnonenses*, ed. by Philip Grierson (Brussels: Palais des Académies, 1937), pp. 21–22. Wido died on 30 September 986.

<sup>37</sup> The exception is the dissolution of the personal union (966–81) of the abbeys of Saint Peter's and Saint-Bavon; see Adriaan Verhulst, 'De restauratie van de abdijen van Sint-Pieters en Sint-Baafs te Gent tijdens de 10e eeuw', in *Feestbundel aangeboden aan prof. dr. D.P. Blok ter gelegenheid van zijn 65<sup>te</sup> verjaardag en zijn afscheid als hoogleraar in de nederzettingsgeschiedenis in verband met de plaatsnaamkunde aan de Universiteit van Amsterdam*, ed. by J. B. Berns and others (Hilversum: Verloren, 1990), pp. 336–42 (pp. 338–40). Also Georges Declercq, 'Blandinium rond het jaar 1000: Twee eeuwen monastieke bloei en uitstraling in de Gentse Sint-Pietersabdij', *Handelingen van de Maatschappij voor Geschiedenis en Oudheidkunde te Gent*, 58 (2004), 59–82.

<sup>38</sup> For an alternative interpretation of Wido's letter and for further insights into Liefsin's identity, see Michael Hare, 'Abbot Leofsige of Mettlach: An English Monk in Flanders and Upper Lotharingia in the Late Tenth Century', *Anglo-Saxon England*, 33 (2004), 109–44.

<sup>39</sup> See Jan Dhondt, 'Développement urbain et initiative comtale en Flandre au XI<sup>e</sup> siècle', *Revue du Nord*, 30 (1948), 133–56 (p. 153), and Erik Thoen, 'The Count, the Countryside and the Economic Development of the Towns in Flanders from the Eleventh to the Thirteenth Century: Some Provisional Remarks', in *Studia Historica Oeconomica: Liber Amicorum Herman Van Der Wee*, ed. by E. Aerts and others (Leuven: Universitaire Pers Leuven, 1993), pp. 259–78 (p. 262).

<sup>40</sup> Adriaan Verhulst, 'Sheep-breeding and Wool Production in Pre-Thirteenth-Century Flanders and their Contribution to the Rise of Ypres, Ghent and Bruges as Centres of the Textile

new land through embankment was that the pastures eventually dried out and sank, thus increasing the risk of flooding when the dykes gave way or when heavy rains saturated the soil. In addition, the creeks and channels which evacuated the tidal waters regularly burst their banks, causing sea-water to destroy the pastures. But whatever the exact nature of the problems Wido referred to in his letter, the fact that he conceived the idea of asking the Archbishop of Canterbury for financial help gives some insight into the nature of Anglo-Flemish relations. Wido's letter, and the reference to a previous mission to Canterbury, show that King Edgar's donation to the monks of Saint Peter's at Gent (if it ever took place) was not an isolated act, but one of a sustained series of acts on Dunstan's part to support the Flemish monastery. Wido clearly saw Dunstan as a patron of the abbey, a person with whom the monks exchanged much more than token expressions of goodwill, and the letter itself implies that Dunstan was not averse to being represented as such.

### **Comital Politics and Internal Tensions in Flanders: A Letter from Abbot Falrad of Saint-Vaast in Arras**

As we have seen, Dunstan's relation with the monks of Saint Peter's at Gent most likely came into being as a result of the personal initiative of Count Arnulf. It is hardly surprising, then, that the Archbishop and his successors were quickly made aware of the fact that the counts were incorporating several Flemish abbeys into a vast socio-political, administrative, and cultural network. As a result, the archbishopric of Canterbury became a focal point for relations between Flanders and England. This became particularly evident after Dunstan's death in 988. Æthelgar, his successor until his own death in February 990,<sup>41</sup> was called upon almost immediately to continue and extend the excellent relations between the Archbishop of Canterbury and the monks of Flanders, and to become involved with regard to the Count and his policy of territorial expansion. The earlier of two surviving letters to Æthelgar was written by Falrad, abbot of the wealthy abbey of

Industry', in *Ypres and the Medieval Cloth Industry in Flanders: Archaeological and Historical Contributions. Good Yarn! Archaeological and Historical Research into the Medieval Cloth Industry of Flanders – Ypres, November 29–30, 1996*, ed. by M. Dewilde and others (Zellik: Instituut voor het Archeologisch Patrimonium, 1998), pp. 33–42.

<sup>41</sup> Æthelgar had been a monk at Glastonbury and Abingdon, and was subsequently appointed Abbot of the New Minster, Winchester (964–88) and Bishop of Selsey (980–88). Sigeric, who had been a monk at Glastonbury, became Abbot of St Augustine's, Canterbury, in 980, and Bishop of Ramsbury in 985. He died on 24 October 994. Nicholas Brooks, *The Early History of the Church of Canterbury: Christ Church from 597 to 1066* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1984), p. 279.

Saint-Vaast in the city of Arras, shortly after the former's accession to the archiepiscopal throne (before 992 x 1004).<sup>42</sup> In the letter, Falrad requests a continuation of good relations between the Archbishop and his abbey, claiming that 'among the friendliest of our acquaintances ... [Dunstan] was second to none'.<sup>43</sup> The letter also implies that Dunstan had become actively involved with Saint-Vaast, referring to 'benefices that have been promised to us'.<sup>44</sup> The Abbot stresses that he considers any future gifts by the Archbishop to be *exenia*, which can be translated as 'gifts to an important relation', but also carries the meaning of 'obligatory exchanges of gifts between ecclesiastical partners'. It is possible that Falrad used such ambiguous terminology to suggest a relation he would normally have had with his own bishop, Rothard of Cambrai (c. 976–95).

The plausibility of this interpretation is supported by the account of the *Gesta episcoporum Cameracensium*, our only source for Falrad's turbulent abbacy.<sup>45</sup> Brought under the influence of the counts of Flanders in the early tenth century by Count Baldwin II (879–918), the abbey of Saint-Vaast had been used by Baldwin's successors as a centre from which they expanded their influence in the bishopric of Arras-Cambrai. Although it had suffered from Viking attacks and from alienations by the local nobility, the abbey, with its large estates and its own military troops, was a force to be reckoned with. Throughout his abbacy, Falrad continuously tried to extricate his abbey from the jurisdiction of the local bishop. In a sequence of events dated in the *Gesta* to c. 990, Falrad forged a charter, allegedly issued by Bishop Vindicianus in 680, which purported to put the abbey directly under the supervision of the Holy See.<sup>46</sup> Bishop Rothard evidently disagreed with the Abbot on this subject, but following the former's death, Count Baldwin IV (988–1035) strategically supported Falrad in rebelling against the bishop. In the following years, the Abbot had his men raid and burn the Bishop's

<sup>42</sup> Adolphe De Cardevacque and Auguste Terninck, *L'Abbaye de Saint-Vaast: monographie historique, archéologique et littéraire de ce monastère* (Arras: Adolphe Brissy, 1866), p. 91. The letter is edited in Vanderputten, 'Canterbury', pp. 238–40.

<sup>43</sup> Freely translated from the original Latin 'ut inter amicissimos nobis non secundus haberetur amicus' (Vanderputten, 'Canterbury', p. 239). Dunstan might have visited Saint-Vaast during his exile (Brooks, 'Career', p. 16, n. 54).

<sup>44</sup> 'de beneficiorum exeniis nobis promissis' (Vanderputten, 'Canterbury', p. 239).

<sup>45</sup> *Gesta*, ed. by Bethmann, pp. 446–47.

<sup>46</sup> Jean-François Lemaître, 'Exemption monastique et les origines de la réforme clunienne', in *À Cluny: Congrès scientifique. Fêtes et cérémonies liturgiques en l'honneur des saints Abbés Odon et Odilon 9–11 juillet 1949* (Dijon: Société des Amis de Cluny, 1950), pp. 288–340 (pp. 335–40).

estates, supported in his actions by the wardens of the Count's castle in Arras.<sup>47</sup> In 1004, however, Baldwin sensed that he was losing control of the situation and called upon Erluin, bishop of Cambrai (995–1012), and the monks of Saint-Vaast themselves, who promptly decided to depose Falrad. Falrad's successor Heribert turned out to be unsuitable, and in 1008 he was replaced by the reformer Richard of Saint-Vanne, whose vigorous but diplomatic government initiated friendlier relations between the Bishop and the Count of Flanders.<sup>48</sup>

In the *Gesta episcoporum Cameracensium*, which was written long after the reconciliation between Bishop and Count, the involvement of the Count in the rebellion of the Abbot is presented as the result of a misjudgement on the Count's part and as postdating the death of Bishop Rothard in 995.<sup>49</sup> It is, however, interesting to note that the accession of Æthelgar to the archiepiscopal see of Canterbury nearly coincided with the accession to the County of Flanders of Baldwin IV, who abandoned the peaceful policy of his predecessor, Arnulf II, and set out to gain more influence in the western and southern areas of the Bishopric of Cambrai-Arras. These ambitions were given additional force when the city of Arras was restored to the County of Flanders by the King of France in April 988.<sup>50</sup> It is, therefore, tempting to see a connection between the Count's struggle to gain control of the city of Arras and Falrad's attempts to dissociate his abbey from the local bishop's authority. Although we do not know how Æthelgar replied to Falrad, we may ask if the support of Æthelgar, had it been forthcoming, would not have given Falrad and Baldwin another argument against the bishop's authority directed at Bishop Rothard and his successor Erluin.

Unfortunately, we only know that Æthelgar's successor as Archbishop of Canterbury, Sigeric, expressed a certain degree of concern with the situation in Arras by choosing to stay there on his return from Rome.<sup>51</sup> His journey is usually dated between late 990 and early 991, and although the itinerary does not shed light on the question whether Sigeric actually stayed at the abbey of Saint-Vaast itself, the timing of his visit to Arras clearly indicates that it was highly charged with political meaning, not only for the monks of Saint-Vaast, but also for the Count's supporters. Although we are in the dark as to Sigeric's position in the dispute, the evidence

<sup>47</sup> *Gesta*, ed. by Bethmann, pp. 452–53.

<sup>48</sup> See Van Meter, 'Count Baldwin IV'.

<sup>49</sup> See above, note 44.

<sup>50</sup> Lemaignier, 'Exemption', pp. 337–38.

<sup>51</sup> Veronica Ortenberg, 'Archbishop Sigeric's Journey to Rome in 990', *ASE*, 19 (1990), 197–246.

relating to the production and exchange of at least one missal from Saint-Vaast suggests that permanent relations between ecclesiastical institutions in England and the abbey of Saint-Vaast were established around this time, adding further weight to the possibility that the Archbishop's response was not negative.<sup>52</sup>

### **Establishing Lasting Ties: The Letters of Odbert, Abbot of Saint-Bertin**

The anxiety of Flemish monasteries at the death of Dunstan and at the unhappy prospect consequent on it of losing a relationship that joined the Count and a network of Flemish monastic houses to a powerful political and spiritual ally is reflected in the two remaining letters in the Canterbury collection. Both were written by Odbert, abbot of Saint-Bertin between 986 and 1007, to successive archbishops of Canterbury.<sup>53</sup> Relations between Saint-Bertin and England are better attested than those between Saint-Vaast and England, although even in this case we know very little about the intellectual, socio-economic, and discursive contexts in which the preserved documents originated. Situated near the port of Wissant,<sup>54</sup> the abbey of Saint-Bertin was first associated with England in the eighth century, and its commercial importance to England brought it to the attention of Anglo-Saxon sovereigns as early as the late ninth century.<sup>55</sup> Because of its wealth, its status as a centre of intellectual and artistic excellence, and its strategic position, Saint-Bertin also quickly drew the attention of the counts of Flanders, who became involved in the abbey's reform and incorporated it into their administrative and political network.<sup>56</sup> When the body of Edwin, the rebellious half-brother of Æthelstan, king of England, was found on the Flemish coast, the Count had him

<sup>52</sup> I refer to the Leofric Missal: *The Leofric Missal*, vol. I: *Introduction, Collation Table and Index*, and vol. II: *Text*, ed. by Nicholas Orchard, HBS, 113–14 (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2002); also Ortenberg, *ECC*, p. 30.

<sup>53</sup> Henri De Laplane, *Les Abbés de Saint-Bertin d'après les anciens monuments de ce monastère*, vol. I (Saint-Omer: Chanvin, 1854–55), pp. 137–39, and Steven Vanderputten, 'Individual Experience, Collective Remembrance, and the Politics of Monastic Reform in High Medieval Flanders', forthcoming.

<sup>54</sup> Gerald Dunning, 'Trade Relations between England and the Continent in the Late Anglo-Saxon Period', *Dark-Age Britain*, ed. by D. B. Harden (London: Methuen, 1956), pp. 218–33 (p. 221).

<sup>55</sup> *Asser* (Keynes-Lapidge), pp. 332–33.

<sup>56</sup> Grierson, 'Relations', p. 86, and Karl H. Krüger, 'Sithiu/Saint-Bertin als Grablege Childerichs III und der Grafen von Flandern', *FmaS*, 8 (1974), 71–80.



buried in the abbey-church of Saint-Bertin.<sup>57</sup> In 944, Count Arnulf reformed the monastic community with the aid of Gérard of Brogne,<sup>58</sup> at which point a number of dissenting monks crossed the Channel to take refuge in England. Edmund, king of England, obviously seeking to counteract Arnulf's policies, gave them Bath Abbey as a residence.<sup>59</sup> In 961–62, Arnulf sent a monk of Saint-Bertin, Adelulf, on a mission to England,<sup>60</sup> and, according to a tradition that can be traced back only to the twelfth century, Dunstan stayed at Saint-Bertin on his way to Rome to receive the archiepiscopal pallium.<sup>61</sup> Although the abbey had evidently also become popular with pilgrims from the British Isles, the relations between the abbey and England during the later tenth century are obscured by a lack of written sources.

In contrast to the evidence for Saint Peter's at Gent and Saint-Vaast at Arras, however, there is ample evidence for further exchanges between England and Saint-Bertin during Odbert's abbacy. Whereas later chronicles indicate that nothing memorable had been preserved from this period in the abbey's history, modern scholars have drawn attention to the spectacular level of craftsmanship reached in the scriptorium of Saint-Bertin during Odbert's abbacy and to his own involvement in the production and illumination of these volumes. André Boutemy was among the first to note a striking similarity between the decoration of the manuscripts and contemporary manuscript production in England, particularly by the scriptorium of Canterbury.<sup>62</sup> At least two English artists, probably originating from Canterbury, worked at the scriptorium of Saint-Bertin,<sup>63</sup> and the stylistic influx from England also had repercussions on the plastic arts, notably sculpture, at the abbey.<sup>64</sup> That the

<sup>57</sup> Hubert Dauphin, 'Le Renouveau monastique en Angleterre au X<sup>e</sup> siècle et ses rapports avec la réforme de saint Gérard de Brogne', *Revb*, 70 (1960), 177–96 (p. 177).

<sup>58</sup> Dierkens, *Abbayes et chapitres*, pp. 238–39.

<sup>59</sup> Grierson, 'Relations', pp. 89–90, and Simon Keynes, 'King Æthelstan's Books', in *LLASE*, pp. 143–201 (pp. 159–65).

<sup>60</sup> Folcuin mentions this in his *Gesta* (ed. by Holder-Egger, p. 632).

<sup>61</sup> Grierson, 'Relations', pp. 91–92.

<sup>62</sup> Boutemy, 'Un grand enlumineur du X<sup>e</sup> siècle: l'abbé Odbert de Saint-Bertin', *Annales de la Fédération Archéologique et Historique de Belgique*, 32 (1947), 247–54 (p. 249); Ugé, *Creating*, pp. 46–49; Gameson, 'L'Angleterre', pp. 172–73; and Richard Gameson, "'Signed" Manuscripts from Early Romanesque Flanders: Saint-Bertin and Saint-Vaast', in *Pen in Hand: Medieval Scribal Portraits, Colophons and Tools*, ed. by Michael Gullick (Walkern: Red Gull, 2006), pp. 31–73 (pp. 33–48).

<sup>63</sup> Richard Gameson, 'Book Production and Decoration at Worcester in the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries', in *Oswald LI*, pp. 194–293 (p. 204).

<sup>64</sup> Ugé, *Creating*, p. 47.

exchanges went in both directions is attested by the presence in England around the year 1000 of a manuscript of Prudentius and a hymnal made in Saint-Bertin.<sup>65</sup>

The paucity of information on the abbacy of Odbert, together with the fascinating artistic enterprises that saw the light of day around the year 1000, make it all the more surprising that Odbert's letters have been virtually ignored by scholars. The first letter is an interesting antependium to Falrad's missive, as it is also addressed to Dunstan's successor as Archbishop of Canterbury, Æthelgar (988–90).<sup>66</sup> It appears to have been written somewhat later than Falrad's, since it refers to previous promises and donations by the Archbishop, who at the time of the first letter had just been elected. Odbert duly congratulates Æthelgar on his appointment, albeit in a far less elaborate manner than Falrad does. Plagued by what he describes as worldly misfortunes, he complains that the monks are in dire need of financial support. The Abbot thanks Æthelgar for his promise to support the monks and to count them among his servants. Odbert may have been deliberately using an ambiguous vocabulary (most notably with seemingly neutral words like *patronum* and *beneficium*) discreetly to suggest that their association could go far beyond what was institutionally realistic. In return for such an extraordinary privilege, he offers the monks' eternal gratitude and intercession with God.

It will never be possible to assess the extent to which the Archbishop patronized Saint-Bertin: no relevant charters from this period have been preserved, nor are there any later documents that give us an idea of what exchange of goods there may have been between Saint-Bertin and Canterbury at this point in history. However, that the Archbishop's patronage involved financial support is attested in Odbert's letter, while the extant illuminated manuscripts show that there were considerable exchanges of artistic and intellectual know-how.

Some further indications of the nature of the relations between the two institutions can be deduced from Odbert's second letter, written shortly after Æthelgar's death in 990 and certainly before the spring of 991.<sup>67</sup> This letter contains an invitation to the Archbishop-elect, Sigeric, to stay at Saint-Bertin on his way to Rome to receive his pallium. With a new Archbishop of Canterbury, Odbert perhaps felt insecure about Sigeric's willingness to commit himself to continuing the relationship which had existed in Æthelgar's time. This is presumably why he stresses that 'we wish your fatherhood to know and remember how we deserved the grace and fatherhood and the mutual brotherhood of the association to your

<sup>65</sup> Ortenberg, *ECC*, p. 30.

<sup>66</sup> Vanderputten, 'Canterbury', pp. 240–42.

<sup>67</sup> Vanderputten, 'Canterbury', pp. 242–44.

predecessor, Bishop Æthelgar; this was so great that, above all the monasteries of Francia, he adopted that of Saint-Bertin with special fondness'.<sup>68</sup>

Just as lay rulers needed to develop itineraries to maintain their authority in their territories, the archbishops' special relation with a Flemish monastery could only be sealed by a personal visit.<sup>69</sup> Such visits were naturally quite infrequent and mostly took place during the journey of a newly appointed archbishop to Rome. Odbert's letter briefly refers to Æthelgar's two visits to Saint-Bertin, one on his way to Rome, the other on his return, probably late in 988. Both visits were a major event for the monastic community, as the Archbishop had come to bring them 'the privilege of his fondness'.<sup>70</sup> In return for their allegiance to the Archbishop, the Abbot claimed, Æthelgar had promised to rebuild the monastery from its foundations. As the intention of the letter was to invite Archbishop Sigeric (990–94) to visit the abbey on his way to or from Rome, Odbert might have exaggerated the extent of Æthelgar's donations and promises. However, his first letter indicates that Æthelgar did indeed give money to the monks and that he was expected to do so at regular intervals. Considering the political circumstances of the time and the lack of reliable information on the relations of counts of Flanders with England, one can safely assume that, by visiting the abbey, Æthelgar not only strengthened his links with Flemish monasteries, but also recognized the authority of Baldwin IV. Since the reign of King Edgar (959–75), relations between the archbishops and the kings of England had deteriorated, but it is nevertheless significant that the letter, written by the head of an abbey closely associated with the Count and looking for a privileged friendship with the Archbishop, echoes Count Arnulf's own letter to Dunstan with a request for an intercession with the King.<sup>71</sup> It was,

<sup>68</sup> 'Scire et meminisse cupimus paternitatem vestram, quomodo praedecessoris vestri Adelgari pontificis promeruimus gratiam ac paternitatis ipsius filiationem, et utriusque partis invicem fraternitatem; ita ut prae cunctis Franciae monasteriis Sancti Bertini praecipua dilectione sibi assciverit coenobium' (Vanderputten, 'Canterbury', p. 242).

<sup>69</sup> Karl F. Werner, 'Missus – marchio – comes: entre l'administration centrale et l'administration locale de l'empire Carolingien', in *Histoire comparée de l'administration (IV<sup>e</sup>–XVII<sup>e</sup> siècles): Actes du XIV<sup>e</sup> colloque historique franco-allemand, Tours, 27 mars–1 avril 1977*, ed. by W. Paravicini and K. F. Werner (Munich: Artemis, 1980), pp. 191–239 (pp. 193–94); Karl Leyser, *Rule and Conflict in an Early Medieval Society: Ottonian Saxony* (London: Blackwell, 1979), passim; and Leyser, *Medieval Germany and its Neighbours 900–1250* (London: Hambledon, 1982), pp. 80–96.

<sup>70</sup> 'privilegium quoddam singulare nobis suae contulit dilectionis' (Vanderputten, 'Canterbury', p. 242).

<sup>71</sup> *Dunstan Memorials*, pp. 359–61. The letter is dated by various authors to the time of Arnulf I (Stubbs), or that of his grandson Arnulf II (Grierson, 'Relations', p. 91; James Campbell, 'England, France, Flanders and Germany in the Reign of Ethelred II: Some Comparisons and

therefore, important for several parties, including first and foremost the Count, that Sigeric should renew his predecessor's alliance with Saint-Bertin. The conspicuous absence of Saint-Bertin on the list of places that Sigeric visited on his return from Rome, although perhaps significant, does not rule out the possibility that he had visited the abbey on his outward journey.<sup>72</sup> It would certainly have been among the priorities of the Count to urge him to do so.

### *Conclusions*

Writing the history of Anglo-Flemish relations before the eleventh century remains particularly challenging. While the contacts between the two regions eventually intensified to the extent that their relationship was a privileged one, we remain surprisingly ill-informed with regard to the early phases of this development. Various shards of evidence from the tenth century have also failed to allow us to reconstruct in a coherent way the exact nature of the intellectual, artistic, political, and economic exchanges between England and Flanders. In this paper, I have argued that we may be able to learn more about the circumstances in which these relations originated and developed by placing the sources back in their regional context. As far as the County of Flanders is concerned, scholars have recently turned their attention to the evidence preserved in monastic archives, particularly to those sources which had not appeared obviously useful to previous generations of historians. Four letters written by Flemish abbots to the archbishops of Canterbury in the late tenth century do not merely shed light on how monasteries in Flanders were seeking to establish and maintain international networks. Careful reading of these documents also reveals how the behaviour of these monasteries fitted in with the Count's attempts to establish his authority in his territories, to retain his grip on monasteries as intellectual, administrative, political, and economic centres, and finally to advance his more ambitious political agenda, both locally and internationally, through the actions of his ecclesiastical elite.

Universiteit Gent

Connections', in *Essays in Anglo-Saxon History* (London: Hambledon, 1986), pp. 191–207 (p. 198); Jean Dunbabin, 'The Reign of Arnulf II, Count of Flanders, and its Aftermath', *Francia*, 16 (1989), 53–65 (pp. 58 and 60), but the suggestion that it was written on the occasion of a diplomatic mission led by the Abbot of Saint-Bertin in 961–62 is attractive: Douglas Dales, *Dunstan: Saint and Statesman* (Cambridge: Lutterworth, 1988), p. 46. On Dunstan's relations with Edgar, see Brooks, *Early History*, pp. 247–49.

<sup>72</sup> *Dunstan Memorials*, p. 395; also Ortenberg, 'Archbishop Sigeric's Journey to Rome'.

## AN ITINERANT ENGLISH MASTER AROUND THE MILLENNIUM

Richard Gameson

The framework of renaissance, indeed later medieval, pictorial art is supplied by personalities — Duccio, Jean Pucelle, the Limbourg brothers, Jan van Eyck, and so on. That for the early medieval period, for which manuscripts are the prime, often the only witnesses, is largely defined in terms of scriptoria associated with religious houses. While there is obviously some truth in this dichotomy, the contrast would undoubtedly be less sharp if we had a comparable quantity of documents, ‘secular’ works, and large-scale paintings from the earlier, as from the later, Middle Ages. Now, when most Anglo-Saxon illuminators are known to us from but a single book, the circumstance that one individual appears in at least five is altogether remarkable.<sup>1</sup> Though celebrated more than half a century ago as the leading exponent of the so-called ‘Second’ or ‘Utrecht’ style of drawing in late Anglo-Saxon England<sup>2</sup> and mentioned in numerous subsequent publications, the artist in question has not hitherto been the subject of sustained study. Detailed examination of this exceptional man — the closest we can get to an artistic personality and career in the context of the tenth century — is long overdue; the fact

I am grateful to the staff of the many libraries in which the materials for this study are preserved, above all Boulogne, Bibliothèque municipale; London, British Library; and Orléans, Médiathèque.

<sup>1</sup> The first to notice his work was seemingly O. Homburger, *Die Anfänge der Malschule von Winchester im X. Jahrhundert* (Leipzig: Dieterich, 1912), pp. 5, 13.

<sup>2</sup> Francis Wormald, *English Drawing of the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries* (London: Faber and Faber, 1952), pp. 29, 32–33, 71. Wormald’s admiration for this artist is further suggested by the fact that one of his drawings forms the cover illustration, while another is the frontispiece, the only colour image in the book.

that his work straddles the Channel, appearing in volumes produced for Continental as well as Anglo-Saxon patrons, makes the exercise particularly appropriate in the present connection.

We shall first scrutinize the oeuvre of this artist, paying careful attention to the details of its manuscript contexts; we shall then consider the implications of all the available evidence, highlighting the general issues that it raises. As none of the books in question is precisely dated, and their relative chronology is debatable, it will be best simply to consider them in alphabetical/shelf-mark order. This, as it happens, means that we begin with the artist's chef d'oeuvre.

**Boulogne, BM, MS 11** is a gospel-book, an extremely opulent one (Figures 1–7).<sup>3</sup> Its provenance was the abbey of Saint-Bertin at Saint-Omer, and both the script<sup>4</sup> and the secondary decoration show that it was made there (see Figure 6). The provision of neums towards the end of Matthew and at the start of John suggests that it saw at least some liturgical use at an early date.<sup>5</sup> Its text is akin to that of another Saint-Bertin gospel-book that was made around the same time and, given the (slightly more general) affiliation of both of these to the text of a ninth-century Saint-Bertin copy, this has been seen as a local type.<sup>6</sup> The manuscript is now, sadly, lacunose; however, none of the missing portions is likely to have had

<sup>3</sup> A. Boutemy, 'Un monument capital de l'enluminure anglo-saxonne: le manuscrit 11 de Boulogne-sur-mer', *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale*, 2 (1958), 179–82; E. Temple, *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts 900–1066* (London: Harvey Miller, 1976), no. 44; *Vor dem Jahr 1000: Abendländische Buchkunst zur Zeit der Kaiserin Theophanu*, ed. by A. von Euw and G. Sporbeck (Cologne: Stadt Köln, 1991), no. 47; T. Ohlgren, *Anglo-Saxon Textual Illustration* (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, 1992), no. 5, pp. 303–30. Colour illustrations: J. Porcher, *French Miniatures from Illuminated Manuscripts* (London: Collins, 1960), pl. V (12<sup>v</sup>); M. Smeyers, *L'Art de la miniature flamande du VIII<sup>e</sup> au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Tournai: Renaissance du Livre, 1998), fig. 17 (12<sup>v</sup>); *The Utrecht Psalter in Medieval Art*, ed. by K. van der Horst, William Noel, and C. M. Wüstenfeld (Utrecht: HES, 1996), no. 32 (107<sup>r</sup>); M.-P. Dion-Turkovich and others, *La Représentation de l'invisible: trésors de l'enluminure romane en Nord-Pas-de-Calais* (Valenciennes: Bibliothèque multimédia de Valenciennes, 2007), no. 1 (107<sup>v</sup>).

<sup>4</sup> The work of two scribes. Hand A, responsible for fols 13<sup>v</sup>–75<sup>v</sup>, col. 1, is a type found in, e.g., Boulogne, BM, MSS 20, 102, and 107, and Saint-Omer, Bibliothèque de l'agglomération, MS 342bis. Hand B, fols 75<sup>v</sup>, col. 2–130<sup>v</sup> (end), is a type represented in, e.g., Boulogne, BM, MS 56 and (subsequently) in the scriptorium of Saint-Vaast, Arras.

<sup>5</sup> Fols 49<sup>r</sup> and 108<sup>r–v</sup>.

<sup>6</sup> Respectively, PML, MS M 333, and BAV, MS Pal. lat. 47: S. Lowry, 'New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS 333 and Manuscript Illumination at the Monastery of St-Bertin under Abbot Odbert 986–c.1007' (doctoral dissertation Columbia University, 1985; Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Institute edition, 1993), pp. 50–63.

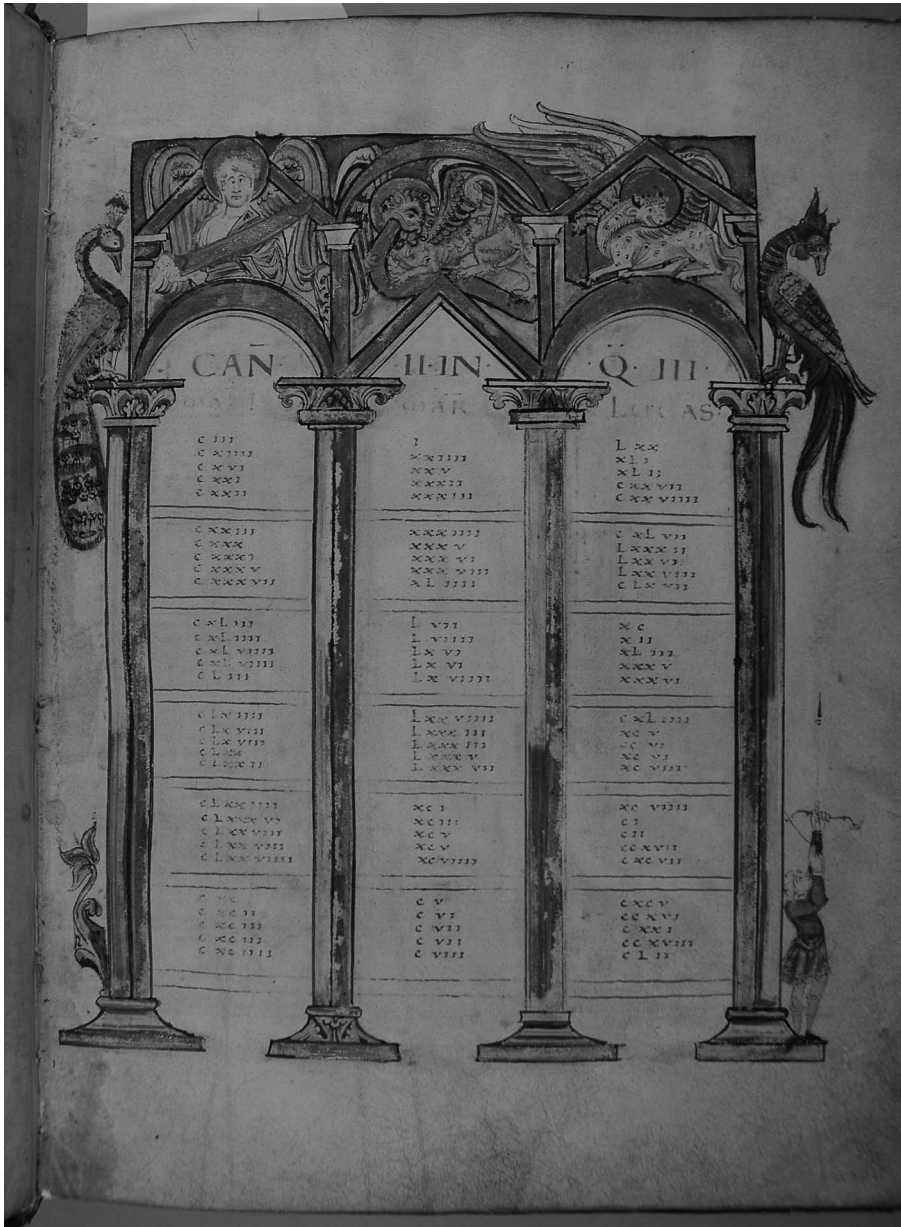


Figure 1. Gospel-book, canon-table. Boulogne, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 11, fol. 4<sup>r</sup>.  
Reproduced with permission.



Figure 2. Cosmic Christ. Boulogne, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 11, fol. 10r.  
Reproduced with permission.





Figure 3. St Matthew; Ancestors of Christ. Boulogne, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 11, fol. 10<sup>r</sup>. Reproduced with permission.



Figure 4. Ancestors of Christ; Annunciation; Visitation. Boulogne, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 11, fol. 11<sup>r</sup>. Reproduced with permission.



Figure 5. Annunciation to the Shepherds; Nativity; incipit to St Matthew's Gospel. Boulogne, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 11, fol. 12r. Reproduced with permission.

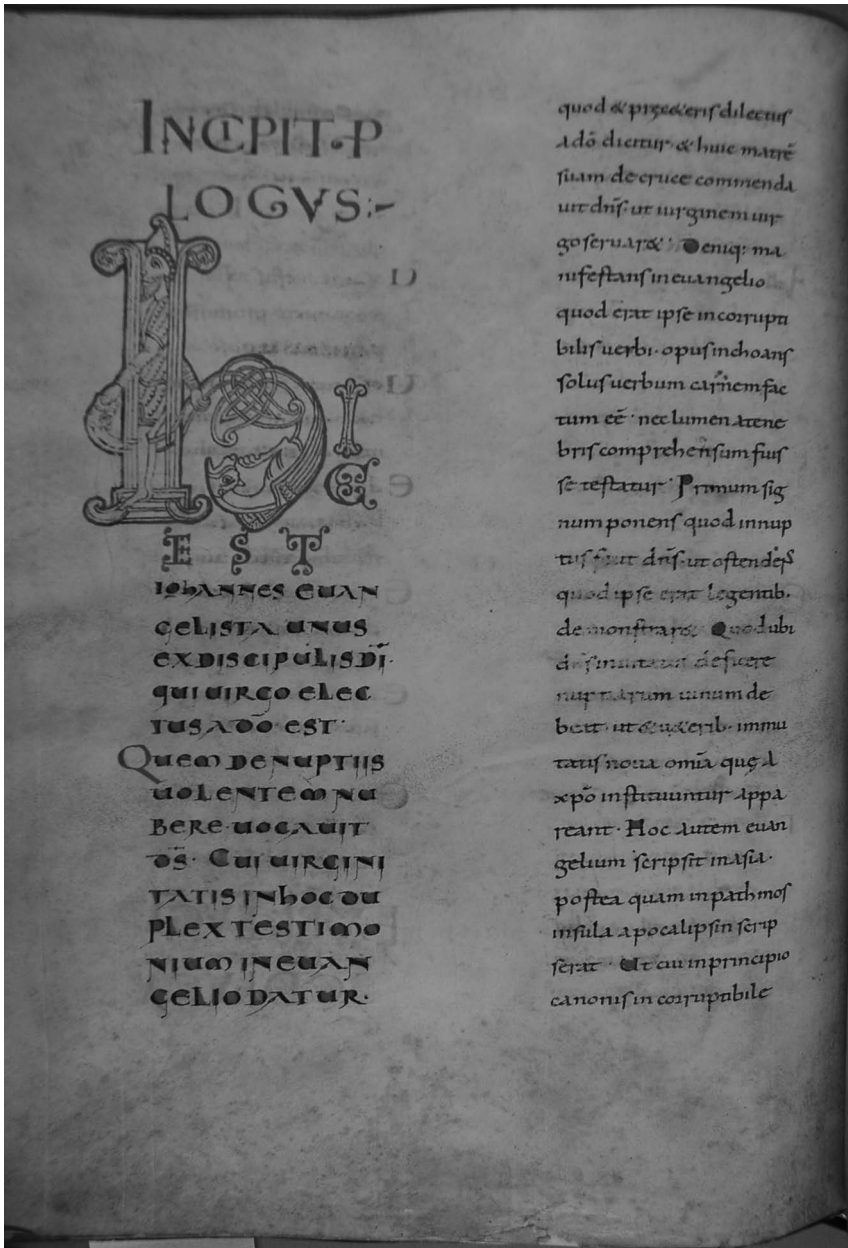


Figure 6. Prologue to St John's Gospel. Boulogne, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 11, fol. 104r. Reproduced with permission.



Figure 7. Incipit to St John's Gospel. Boulogne, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 11, fol. 107r. Reproduced with permission.

major illumination.<sup>7</sup> The decorative programme is extensive and ambitious, including all that one might normally expect to find in a gospel-book and more. Thus in addition to richly decorated canon tables, evangelist portraits, and incipit initials, there is a full-page cosmological Christ (Figure 2), a sequence of portraits of the ancestors of Christ (Figures 3–4), and a short Nativity cycle. The first scenes of the cycle, the Annunciation to Mary and the Visitation, appear below the last two rows of ancestors (on fol. 11<sup>v</sup>: Figure 4), while the Nativity itself and the Annunciation to the Shepherds flank the beginning of Matthew's text on the facing page (fol. 12<sup>r</sup>: Figure 5). In fact, all the gospel incipits are accompanied by imagery: the *Initium* of Mark is presented alongside depictions of Mark and Isaiah, and below Christ enthroned; Luke's *Q* is historiated with the Annunciation to Zaccharias; and onto the initial *I* of John's Gospel is superimposed an image of the enthroned Lord, flanked by angels, who thus share their space with a titulus, the rubric, and the continuation of the incipit,<sup>8</sup> all written in gold capitals (Figure 7). Furthermore, the arches of ten of the sixteen canon tables are adorned with overtly spiritual imagery in the form of Christ and the four evangelists, the evangelist symbols (Figure 1), the hand of God, and the Agnus Dei, along with numerous angels holding books and scrolls (the other six are decorated with musicians, hunters, buildings, and foliage). All this illumination is the work of a single hand — the artist who concerns us here.

Some of the imagery picks up themes specific to the text that it accompanies. Thus Canon I, with its concordance of all four gospel accounts, includes depictions of the four evangelist symbols (above the appropriate columns) as well as two sets of four angels; correspondingly, the first page of Canon II (which presents parallels between three accounts) has the three evangelist symbols in question (Figure 1).<sup>9</sup> The pictorial genealogy which prefaces Matthew's Gospel illustrates the start of the text (Matthew 1. 1–17); the association of Mark and Isaiah at the incipit to Mark echoes chapter 1, verses 2–3 in that Gospel; the Annunciation to Zaccharias is the first narrative event in Luke (1. 5–22); while the alliance of word and image at the incipit to John — the words 'In the beginning' are literally conflated with God

<sup>7</sup> Mark breaks off at 2. 21 (fol. 58<sup>v</sup>); the capitula list to Luke begins imperfectly in entry no. 11 (fol. 59<sup>r</sup>); John breaks off at 14. 12. Assuming that the book originally had a suite of general prefatory texts, these may each have started with a minor decorated initial, as may have the prefaces to Matthew and Luke.

<sup>8</sup> 'In principio erat verbum et verbum erat'.

<sup>9</sup> Fols 2<sup>r</sup>–3<sup>r</sup>, 3<sup>v</sup>–4<sup>r</sup>.

whose image is positioned amidst the text *In principio* — corresponds to the mystical evocation of the godhead in the first verse of that Gospel (Figure 7).

The interaction of word and image is developed further by the provision, within some pictures, of inscriptions (many now badly eroded). Thus the open book of the cosmological Christ (Figure 2) would seem to have borne the words 'Liber Vitae'; the globe at his feet is inscribed 'Terra scabellum pedem meorum' (cf. Isaiah 66. 1), Alpha and Omega flank his head, and in the cosmos around him, beside the sun and moon, is written 'Caelum et terram ego impleo' (Jeremiah 23. 24; cf. Psalm 23. 1–2). As I have noted elsewhere, this last phrase is reminiscent of Matthew 28. 18 ('Data est mihi omnes potestas in caelo et in terra') and calls to mind both the *Sanctus* of the Mass ('Pleni sunt caeli et terra gloria tua') and the *Te Deum* ('Pleni sunt caeli et universa terra honore gloriae tuae').<sup>10</sup> Equally, the figures of Matthew and Mark are named by inscriptions (Figure 3), as are the ancestors of Christ; captions accompany the various narrative scenes (Figure 4); the scrolls of Isaiah and Mark bear the former's prophecy, 'A voice crying in the wilderness: prepare the way of the Lord' (Isaiah 40. 3), and the latter's quotation thereof (Mark 1. 3); while at the top of the incipit page to John, boldly written in golden capitals, is the credal declaration, 'The beginning and the end, the word of the Father, God, is this [being]' (Figure 7).<sup>11</sup>

This ample programme does not constitute a unitary narrative sequence (the Nativity cycle preceding Matthew, for example, presents events recounted in Luke — where of course they are preceded by the Annunciation to Zaccharias, which is here shown in the incipit to Luke); but then the manuscript is a gospel-book not a pericopes book. Elements directly relevant to their textual context alternate with ones of more general import. The predominant themes are the mystery of the Godhead in general, the dual nature of Christ in particular, and its acclamation by angels, prophets, and of course the four evangelists. Correspondingly, the additional imagery that faces or accompanies the portraits of Matthew, Mark, and Luke enhances their status, fictively presenting the synoptic writers as witnesses to events they recount; while John is shown to be composing under the direct inspiration of the dove of the Holy Spirit which, perched on his shoulder, has its beak in his ear. Simultaneously, the draped altars that appear under arches beside Luke and John would seem to allude to the sacramental dimensions of their accounts.

<sup>10</sup> R. G. Gameson, *The Role of Art in the Late Anglo-Saxon Church* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995), p. 90.

<sup>11</sup> 'Principium finisque, patris verbum deus hic est'.

All this is presented within rich decorative trappings. A range of motifs such as hunters, birds, beasts, and buildings is allied to an extensive repertoire of frames, colonnades, arches, and architecture, sometimes enriched by ebullient foliage (Figure 3) and enhanced throughout by lavish use of gold. If the presence of gold is remarkable in the context of a Flemish or French book of this date, the decoration of the volume as a whole is opulent by any standards.

One can point to precedents for many of the individual elements. Some of the motifs used in the canon tables (not least the evangelist symbols) are prefigured in 'Ada' group manuscripts of the 'court school' of Charlemagne; here too we find incipit initials with comparable imagery, a prefatory miniature of the Lord enthroned, and even a depiction of the ancestors of Christ at the beginning of the prologue to Matthew.<sup>12</sup> The figure-types used for the evangelists are anticipated in 'Coronation Group' manuscripts of the same monarch, in one case in direct association with a cosmological Christ.<sup>13</sup> The evangelist types are equally prefigured in ninth-century manuscripts from Reims (including the Utrecht Psalter),<sup>14</sup> the prefatory cosmological Christ in ninth-century gospel-books from Tours as also in tenth-century ones from Corvey and Trier.<sup>15</sup> It is possible that representatives of some of these traditions were available at Saint-Bertin at the end of the tenth century; it is

<sup>12</sup> W. Koehler, *Die karolingischen Miniaturen*, vol. II: *Die Hofschule Karls des Grossen*, 2 vols (Berlin: Deutscher Verein für Kunstwissenschaft, 1958). For these last features see, e.g., the Lorsch Gospels (Alba Julia, Batthyáneum, s.n. + BAV, MS Pal. lat. 50).

<sup>13</sup> The Xanten Gospels: Brussels, Bibliothèque royale, MS 18723, fol. 16<sup>v</sup>; W. Koehler, *Die karolingischen Miniaturen*, vol. III, 2 vols (Berlin: Deutscher Verein für Kunstwissenschaft, 1960), II, pl. 44; *Utrecht Psalter*, ed. by van der Horst, Noel, and Wüstefeld, cat. 5.

<sup>14</sup> E.g., the Ebbo Gospels (Epernay, BM, MS 1). The influence of the Utrecht Psalter's illustration for Psalm 1 on the depiction of John is highlighted by W. Noel, 'The Utrecht Psalter in England: Continuity and Experiment', in *Utrecht Psalter*, ed. by van der Horst, Noel, and Wüstefeld, pp. 120–65 (p. 141).

<sup>15</sup> E.g., New York, Public Library, MS 1 (Corvey): D. Miner, *Illuminated Books of the Middle Ages and Renaissance* (Baltimore: Trustees of the Walters Art Gallery, 1949), pl. V; J. J. G. Alexander and others, *The Splendor of the Word: Medieval and Renaissance Illuminated Manuscripts at the New York Public Library* (Turnhout: Harvey Miller, 2006), no. 27. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, MS theol. lat. fol. 733 (Tours); Koehler, *Die karolingischen Miniaturen*, vol. I: *Die Schule von Tours*, 3 vols (Berlin: Deutscher Verein für Kunstwissenschaft, 1930), I, 256–60 and 402–03; III, pls 93–97; G. Achten and E. Bliembach, *Das christliche Gebetbuch im Mittelalter* (Berlin: Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, 1987), no. 4, col. pl. 2 (Christ is surrounded by the inscription, 'Hac sedet arce deus mundi rex gloria caeli'; on his halo is written 'Rex, lex, lux'); Koblenz, Landeshauptarchiv, MS 701/81 (Trier, X<sup>4/4</sup>): *Vor dem Jahr 1000*, ed. by Von Euw and Sporbeck, no. 40.



also conceivable that none was. We shall return to this apparent paradox in due course. For the moment it will suffice to note that no such manuscript is known to have had a sojourn at Saint-Bertin, but that there are examples of each whose earliest documented provenance is within striking distance of Saint-Omer.<sup>16</sup>

What is beyond question is the input of Odbert of Saint-Bertin. Abbot of the house from c. 987–c. 1006 and thus the man with ultimate responsibility for what went on *in aediculis suis* ('under his roof'), Odbert was also the principal local artist; indeed, he contributed the decorated initials for the gospel prefaces of this very manuscript (Figure 6).<sup>17</sup> The initiative to produce such an expensive and luxurious book will surely have come from him, and he will doubtless have been directly involved in decisions about its design and iconography. We know from his other works that Odbert admired Carolingian figural illumination, appreciated a range of tenth-century Anglo-Saxon drawing styles and decorative motifs, and had a penchant for historiation: the present book manifestly reflects many aspects of his taste.<sup>18</sup>

The welding of these disparate elements into a complex yet visually coherent whole is the achievement of our artist. Unlike those contemporaries whose derivatives from Reimsian, Touronian, and 'Court School' art are more obviously that — derivative — our man translated his divers pictorial sources into a distinctive idiom with characteristic postures, facial types, and drapery forms; although the style is ultimately derived from Reims and the Utrecht Psalter, he makes it his own. The harmoniousness of the result is doubtless a tribute to the strength of his artistic personality; simultaneously it may reflect the fact that some, perhaps all, of his putative models were not actually in front of him as he worked. This is another point to which we shall return.

Two further general observations may be made. First, the interweaving of our artist's contribution into the structure of the book makes it quite clear that he was

<sup>16</sup> From the Court School of Charlemagne: Abbeville, BM, MS 4 (provenance: Saint-Riquier); BnF, MS lat. 8850 (Saint-Médard de Soissons). From Reims (the archdiocese within which was Saint-Omer): BnF, MS lat. 17968 (Beauvais); Noyon, Hôtel de Ville (Morienvall); plus the Utrecht Psalter (Utrecht, Universiteitsbibliotheek, MS 32) at Canterbury. Tours: Laon, BM, MS 64 (Laon); BL, MS Additional 11849 (? Low Countries). Saint-Bertin's own *s. ix* variant of the Franco-Saxon style (as in, e.g., Prague, Kapitulni Knihovna, MS B 66) does not appear to have been particularly influential here.

<sup>17</sup> Fols 53<sup>v</sup> and 104<sup>v</sup> (Ohlgren, *Anglo-Saxon Textual Illustration*, p. 328).

<sup>18</sup> The most recent account of his scriptorium, with references to earlier literature, is R. G. Gameson, "'Signed" Manuscripts from Early Romanesque Flanders: Saint-Bertin and Saint-Vaast', in *Pen in Hand: Medieval Scribal Portraits, Colophons and Tools*, ed. by Michael Gullick (Walkern: Red Gull, 2006), pp. 31–73.

indeed working at Saint-Omer amidst the personnel of Saint-Bertin. Second, notwithstanding the lavish use of gold on the illuminated pages, the metal does not appear elsewhere in the manuscript: the decorated initials contributed by Odbert himself were simply rendered in red outline (Figure 6); the rubrics are red display capitals; the verse initials were done in black, red, and blue; while if passages of text were to be highlighted, they were written in uncials in ordinary brown-black ink.<sup>19</sup> By contrast, such text as appears on the major illuminated pages is presented in gold. Whether this was the work of our man is a moot point, and the same applies to the tituli inscriptions that appear on 'his' pages. The writing in the canon tables (which of course he decorated) is clearly the work of a Saint-Bertin scribe (Figure 1). That this may also be true of the display script on the incipit pages is suggested by the similarity of their letter-forms to those of the other display script in the book, by the circumstance that it was not always well integrated with the artwork,<sup>20</sup> and by the fact that it was not always supplied even though the artwork was finished.<sup>21</sup> Be that as it may, evidence to be presented in connection with another manuscript (BL, MS Harley 2904) indicates that our artist very probably wrote the texts which appear on the scrolls held by Mark and Isaiah at the incipit to Mark's Gospel.

**BL, MS Harley 2506** is a collection of astronomical texts, including Abbo of Fleury's *De differentia circuli et sphaerae* (fols 30<sup>v</sup>–32<sup>r</sup>) and Cicero's *Aratea* (fols 36<sup>r</sup>–48<sup>v</sup>) (Figure 8).<sup>22</sup> The presence of blanks between different items scattered through the book highlights its nature as a compilation (a couple of whose exemplars

<sup>19</sup> For example, on the first text pages of each gospel (fols 12<sup>v</sup>–13<sup>r</sup>, 56<sup>v</sup>–57<sup>r</sup>, 62<sup>v</sup>, 108<sup>r</sup>) and the first column of the prologue to John (fol. 104<sup>r</sup>); the last two cases are touched in red.

<sup>20</sup> Particularly cramped on fol. 56<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>21</sup> It is lacking on fol. 62<sup>r</sup> (as also beside the Odbertian initial on fol. 53<sup>v</sup>). Fol. 62<sup>v</sup> starts with 'quae in nobis completae sunt ...', but only [Q]uo was supplied on fol. 62<sup>r</sup>, though plenty of space was allowed for the missing '-niam quidem multi conati sunt ordinare narrationem'.

<sup>22</sup> Full inventory of texts: F. Saxl and H. Meier, *Catalogue of Astrological and Mythological Illuminated Manuscripts of the Latin Middle Ages*, vol. III: *Manuscripts in English Libraries*, ed. by H. Bober, 2 vols (London: Warburg Institute, 1953), I, 157–60; with II, pls LVIII, LXII, LXV, and LXVII. See also M. W. Evans, *Medieval Drawings* (London: Hamlyn, 1969), pl. 13; Temple, *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts*, no. 42; *An Eleventh-Century Anglo-Saxon Illustrated Miscellany*, ed. by P. McGurk and others, EEMF, 21 (Copenhagen: Rosenkilde and Bagger, 1983), esp. pp. 67–78, with figs of our MS on pls X–XVII; and W. Noel, *The Harley Psalter* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp. 174–82. Colour: *The Golden Age of Anglo-Saxon Art*, ed. by J. Backhouse and others (London: British Museum, 1984), pl. X (fol. 42<sup>r</sup>, detail); and M. P. Brown, *Manuscripts from the Anglo-Saxon Age* (London: British Library, 2007), pls 92–93 (fols 38<sup>r</sup>, 41<sup>r</sup>).

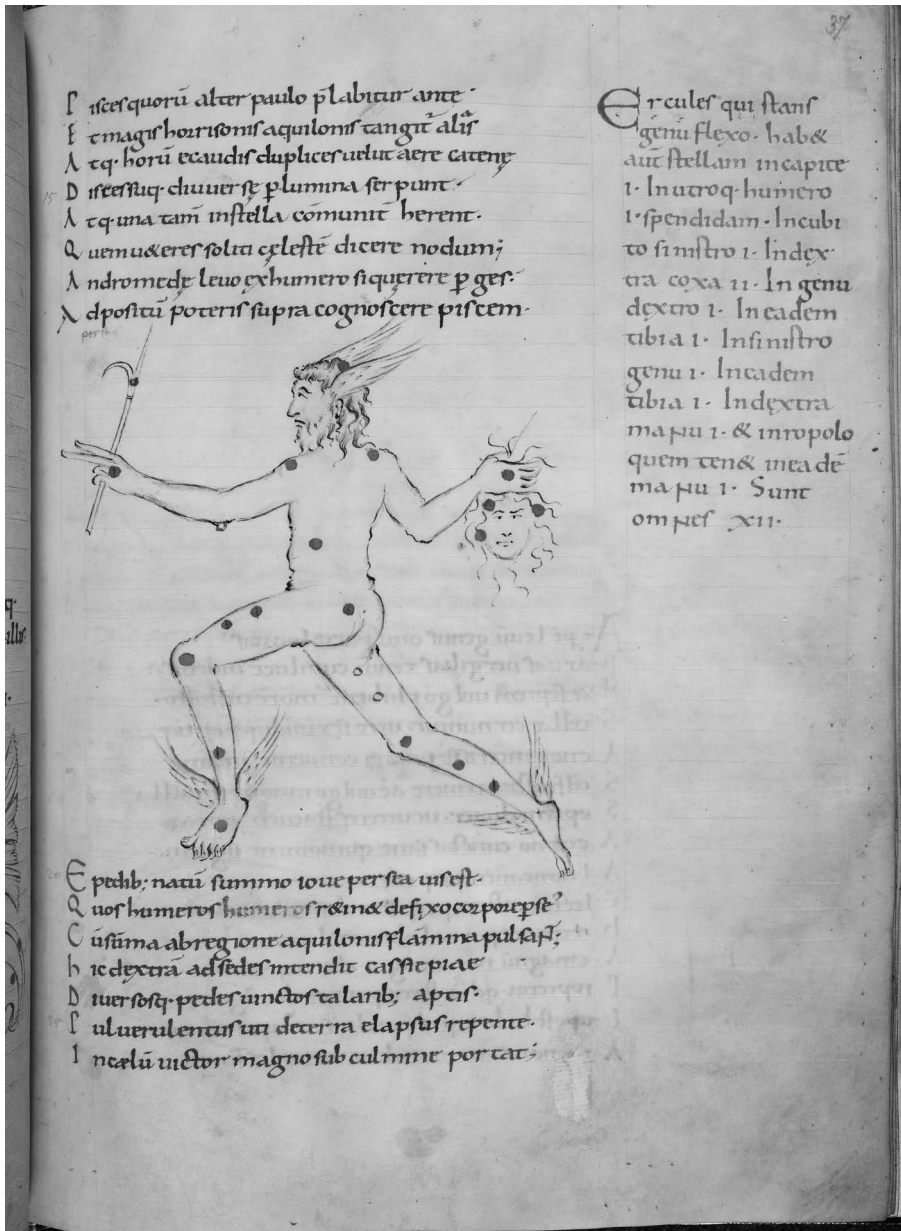


Figure 8. Cicero's *Aratea*; Perseus. London, British Library, MS Harley 2506, fol. 37'.  
 Reproduced with permission.

were seemingly imperfect);<sup>23</sup> however, the general consistency of format, the reappearance of two of the scribes in different sections, and the fact that some of the changes from one work to the next occur mid-quire all suggest that it was conceived as a single collection, though probably realized in stages. Scribally complex, the manuscript is seemingly the work of three main hands (or types of hand), with brief contributions by five other contemporaries.<sup>24</sup> One of the main scribes and two of the minor ones have English hands,<sup>25</sup> another shows some English features though is principally Continental,<sup>26</sup> while the rest are unequivocally Continental. The Continental script-types point to an origin in western Francia, and it is often assumed that the manuscript was made at Fleury, something which the coexistence of English and Frankish hands would certainly suit. As for the participation of our artist, this is compatible with, but not clear evidence for, manufacture at Fleury since Saint-Benoît-sur-Loire was only one of several places at which he plied his trade. Further evidence for an association with Fleury is possibly, however, supplied by an unusual detail within the text of *De differentia*: a sentence which in most versions includes Abbo's name, in this copy has instead 'Berno'. Whilst in the abstract one might imagine that Fleury would be the last place where the name of its great scholar and abbot would be replaced in one of his own works, consideration of the nature of this particular reference suggests rather the reverse. The named individual forms part of an analogy for explaining one of the properties of the moon: 'Therefore when you hear that the first moon is always separated by twelve divisions from the sun, so imagine it is as if Abbo/Berno were to be separated by twelve brothers from his abbot and so he would sit somewhere thirteenth in line.'<sup>27</sup> Now

<sup>23</sup> Blanks: fols 32<sup>v</sup>, 35<sup>v</sup>, 35<sup>\*-v</sup>, 65<sup>r</sup>, col. 2, 65<sup>v</sup>, 69<sup>v</sup>, 73<sup>\*-v</sup>. Unlike fol. 1<sup>r</sup>, none of these is particularly discoloured, suggesting that none was ever the cover of a self-contained unit (only fol. 35<sup>v</sup> is marked, but with what looks like ink or paint trials rather than exposure or 'wear and tear' stains). Below the end of the writing on fols 65<sup>r</sup> and 69<sup>r</sup> (within *Preceptum ingrediendi canonis Tholomei*) a contemporary hand has noted 'des[unt] folia III' and 'des[unt] folia IIII' respectively.

<sup>24</sup> Hand type 1: fols 1<sup>r</sup>–18<sup>r</sup> (in alternation with 2). Hand type 2: fols 1<sup>v</sup>–30<sup>v</sup> (first in alternation with 1, gradually becoming the dominant partner and wholly taking over from fol. 18<sup>v</sup>, but then in alternation with 3 and 4) and fols 33<sup>r</sup>–55<sup>r</sup>. Hand 3: fol. 23<sup>v</sup>, col. 2. Hand 4: fols 25<sup>r-v</sup> and 30<sup>v</sup>–32<sup>r</sup>. Hand 5: fol. 51<sup>v</sup>, col. 1, top half. Hand 6: fols 55<sup>v</sup>–69<sup>r</sup>, 74<sup>r</sup>–83<sup>v</sup>, 86<sup>r</sup>–93<sup>v</sup>. Hand 7: fols 84<sup>v</sup>–85<sup>v</sup> (except for 8's stint). Hand 8: fol. 85<sup>r</sup>, col. 1, a few lines.

<sup>25</sup> Hands 1, 3, and 5.

<sup>26</sup> Hand 6, which has some points in common with that of Leofnoth, an Anglo-Saxon who worked at Fleury: see note 91 below.

<sup>27</sup> Fol. 31<sup>r</sup>, col. 2, two lines from the bottom: 'Ergo dum primam lunam XII partibus semper a sole distare audis, ita intellige ac si XII fratribus distet berno a suo abbate et ita tercius decimus

whilst this would have been a clear and resonant analogy when Abbo was an ordinary member of the community, once he had become abbot (988) it was nonsensical at Fleury — and there alone. The substitution is arguably most likely, therefore, to have happened at Fleury during Abbo's abbacy (988–1004). Moreover, someone called Berno was seemingly there at precisely the right time, since the scholar of that name who was to become Abbot of Reichenau (from 1008 to 1048) is believed to have visited Fleury in the 990s. Other explanations cannot be ruled out; however, this small but striking change is readily intelligible if our manuscript was made at Fleury after the elevation of Abbo and the arrival of Berno.

The text of the *Aratea* in this manuscript has a complicated relationship with, on the one hand, a ninth-century Lotharingian copy which had reached Canterbury by the late tenth century<sup>28</sup> and, on the other, a group of English copies of eleventh- and twelfth-century date.<sup>29</sup> The evidence suggests that, alongside the aforementioned Lotharingian book, another early manuscript of the work was available in England; and it is possible that these two exemplars account for all the English copies. Whether the same pair could lie behind Harley 2506 is a matter of debate. As for the scholia, the versions in our manuscript are shorter than those in the other members of this extended family. Known either as the *Scholia Bernensia* or as the 'De signis caeli' of Pseudo-Bede, Harley's texts are comparable to those in a mid-ninth-century Fleury manuscript and a mid-tenth-century Limoges one.<sup>30</sup>

Now, in comparison to other manuscripts of the *Aratea* where each constellation was generally allotted a page and the relevant illustration and scholia were presented above the Ciceronian verses, in Harley 2506 the layout was reconceived: *Aratea* and scholia were presented in parallel columns of different widths (akin to

aliquo loco resideat ordine.' The apparatus of R. B. Thomson's edition of the text ('Two Astronomical Tractates of Abbo of Fleury', in *The Light of Nature: Essays in the History and Philosophy of Science Presented to A. C. Crombie*, ed. by J. D. North and J. J. Roche (Dordrecht: Nijhoff, 1985), pp. 113–33; relevant portion on p. 127, lines 95–98) implies that only one other copy (BAV, MS Ottob. Lat. 67, said to be of s. xii<sup>in</sup>) has this reading, whereas fifteen have 'Abbo' (one has 'Abba').

<sup>28</sup> Where it was restored: BL, MS Harley 647 (Saxl and Meier, *Catalogue*, I, 149–51).

<sup>29</sup> Discussed in *Ciceron, Aratea, Fragments Poétiques*, ed. by J. Soubiran (Paris: Belles Lettres, 1972), esp. pp. 110–11, 125–32, 137; *An Eleventh-Century Illustrated Anglo-Saxon Miscellany*, ed. by McGurk, pp. 67–78; *Texts and Transmission: A Survey of the Latin Classics*, ed. by L. D. Reynolds (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983), pp. 22–24.

<sup>30</sup> BnF, MSS lat. 5543 and lat. 5239; R. W. Scheller, *Exemplum: Model-book Drawings and the Practice of Artistic Transmission in the Middle Ages ca. 900–ca. 1470* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1995), pp. 112–13, figs 25–26.

main text and gloss respectively),<sup>31</sup> and spaces were reserved within the wider *Aratea* column for the illustrations of the constellations. Most of these *figurae* were contributed by our artist; one may conceivably be the work of another hand, while another couple were never supplied.<sup>32</sup> The images are themselves a synthesis that draws on the visual traditions of both the Cicero and the Pseudo-Bede texts, illustrated copies of both of which would therefore seem to have been known by our artist. In sum, both the layout and the iconography appear to have been reinvented for this particular copy. The innovative, possibly piecemeal, nature of the process is suggested by the circumstance that while seven of the illustrations suit their spaces well and three satisfactorily, four are a distinctly awkward fit,<sup>33</sup> by the fact that four were unfinished or unstarted,<sup>34</sup> and by the existence of alternative lines and versions under some of the others.<sup>35</sup> Equally, a couple of the designs seem rather awkward, while another two are merely competent.<sup>36</sup> The remaining fifteen, however, are masterly.<sup>37</sup> In the majority of cases, notwithstanding the complication of divergent models and (in theory) the obligation to preserve the placement of the stars within each image, our artist still injected something of his personality into the task: his lines have a grace, and these *figurae* have a vivacity that is superior to those in other early members of the tradition.

The precise function of such a 'scientific' manuscript — compendious, corrected by contemporary hands but otherwise fairly 'clean' — is debatable. That it was not designed for, and was certainly not used in, the schoolroom is abundantly clear to anyone who has handled the cramped, much-glossed and heavily used, broadly contemporary 'school manuscripts' of Fleury.<sup>38</sup> The lowliest role one could reconcile

<sup>31</sup> This also assimilates the design to the two-column layout used throughout the rest of the book.

<sup>32</sup> Possible other hand: fol. 43<sup>v</sup> (Ara). The wings added to the head of Sagittarius (fol. 39<sup>v</sup>) may also be the work of another hand. Completely blank: fol. 37<sup>v</sup> (Pleiads), fol. 38<sup>r</sup> (Lyra); see also note 34. The other, simpler diagrams elsewhere in the MS (fols 31<sup>v</sup> and 53<sup>r</sup>) were also by other hands.

<sup>33</sup> Respectively, fols 37<sup>r</sup>, 38<sup>r</sup>, 41<sup>r</sup>, 42<sup>r</sup>, 42<sup>v</sup>, 43<sup>r</sup>, 44<sup>r</sup>; fols 40<sup>r</sup>, 41<sup>v</sup>, 44<sup>v</sup>; and fols 36<sup>r</sup>, 39<sup>r</sup>, 39<sup>v</sup>, 40<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>34</sup> Unfinished: fols 36<sup>r</sup>, 43<sup>v</sup>; cf. note 32 above.

<sup>35</sup> Fols 36<sup>r</sup>, 38<sup>r</sup> (Cignus), 39<sup>r</sup>, 42<sup>r</sup> (Argo).

<sup>36</sup> Respectively, fols 36<sup>r</sup>, 39<sup>v</sup>; and fols 36<sup>r</sup>, 40<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>37</sup> Fols 37<sup>r</sup>, 38<sup>r</sup>, 38<sup>v</sup>, 39<sup>r</sup>, 40<sup>r</sup>, 41<sup>r</sup> (both), 41<sup>v</sup>, 42<sup>r</sup> (both), 42<sup>v</sup>, 43<sup>r</sup>, 44<sup>r</sup> (both), and 44<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>38</sup> For example, the composite Sedulius, Prudentius, Bede in Orléans (Médiathèque, MS 307), and the composite Boethius, Remigius, Leo in Paris (BnF, MS lat. 2788). See, more generally, Abbo Floriacensis, *Quaestiones grammaticales*, ed. by A. Guerreau-Jalabert (Paris: Belles Lettres, 1982), pp. 154–64, 177–93.

with the spacious layout, unhurried transcription, and relatively pristine appearance of our volume, by contrast, is a 'good' reference copy; and it bespeaks a milieu that valued work of this kind — as Fleury around the millennium doubtless was.<sup>39</sup>

**BL, MS Harley 2904** is a magnificent gallican psalter of imposing dimensions (Figures 9–10).<sup>40</sup> A masterpiece of calligraphy, it is spaciouly written by a single scribe,<sup>41</sup> who was also responsible for a pontifical booklet in Cambridge.<sup>42</sup> The stately script is complemented by gold initials throughout — small ones for each verse, large ones heading every psalm<sup>43</sup> — but there is comparatively little artwork as such. Modestly decorated initials mark Psalms 118 and 143,<sup>44</sup> grander ones Psalms 109 and 119,<sup>45</sup> a finer one Psalm 101,<sup>46</sup> while a wholly magnificent 'B', supported

<sup>39</sup> P. Riché, *Abbon de Fleury* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2004), pp. 114–25; [Ville d'Orléans], *Lumières de l'an mil en Orléanais: Autour du millénaire d'Abbon de Fleury* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2004), pp. 217–41.

<sup>40</sup> Size: 335x250 mm. Written area: 226x132 mm. Lines per page: 18; T. A. M. Bishop, *English Caroline Minuscule* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971), no. 16; Temple, *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts*, no. 41; David N. Dumville, *English Caroline Script and Monastic History: Studies in Benedictinism, AD 950–1030*, Studies in Anglo-Saxon History, 6 (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1993), pp. 58–65; Michael Lapidge, 'Abbot Germanus, Winchcombe, Ramsey and the Cambridge Psalter', in *Words, Texts and Manuscripts: Studies in Anglo-Saxon Culture Presented to Helmut Gneuss*, ed. by M. Korhammer (Cambridge: Boydell and Brewer, 1992), pp. 99–129; A. Corrêa, 'The Liturgical Manuscripts of Oswald's Houses', in *Oswald LI*, pp. 285–324, esp. pp. 292–96; also (the source of the putative attribution to Winchester) *The Salisbury Psalter*, ed. by Celia Sisam and Kenneth Sisam, EETS, o.s. 242 (London: Oxford University Press, 1959), pp. 4–5.

<sup>41</sup> Minims are consistently c. 5 mm high; a smaller-gauge version of the same script (3.5 mm) was used for *Pusillus eram*, fol. 188<sup>r-v</sup>. Colour plate of script: M. Gullick, *Calligraphy* (London: Studio Editions, 1990), pl. 13; E. Clayton, 'Workplaces for Writing', in *Pen in Hand*, ed. by Gullick, pp. 1–17, esp. 14–16, observes that, although the script of BL, MS Harley 2904 and Orléans, Médiathèque, MS 127 resembles that of the Winchester-made Benedictinal of St Æthelwold (BL, MS Additional 49598), in fact they represent 'fundamentally different scribal techniques and genealogy, although to the untutored eye their scribes may appear to be generating the same letter forms'.

<sup>42</sup> Cambridge, Sidney Sussex College, MS Δ.5.15 (James 100): *Two Anglo-Saxon Pontificals*, ed. by H. J. Banting, HBS, 104 (London: Boydell and Brewer, 1989), pp. xxxix–li, 157–70; Corrêa, 'Liturgical Manuscripts of Oswald's Houses', pp. 299–306.

<sup>43</sup> And subsections within Psalm 118.

<sup>44</sup> Fols 151<sup>v</sup> and 181<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>45</sup> Fols 144<sup>r</sup> (J. P. Gilson, *British Museum, Schools of Illumination*, vol. 1 (London: British Museum, 1914), pl. 10) and 164<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>46</sup> Fol. 125<sup>r</sup>: G. F. Warner, *British Museum Reproductions from Illuminated Manuscripts*, series 2, 3rd edn (London: British Museum, 1923), pl. V; Temple, *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts*, ill. 140; Gullick, *Calligraphy*, pl. 12. That to Psalm 51, now lost, was presumably of comparable grade.

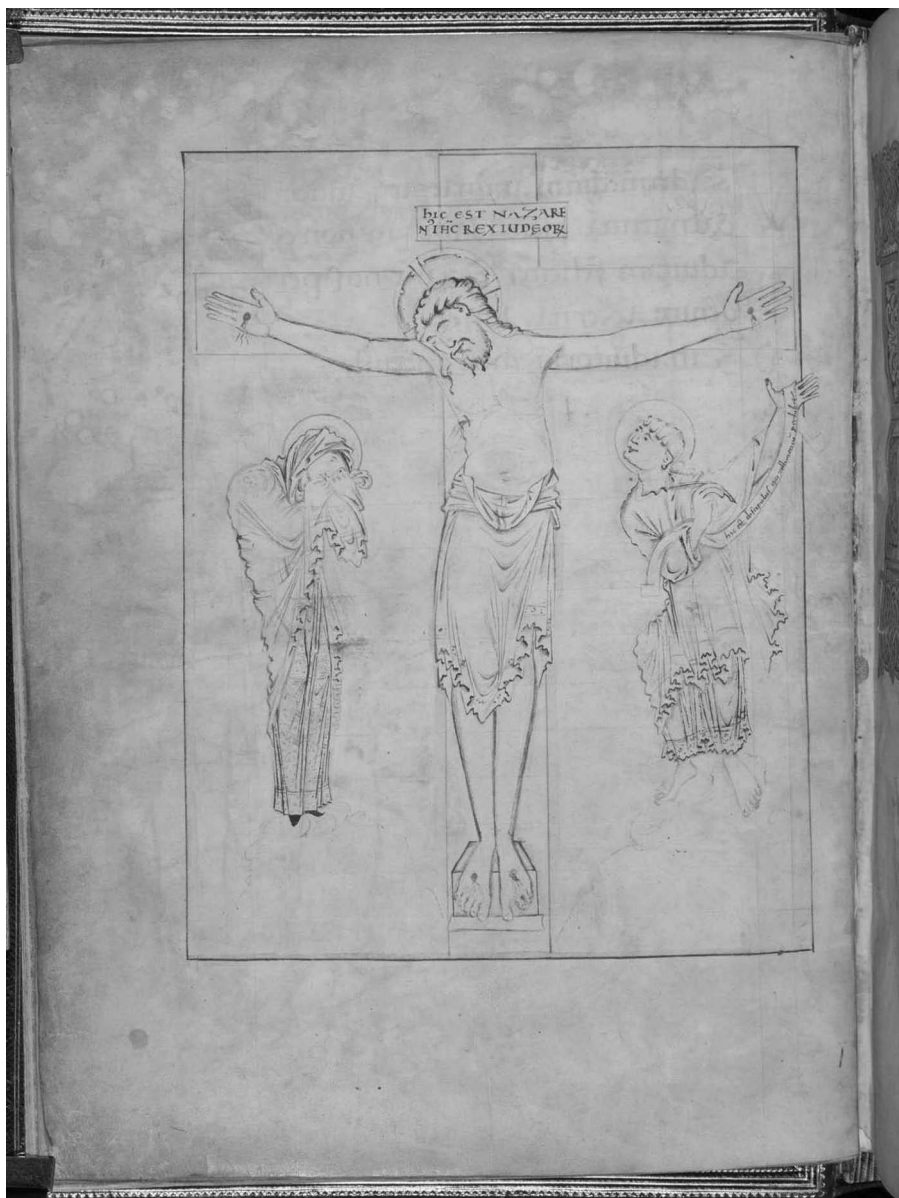


Figure 9. 'Ramsey' Psalter: Crucifixion, London, British Library, MS Harley 2904, fol. 3<sup>v</sup>.  
Reproduced with permission.



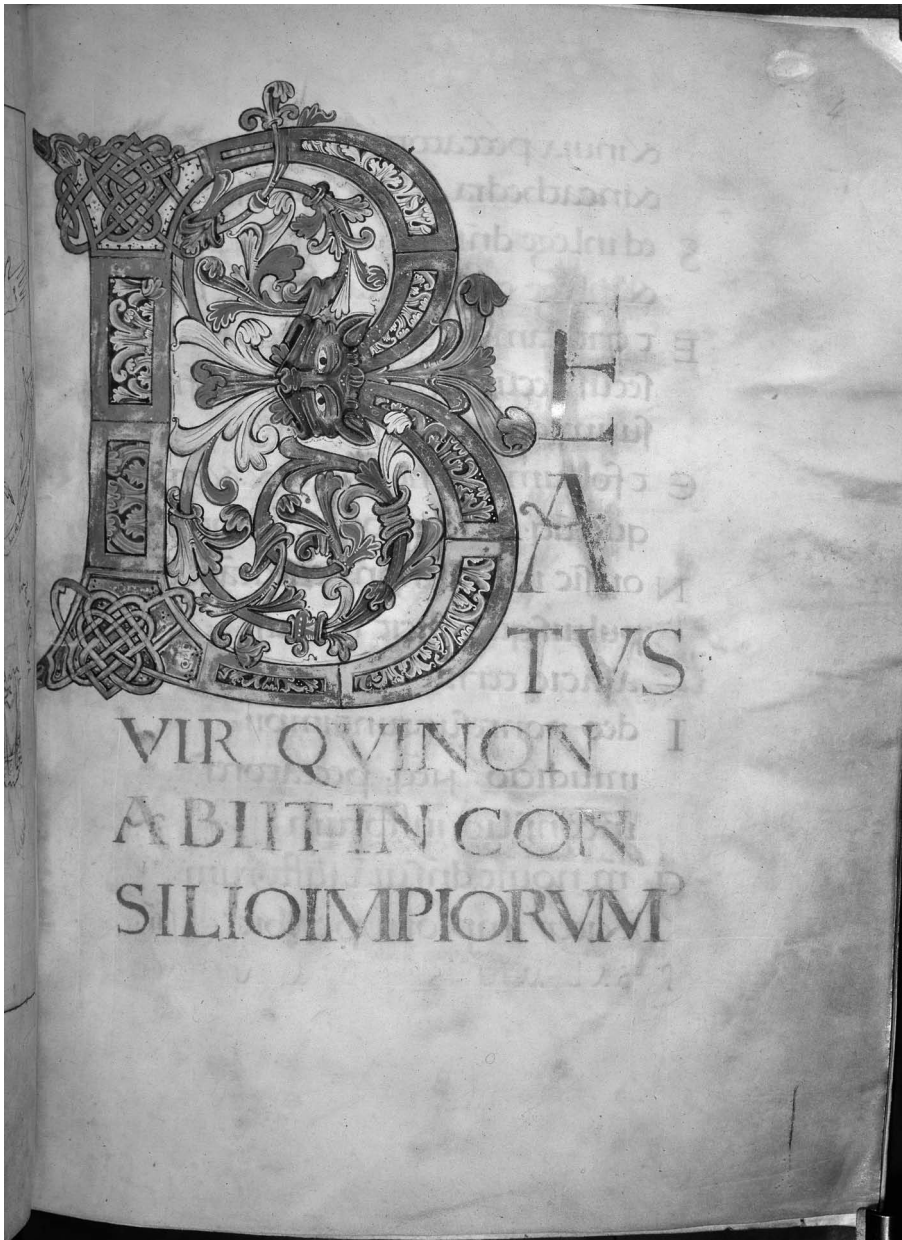


Figure 10. *Beatus vir* (Psalm 1). London, British Library, MS Harley 2904, fol. 4r.  
Reproduced with permission.

by six lines of golden Square capitals, introduces Psalm 1.<sup>47</sup> Facing this last is a full-page tinted drawing of the Crucifixion, the only pictorial matter in the volume — and the work of our artist.<sup>48</sup> The image was done on the final verso of a preliminary quire of three leaves;<sup>49</sup> however, ruled to the same pattern as the rest of the book and containing prefatory texts written by the same scribe,<sup>50</sup> it was undoubtedly an integral part of the project. It is difficult to decide whether our artist was also responsible for the aforementioned decorated initials. They are sufficiently close in style to the initials and frames in Boulogne 11 (which are certainly his work) to make it possible, without being so close as to prove the point; accordingly, the attribution may be judged probable rather than certain. A striking similarity, by contrast, links the script on the scroll held by St John in Harley 2904 and that on the scrolls of Mark and Isaiah in Boulogne 11; these texts are almost certainly the work of one and the same hand, which is very likely therefore to have been that of our artist.<sup>51</sup> He wrote a neat Caroline minuscule, characterized by high ascenders relative to the minims, but lacking other distinctive features and with none that is diagnostically English as opposed to Continental.

Returning to the drawing of the Crucifixion, we see that Christ is dead on the cross: his eyes are shut, his head and body drooping, blood flowing discreetly from all of his wounds. Yet neither contorted nor wasted, he is a serene figure who thus evokes life beyond death. Simultaneously, because of his grand scale, outspread

<sup>47</sup> Fol. 4<sup>r</sup>: J. J. G. Alexander, *The Decorated Letter* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1978), pl. 15; S. McKendrick and K. Doyle, *Bible Manuscripts: 1400 Years of Scribes and Scripture* (London: British Library, 2007), ill. 42.

<sup>48</sup> Fol. 3<sup>v</sup>; Facsimile: Gilson, *British Museum, Schools of Illumination*, I, pl. 9; Colour: Wormald, *English Drawing*, frontispiece (detail); McKendrick and Doyle, *Bible Manuscripts*, ill. 41; Comment: E. John, 'The World of Abbot Ælfric', in *Ideal and Reality in Frankish and Anglo-Saxon Society: Studies Presented to J. M. Wallace-Hadrill*, ed. by Patrick Wormald, with Donald Bullough and Roger Collins (Oxford: Blackwell, 1983), pp. 300–16 (pp. 309–12); B. C. Raw, *Anglo-Saxon Crucifixion Iconography* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), pp. 97, 132–33, 155–58; J. O'Reilly, 'St John as a Figure of the Contemplative Life', in *Dunstan LTC*, pp. 165–85 (pp. 165–69).

<sup>49</sup> A singleton followed by a bifolium.

<sup>50</sup> After the Augustinian 'Canticum psalmorum animas decorant' and 'Canticum psalmorum Carmen electum', the third item (*Oratio ante psalterium*, 'Suscipere dignare domine deus omnipotens') ends on fol. 3<sup>r</sup>, line four, followed only by the one-line 'Deus in adiutorium meum intende' (Ps. 69); the rest of this page is blank.

<sup>51</sup> As too is the titulus above Christ, written in hybrid capitals.

arms, and outstretched fingers, he seems to embrace — almost to shield — Mary and John below him. The smaller scale of the human figures and their frenetic activity — Mary hunched, clutching her robe and presumably weeping in grief, John staring at Christ while actively writing an eye-witness account<sup>52</sup> — enhances the sublime majesty of the peaceful yet powerful divinity. Carolingian images in which Christ's head lolls or turns down towards his grieving mother anticipate the general design of our page;<sup>53</sup> however, unequivocally dead Christ-figures — such as those of the Ottonian Gero Crucifix, Lothar Cross, Gereon Sacramentary, and sacramentary leaves from Corvey,<sup>54</sup> along with instances in the Anglo-Saxon Sherborne Pontifical and Arenberg Gospels<sup>55</sup> — do not appear until the later tenth century. A couple of these other examples also include a grieving Mary,<sup>56</sup> but none of them shows John writing on a scroll. This latter figure-type would seem to descend from a ninth-century Reimsian exemplar, be it the Utrecht Psalter or a gospel-book.<sup>57</sup> It is thus quite possible that the iconography of our Crucifixion was developed for the present context. The earliest example of a Crucifixion with a dead Christ, a grieving Mary, and a writing John, the image is a landmark in the history of English spirituality as well as art. Forming a diptych with the words, 'Blessed is the man who walks not in the counsel of the ungodly' presented in

<sup>52</sup> John's scroll declares, 'This is the disciple who bears witness to this testimonial' (John 21. 24).

<sup>53</sup> For example, the Saint-Denis rock crystal: G. Kornbluth, *Engraved Gems of the Carolingian Empire* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1995), no. 18.

<sup>54</sup> Cologne Cathedral: K. Beuchers, J. Cramner, and M. Imhof, *Die Ottonen: Kunst, Architektur, Geschichte* (Petersberg: Imhof, 2002), p. 131; Aachen, Palace Chapel Treasury: P. E. Schramm and F. Mütterich, *Denkmale der deutschen Könige und Kaiser: Ein Beitrag zur Herrscher Geschichte von Karl dem Grossen bis Friedrich II, 768–1250*, Veröffentlichungen des Zentralinstituts für Kunstgeschichte in München, 2 (Munich: Prestel, 1962), no. 106; P. Lasko, *Ars Sacra*, 2nd edn (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994), ill. 139; BnF, MS lat. 817, fol. 59<sup>v</sup>: P. Bloch and H. Schnitzler, *Die ottonische kölnen Malerschule*, 2 vols (Düsseldorf: Schwann, 1967–70), I, ill. 99; F. Avril and C. Rabel, *Manuscrits enluminés d'origine germanique I: X–XIV siècle* (Paris: BnF, 1995), no. 59; *Bernward von Hildesheim und das Zeitalter der Ottonen*, ed. by M. Brandt and A. Eggebrecht, 2 vols (Hildesheim: Bernward, 1993), II, no. VI-68.

<sup>55</sup> BnF, MS lat. 987; PML, MS M 869 — a figure-type that may, Raw suggests (*Anglo-Saxon Crucifixion Iconography*, p. 114), reflect German influence.

<sup>56</sup> The Gereon and Corvey Sacramentaries (see note 54).

<sup>57</sup> The former suggested by Noel, 'Utrecht Psalter in England', p. 141. For the latter compare, e.g., John in the Ebbo Gospels (Eprenay, BM, MS 1, fol. 134<sup>v</sup>); W. Koehler and F. Mütterich, *Die karolingischen Miniaturen*, vol. VI.1: *Die Schule von Reims, von dem Anfängen bis zur Mitte des 9. Jahrhunderts*, 2 vols (Berlin: Deutscher Verein für Kunstwissenschaft, 1994), I, 73–84; II, ill. 18b.

golden script on the facing page, it is a forceful evocation of the Redemption of sinful man. Fading has robbed the page of some of its subtleties — notably the coloured lines that enriched the basic outlines — but of none of its pathos. With sureness of touch and delicacy of line, our artist evokes eternity through tragedy, fostering a reflective and compunctive mood.

The manuscript's place of origin is a matter of debate. The articulation of the psalter text and the nature of some of the ancillary prayers indicate that it was prepared for use in a Benedictine context; a textual detail and the decoration of the major initials invite comparisons with Winchester work, while the litany indicates a connection with Ramsey,<sup>58</sup> and the script is most closely paralleled, both in appearance and technique, in the so-called Winchcombe Sacramentary, a manuscript made either at Winchcombe or at Ramsey (though seemingly for 'export').<sup>59</sup> Yet wherever it was made, manufacture in or for the circle of Bishop Oswald of Worcester seems likely, and the book may be the 'Psalter of St Oswald' that is singled out in the fourteenth-century Ramsey library list — whence its traditional name, the Ramsey Psalter.<sup>60</sup>

**PML, MS M 827** is a now-lacunose gospel-book of tenth-century date known, thanks to its long sojourn in the collection of the dukes of Anhalt-Dessau, as the Anhalt Gospels (Figures 11–13).<sup>61</sup> It was produced in a location where the Franco-Saxon style of decoration was still current — so presumably northern France or Flanders, though just conceivably Saxony. In the later ninth century, Saint-Amand had been the epicentre of work in this manner, variants of which were practised at

<sup>58</sup> The triple invocation plus gold for St Benedict in the litany. Note also that BVM, Michael, and Benedict are singled out in the first prayer after the psalter (fol. 213<sup>v</sup>). See further the literature cited in note 40.

<sup>59</sup> Orléans, Médiathèque, MS 127; *The Winchcombe Sacramentary*, ed. by A. David, HBS, 109 (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1995); see also note 41 above.

<sup>60</sup> *English Benedictine Libraries, the Shorter Catalogues*, ed. by R. Sharpe and others, Corpus of British Medieval Library Catalogues, 4 (London: British Library, 1996), list B68, no. 596 (p. 414).

<sup>61</sup> [Sotheby and Co.], *Catalogue of the Anhalt Gospels* (London: Sotheby's, 1927); H. Swarzenski, 'The Anhalt-Morgan Gospels', *Art Bulletin*, 31 (1949), 77–83; D. Berkowitz, *In Remembrance of Creation: Evolution of Art and Scholarship in the Medieval and Renaissance Bible* (Waltham: Brandeis University Press, 1968), no. 57; W. M. Voelkle, *Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts: Major Acquisitions of the Pierpont Morgan Library 1924–1974* (New York: Pierpont Morgan Library, 1974), no. 7; Temple, *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts*, no. 45. Lacking text: Matthew 14. 27–26. 54; Luke 4. 40–9. 29; John 11. 38–12. 16; 16. 7–17. 7; 18. 15–end; start of *capitula lectionum*. The manuscript, which I know only from reproductions, merits thorough re-examination.



Figure 11. 'Anhalt' Gospels: St Matthew. New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M 827, fol. 17<sup>r</sup>. Reproduced with permission.



Figure 12. Framed display text. New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M 827, fol. 19<sup>r</sup>.  
Reproduced with permission.



Figure 13. St Luke. New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M 827, fol. 66<sup>v</sup>.  
Reproduced with permission.

Saint-Vaast (Arras) and Saint-Bertin; however, since many such manuscripts were written for 'export' and echoes of the style are widespread, tenth-century specimens are difficult to localize. Moreover, they have yet to receive the attention they deserve. Elements of the ornament in the Anhalt Gospels can be paralleled in ninth-century work from both Saint-Amand and Saint-Vaast, but there is seemingly no preponderance of evidence in favour of one place in particular.

The original scheme of decoration devised for the Anhalt Gospels consisted of ornamented canon tables, pages of golden display script on purple-painted grounds set inside Franco-Saxon frames, along with portrait and initial pages within similar decorative borders. The frames were duly outlined and the decorative text pages (Figure 12), incipits, and canon tables done, but no evangelist portraits were supplied. Subsequently, our artist made good these lacunae, drawing within the pre-existing frames four evangelist portraits (Figures 11 and 13). One other motif, a bust of Christ in the tympanum for Canons VI and VII, also evokes his work;<sup>62</sup> however, not by his hand, this is difficult to evaluate without direct access to the manuscript.<sup>63</sup> The evangelist portraits are incontestably related to his work in the Boulogne Gospels: the figure-types that he used for Matthew and John in the Anhalt Gospels are closely similar to those of the corresponding evangelists in Boulogne 11 (where the same type is also deployed for Mark) (cf. Figures 3 and 11); the posture (though not the attributes) of Mark in Anhalt is akin to that of Luke in Boulogne; while Anhalt's Luke resembles the figure-type that was used for Jacob on the portrait page of Matthew in Boulogne (compare Figures 13 and 3). Now Anhalt's Luke and Boulogne's Jacob both hold a palm branch. In the case of the former this is, in principle, anomalous since Luke was not a martyr. In relation to the latter, by contrast, the iconography makes better sense: the golden palm that Jacob and all the other uncrowned ancestors in this pictorial genealogy hold, like the long staffs that all the crowned ones brandish, presumably allude to the *virgae* and *flores* shooting from the stock of Jesse, as specified in Isaiah's prophecy of the ancestry of the Messiah, which was to give rise to the imagery of the Tree of Jesse.<sup>64</sup> It is far more likely, therefore, that our artist developed the figure-type for this context and then redeployed it for Luke (where it might then just conceivably have been considered to highlight that evangelists's role in transmitting Christ's

<sup>62</sup> Fol. 14<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>63</sup> While the posture and design match those of the corresponding figure on the facing page (fol. 13<sup>v</sup>), this Christ is reminiscent of the one which our man supplied amidst the evangelists above Canon V in Boulogne, BM, MS 11 (fol. 7<sup>r</sup>).

<sup>64</sup> Isaiah 11. 1–3.



genealogy, as he does in chapter 3, verses 23–38) than the other way around; and we might consequently deduce that his work on Boulogne 11 probably predates his additions to the Anhalt Gospels.

Fairly shortly after our artist had made his contribution to the Anhalt Gospels, another hand or hands coloured in (rather hastily) various areas within some of the decorated pages, reworked certain of the initials, and supplied three more purple panels. Whether the manuscript remained in the same place while these different phases of work were accomplished is unclear. If the original work and the contribution of our artist may both have been done in Flanders, these final touches look more Mosan or Ottonian. The book was seemingly in Saxony by the twelfth century at the latest since the art of its canon tables was copied there then.<sup>65</sup>

**Orléans, Médiathèque, MS 175**, our last manuscript, is a large-format copy of Gregory the Great's *In Ezechielem* (Book II only) (Figures 14–17).<sup>66</sup> Its medieval provenance was Fleury and it was evidently both written and decorated there. The main text was largely the work of a single scribe, with short interventions by two others. Each book, along with the general incipit, is headed by a decorated initial: constructed from interlace, foliate sprigs, and creatures, brightly but crudely coloured, these letters straddle late Carolingian and early Romanesque idioms (Figure 14).<sup>67</sup> As a device for subdividing the text visually they are perfectly serviceable; as 'art' they are uninspiring. Nevertheless, they represent some of the best local work of the late tenth century. One may also observe that, notwithstanding the obvious pretensions of the volume, its parchment is of a mediocre quality.

Gregory's text ends at the bottom of column one on page 148, being terminated with an *explicit* plus colophon written in the red and green display capitals that were deployed throughout the book. Following a common formula, the short colophon invokes peace for the readers and eternal life for the scribes (Figure 15).<sup>68</sup> The rest of this page is blank. The next opening, originally the final one of the

<sup>65</sup> Moench-Nienburg (diocese of Magdeburg).

<sup>66</sup> Temple, *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts*, no. 43; Colour reproductions: [Ville d'Orléans], *Lumières*, p. 142; D. Gaborit-Chopin and others, *La France romane: au temps des premiers Capétiens (987–1152)* (Paris: Hazan, 2005), no. 193.

<sup>67</sup> [Ville d'Orléans], *Lumières*, p. 210, fig. 2; G. L. Micheli, *L'Enluminure du haut moyen âge et les influences irlandaises* (Brussels: Éditions de la Connaissance, 1939), ill. 245. The palette apparently included lazurite: [Ville d'Orléans], *Lumières*, p. 209.

<sup>68</sup> 'Explicunt Omeliae Gregorii Papae/urbis Romae in extrema parte / Ezechielis prophete numero decem / Pax legentibus vita sit aeterna scribentibus. Amen.'

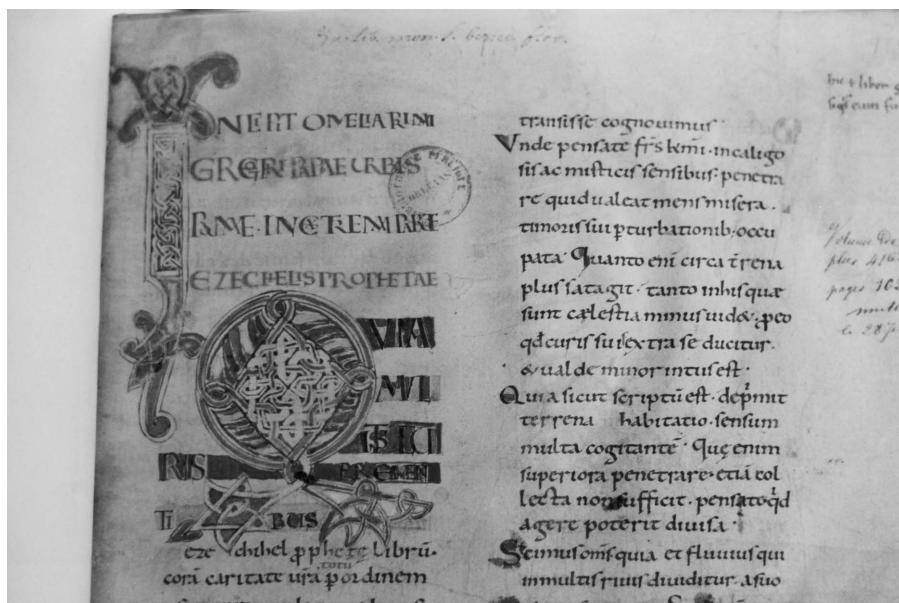


Figure 14. Gregory the Great, *Homilies on Ezekiel* (Book II); initial to the preface to Book II. Orléans, Médiathèque, MS 175, p. 1. Reproduced with permission.

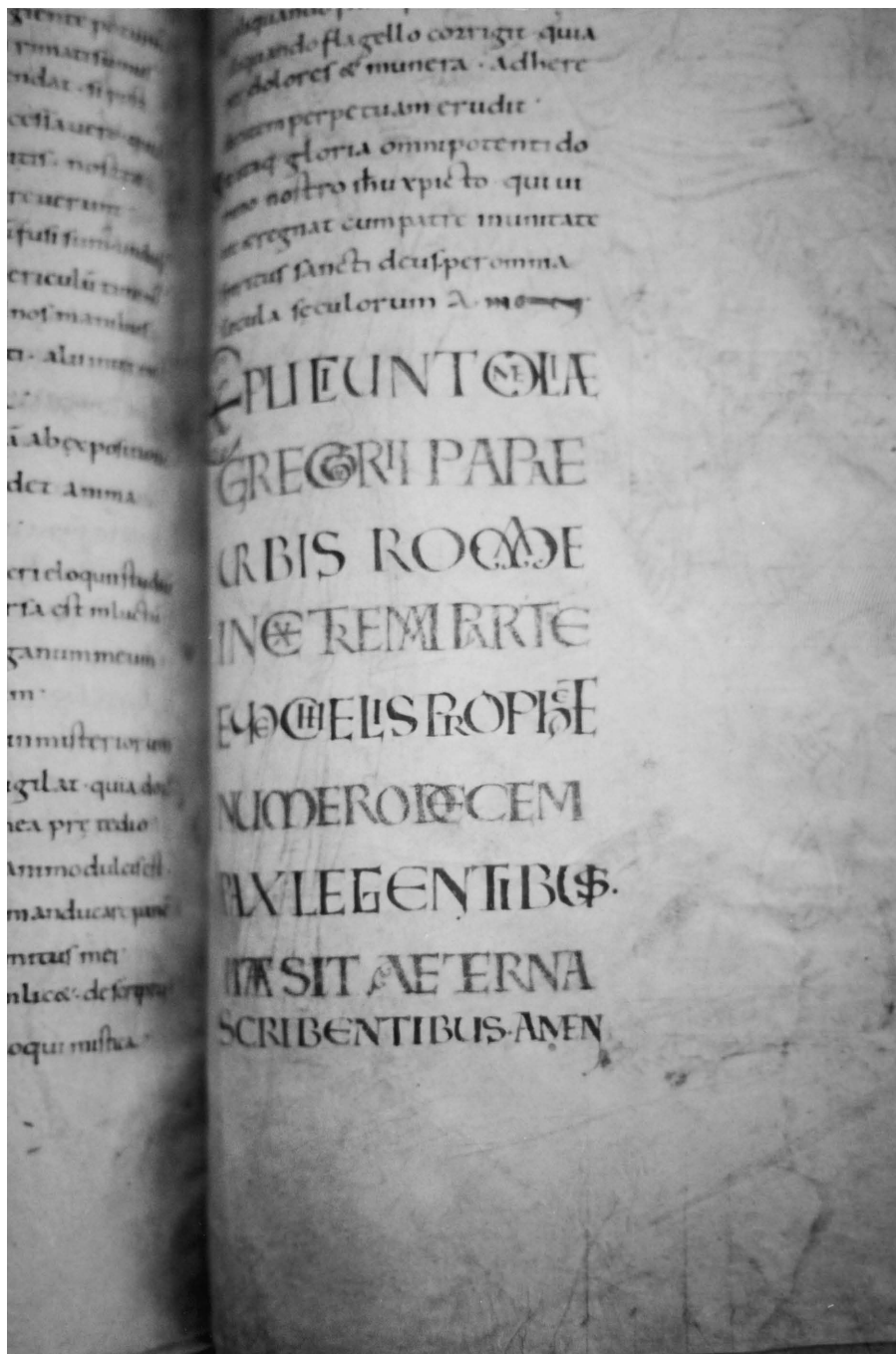


Figure 15. End of text plus colophon. Orléans, Médiathèque, MS 175, p. 148.  
 Reproduced with permission.

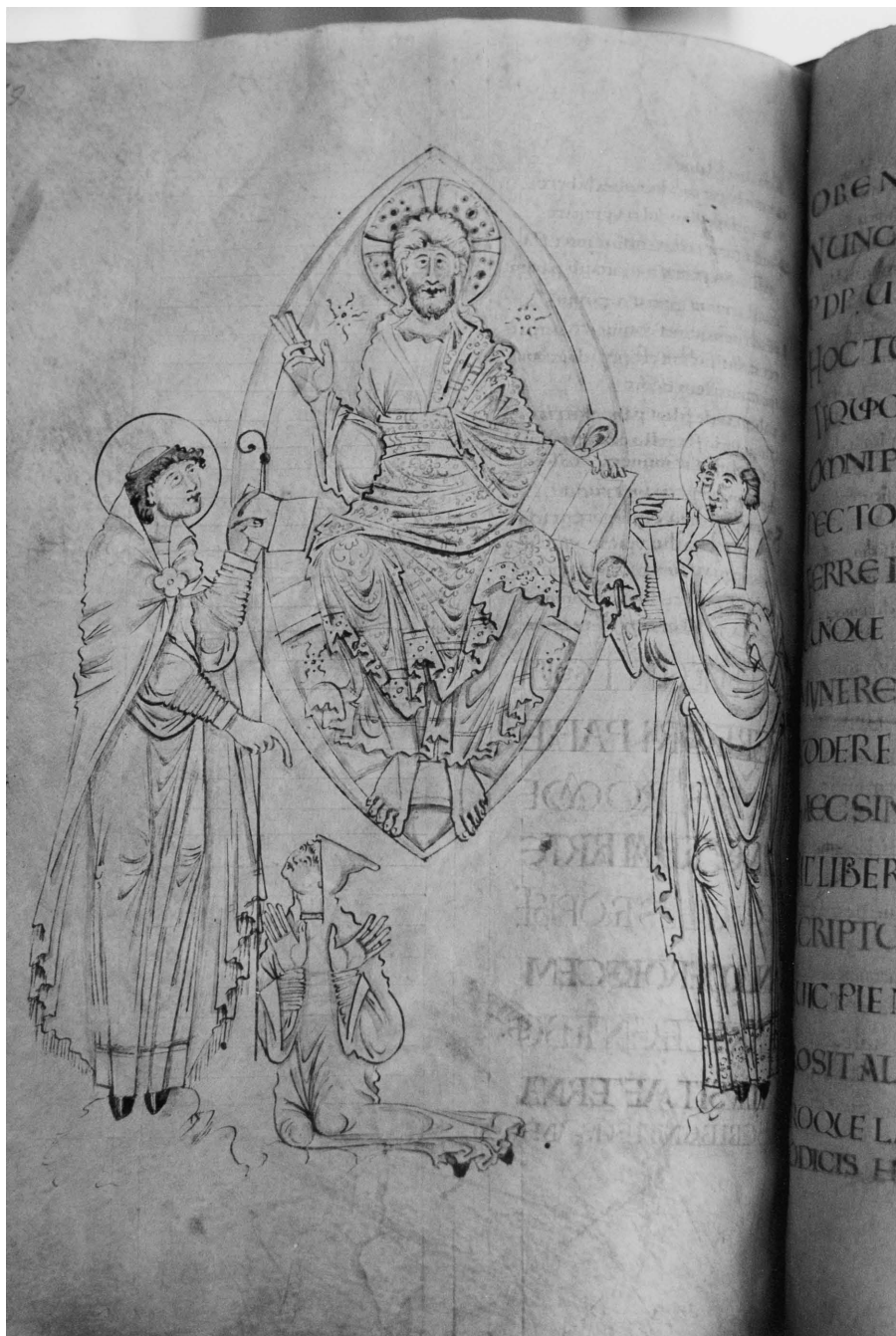


Figure 16. Drawing of Christ, St Gregory, St Benedict, and a monk. Orléans, Médiathèque, MS 175, p. 149. Reproduced with permission.

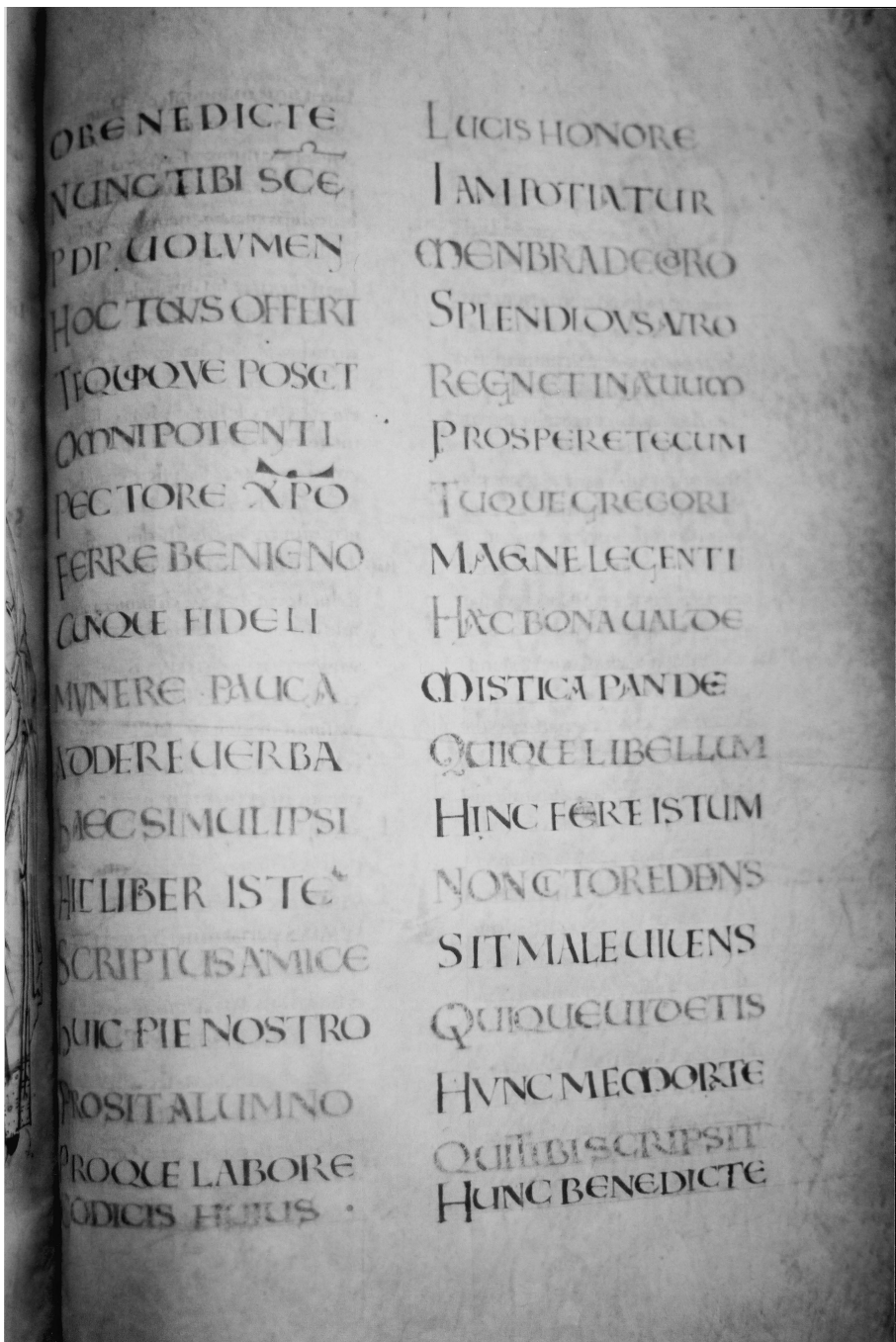


Figure 17. Display text. Orléans, Médiathèque, MS 175, p. 150. Reproduced with permission.

book,<sup>69</sup> is devoted to a more elaborate presentation-cum-colophon, wherein a full-page image by our artist (Figure 16) confronts a longer poetic inscription which, presented in the familiar display capitals alternately red and green by line, fills the facing page (Figure 17).<sup>70</sup> Image and inscription work in tandem. This book, we are told and shown, was written for St Benedict (titular saint of Fleury) who is asked in the verses to intercede with Christ, requesting spiritual benefits for the scribe. Correspondingly, the depicted Benedict holds up an open book to Christ with his left hand, while pointing down with his right hand to a praying, kneeling monk. Gregory the Great, author of the text, is enjoined in the inscription to spread forth his sacred theology to the reader; accordingly, in the picture he holds a long unfurled scroll. After an anathema, the scribal plea at the end of the verses makes direct reference to the imagery: 'You who see this [*videtis* not *legetis*] remember the one who wrote this for you, O Benedict.' The image well expresses the monk's humility and devotion to Benedict, to whom he directs his attention, and it shows how his book brings him into the company of Benedict and Gregory. Note furthermore how Benedict, offering the book to Christ, holds it within the area of the latter's mandorla, where it echoes the grander Book of Life on the divinity's knee: in effect, this earthly book is shown to be a prefiguration of the Book of Life.

The intimate alliance of word and image in terms both of content and of presentation, and their specific relationship to this manuscript suggest that they were developed together for the present context. The participation of a talented artist was clearly envisaged, and our man himself may even have been involved, when the verses were being composed. Certainly he did not come along at a later date (as in the Anhalt Gospels) and fill in a reserved blank space, facing a pre-existing inscription. One might further speculate that it was the presence of our man — endowed with artistic talent far superior to that of any Fleury scribe at this period — that encouraged the development of this dramatic additional endpiece (there was already a more traditional colophon, it will be remembered).

Be all that as it may, this did not remain the end of the book for long. A different hand soon started to copy a short collection of sermons onto the blank final page (the verso of the presentation inscription); and another couple of quires, rather scrappy ones, were appended for the continuation of these, plus other texts,

<sup>69</sup> The third verso and the fourth recto of the final quire, a binion.

<sup>70</sup> Printed: Ch. Cuissard, *Catalogue général des manuscrits des Bibliothèques publiques de France: Départements XII: Orléans* (Paris: Plon, 1889), p. 82 — though note that the acronym in the MS is not 'PDD' as given by Cuissard, but 'PDP'.

which in the event were the work of some eight different scribes.<sup>71</sup> The relevance of the additions in the present context is that none of the eight contributors has a hand that one would date later than the early eleventh century — providing an approximate terminus ante quem for the work that concerns us here.

This then is the agreed corpus of our artist's handiwork. Can anything more be added to it? No other certain autograph illumination would seem to survive. Nevertheless, three further bodies of work deserve our attention. In the first place, there are paintings that echo some of his mannerisms (albeit in a harder more formalized idiom) in two Canterbury manuscripts dating from the second and third decades of the eleventh century, the Arundel 155 Psalter and the Eadwig Gospels.<sup>72</sup> The common artist of these two books used a tinted-line technique akin to that of our man, which might conceivably be held to reflect his influence. Moreover, the bold foliate sprigs, the evangelist symbols, even the hand of God and a bust of the Lord which appear in the canon tables of the Eadwig Gospels reprise motifs previously found together in those of the Boulogne Gospels. The famous image of St Benedict and the monks in the Arundel Psalter has occasionally been held to descend from a late tenth-century exemplar;<sup>73</sup> if there be any truth in this idea, our man must be a leading contender to have been the artist of the putative prototype.

Is there, then, any other indication that our artist may have been at Canterbury around the millennium? Addressing this question brings us to the second body of work we should consider. There is one Canterbury project of the beginning of the eleventh century that could conceivably contain his hand — namely the Harley 603 Psalter.<sup>74</sup> Now, there is little in the restricted art of Christ Church books dating from the later tenth century that prepares the way for the numerous, highly complicated illustrations of this large psalter. Figural imagery, as opposed to decorated initials, is in short supply: indeed, prior to an ambitious gospel-book that

<sup>71</sup> Hand i) pp. 151–53; ii) pp. 154–55; iii) pp. 156–57; iv) pp. 157–58; v) p. 158; vi) pp. 159–61 and 168–74; vii) pp. 162–65; viii) pp. 166–68. The hymns added to the final page (174) represent a different phase of work altogether (xi–xii).

<sup>72</sup> BL, MS Arundel 155; Hannover, Kestner-Museum, MS WM XX1a 36; Temple, *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts*, nos 66–67.

<sup>73</sup> Fol. 133v: Temple, *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts*, ill. 213. The case for its relationship to a lost Canterbury work of the later tenth century is put by, e.g., John Higgitt, 'Glastonbury, Dunstan, Monasticism and Manuscripts', *Art History*, 2 (1979), 275–90 (pp. 283–85).

<sup>74</sup> BL, MS Harley 603. Its first phase, to be more precise. Ohlgren, *Anglo-Saxon Textual Illustrations*, no. 2; Noel, *The Harley Psalter*.

is broadly contemporary with Harley 603<sup>75</sup> — and whose art is clearly indebted both to Harley and to its source, the ninth-century Utrecht Psalter — Christ Church figural art is confined to a set of frontispieces in a single manuscript (the so-called ‘Sherborne’ or ‘Dunstan’ Pontifical).<sup>76</sup> Correspondingly, of the four artists who comprised the initial team responsible for illustrating Harley 603, only one can arguably be seen in any other Christ Church volume (the gospel-book to which allusion was made above).<sup>77</sup> The logical deduction from this picture of paucity followed by plenty is that some or all of these four highly talented individuals were recruited or summoned from elsewhere. Since in this first phase of work on Harley 603, all the artists imitated with preternatural accuracy not just the complex iconography but also the very lines of their source (the Utrecht Psalter), the individual mannerisms that might betray a particular individual are largely absent. On the grounds of high competence, greatest fidelity to the spirit of the original, and a preference for sepia (brown and black) rather than colour, the approach of artist ‘B’ is the most compatible with what we know of the individual who concerns us here.<sup>78</sup> Whatever the truth of this particular point, the long-recognized debt of our man, stylistic and iconographic, to the art of the Utrecht Psalter surely indicates that he had had opportunity to study it: participation in Harley 603, involving not just exposure to Utrecht but also the discipline of meticulously copying its illustrations, provides a highly credible explanation for how this could have come about.

Moving on to the third body of work, we find that one part of it has regularly, in fact, been juxtaposed with our artist’s contribution to the Ramsey Psalter: namely the beautiful ivory corpus on a composite reliquary crucifix now in London (Figure 18).<sup>79</sup> Iconographically linked as two of only four broadly coeval

<sup>75</sup> PML, MS M 869; Temple, *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts*, no. 56.

<sup>76</sup> BnF, MS lat. 943; Temple, *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts*, no. 35; Rasmussen, *Pontificaux*, pp. 258–317. The best plates of these frequently reproduced pages remain Victor Leroquais, *Les Pontificaux Manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France*, 2 vols (Paris, 1937), pls VII–X.

<sup>77</sup> PML, MS M 869 — as first suggested in Richard Gameson, ‘The Anglo-Saxon Artists of the Harley 603 Psalter’, *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, 143 (1990), 29–48 (pp. 40–41).

<sup>78</sup> Fols 12<sup>r</sup>, 15<sup>r</sup>, 17<sup>r</sup>–27<sup>v</sup>. His style, mannerisms, and approach are discussed by Gameson, ‘Anglo-Saxon Artists’, pp. 35–36, and Noel, *Harley Psalter*, pp. 28–42.

<sup>79</sup> Victoria and Albert Museum, M7943–1862: J. Beckwith, *Ivory Carvings in Early Medieval England* (London: Harvey Miller and Medcalf, 1972), no. 20, frontispiece, and ill. 47; *Golden Age*, ed. by Backhouse and others, no. 118, pl. XXVI; *Otto der Grosse, Magdeburg und Europa*, ed. by M. Puhle, 2 vols (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 2001), II, no. VI. 27.





Figure 18. Crucifix with Anglo-Saxon ivory corpus. London, Victoria and Albert Museum, M7943–1862. Reproduced with permission.

Anglo-Saxon works that highlight Christ's death on the cross and which use similar slumped yet wholesome figure-types for his body,<sup>80</sup> the ivory and the miniature are also stylistically comparable, allowance made for the different demands of their media and for the wear that has eroded the drapery folds of the carving. Also comparable stylistically, albeit a little more distant, are the ivory figures of the Virgin and St John that are at Saint-Omer.<sup>81</sup> Although opinion has fluctuated concerning whether these are the work of an Anglo-Saxon or of a Fleming schooled in English idioms, the former (and dominant) view is surely correct. Squaring the circle, one influential commentator (who happens to be French) has judged that 'they were probably carved at Saint-Bertin by an Anglo-Saxon who could capture with unparalleled virtuosity the tremulous qualities of contemporary illumination'.<sup>82</sup> If this were the case, one would then have to ask: how many Anglo-Saxon artists with precisely this style and exceptional talent are there likely to have been at Saint-Bertin around the millennium?

Clearly, none of these suggestions is susceptible of proof, but nor should they be rejected out of hand. Let us keep them in mind as possibilities as we consider the implications of the 'hard' evidence for our man's career.

What, then, does the certain oeuvre enable us to say about our artist? None of the core manuscripts is dated internally; however, they may all be ascribed an approximate date-limit on external or contextual grounds. Liturgical evidence might favour outer extremes of c. 970 and 1001 for the Ramsey Psalter,<sup>83</sup> and if the manuscript is indeed associable with St Oswald, then it must have been produced before that bishop's death in 992. The Harley astronomical collection obviously postdates the composition of Abbo's *De differentia*, and the substitution of 'Berno' for

<sup>80</sup> The miniatures in the Sherborne Pontifical and the Arenberg Gospels that also show Christ dead on the cross both include a pair of angels with draped hands above the arms of the cross and a hand of God at the top of the shaft, though they share with the ivory the knot in Christ's loincloth.

<sup>81</sup> Saint-Omer, Musée Sandelin, no. 2822; Beckwith, *Ivory Carvings*, no. 25, ills 57–58; D. Gaborit-Chopin, *Ivoires du Moyen Âge* (Fribourg: Office du Livre, 1978), pp. 89–90, ill. 112; and p. 194, cat. 112 (comparing the style in particular to PML, MS M 827 and Boulogne, BM, MS 11, as also to Cambridge, Trinity College, MS 0.3.7); *Golden Age*, ed. by Backhouse, no. 119, pl. XXVII; Gaborit-Chopin and others, *La France romane*, cat. 229, comparing them to Orléans, Médiathèque, MS 175.

<sup>82</sup> Gaborit-Chopin in *La France Romane*, p. 302.

<sup>83</sup> Dumville, *English Caroline Script*, pp. 64–65 with n. 279.

'Abbo' therein favours a date during the 990s or shortly thereafter.<sup>84</sup> The Boulogne Gospels is directly linked to the efflorescence of the scriptorium of Saint-Bertin that occurred during the time of Abbot Odbert (*c.* 987–*c.* 1006) and, since Odbert was himself a contributor, it must date from before *c.* 1006. The Fleury Gregory, it will be recalled, was soon augmented with a series of sermons, starting on the verso of the inscription page that accompanies the presentation image. These were the labour of many hands, not one of which looks later than the early eleventh century — which, therefore, the contribution of our artist must predate. Circumstantial considerations add modest support for a date prior to *c.* 1005 for this and for any other work accomplished at Fleury.<sup>85</sup> The final stage in the embellishing of the Anhalt Gospels, which again the intervention of our artist must predate, also looks to be early eleventh century. Now, some of these 'indicative dates' are obviously firmer than others; however, as a whole they are strikingly consistent in suggesting that our man was active at some point during the last couple of decades of the tenth century and the first of the eleventh. Further work on the relative chronology of Fleury scribes and books may yet bring greater precision to that part of his oeuvre but is unlikely to change this general range.

While the lack of precise dates, added to the certainty that we have lost some — probably much — of our artist's output, renders it impossible to reconstruct his career as such, certain general observations can still be made. His style and decorative vocabulary show that he learnt his trade in England. He is, as noted at the outset, one of the principal exponents of the 'Utrecht' style of late Anglo-Saxon drawing, a manner derived from ninth-century Reimsian art in general and from the Utrecht Psalter in particular. The depth of his apparent familiarity with the art of that psalter, which was at Canterbury by this time, leaves little doubt that he had had the opportunity to contemplate it, and one scenario that could account for this was suggested above. Yet he has little in common otherwise with the house styles of the scriptoria of late tenth-century Canterbury (drawing with coloured lines and

<sup>84</sup> Abbo's text, reasonably believed to precede his departure for England (985) but otherwise undated, can only establish a rather general *terminus post quem*.

<sup>85</sup> Abbo's abbacy (988–1004) doubtless provided a particularly favourable context for contacts with England. One might tentatively add a further argument *ex silentio* for the work having preceded the abbacy of his successor, Gauzlin (1004–30): Andreas of Fleury's near-contemporary biography of Gauzlin celebrates the artistic and bibliographical enrichments accomplished in his time, which include a fine book sent from England and the presence of a painter from Lombardy. Had a distinguished English illuminator been working there then, one might perhaps have expected his presence to have been mentioned; it is not.

the vocabulary of the 'Type II' initial),<sup>86</sup> and other aspects of his work, notably the luxuriant acanthus frames that he used in the Boulogne Gospels (Figure 3), indicate familiarity with the traditions of contemporary Winchester. Although such frames became an almost universal feature of deluxe Anglo-Saxon manuscripts during the eleventh century and may already have been adopted at various centres around the millennium, in the 960s, 970s, and 980s by contrast, they were seemingly specific to Winchester.<sup>87</sup> Presumptively active in the 980s and 990s, our man is likely therefore to have encountered them in books from (though not necessarily at) Winchester itself. Yet just as there were strict limits to his rapport with Canterbury art in general, so too was he very restrained in his use of Winchester frames: he only deployed them on four pages in Boulogne 11, preferring plainer types on six other occasions (Figures 4, 5, 7), and none at all on another (Figure 2);<sup>88</sup> he made no attempt to adapt the frames in the Anhalt Gospels to the Winchester type (though the basic Franco-Saxon outlines that were already there would have leant themselves to such treatment: Figures 11 and 13); while his contributions in the Orléans Gregory and the Ramsey Psalter were both unframed outline drawings (Figures 9, 16).<sup>89</sup> It seems fair to say, then, that our man was at home in, but not in thrall to, this key idiom of later tenth-century Winchester art. In sum, far from being locked into a particular repertoire, our artist emerges on the contrary as a protean character, wholly comfortable with a range of idioms, deploying them as required, combining and transcending localizable house styles.

No less remarkable is the degree of innovation that pervades his work. To what extent this reflects his own initiative as opposed to that of the instigators of the projects is irrecoverable but largely irrelevant in the present context: our man could manifestly rise to the challenge of creating elaborate new decorative programmes

<sup>86</sup> Overview: R. G. Gameson, 'Books, Culture and the Church in Canterbury around the Millennium', in R. Eales and R. G. Gameson, *Vikings, Monks and the Millennium: Canterbury in about 1000 AD* (Canterbury: Canterbury Archaeological Society, 2000), pp. 15–41.

<sup>87</sup> Or conceivably to houses of Æthelwold's connection (poorly represented in the surviving evidence). Robert Deshman, *The Benedictional of Æthelwold* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995), pp. 96–97, would seem to have believed that our artist had seen the Benedictional itself.

<sup>88</sup> Respectively: fols 10<sup>r</sup>, 56<sup>r</sup>, 61<sup>r</sup>, 62<sup>r</sup>; fols 11<sup>r</sup>, 11<sup>v</sup>, 12<sup>r</sup>, 57<sup>r</sup> (an arched form, though the initial itself has acanthus panels and a roundel), 107<sup>r</sup>, 107<sup>v</sup>; and fol. 10<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>89</sup> If the low-key nature of the articulation of the Gregory may have recommended such an approach, the extensive use of gold throughout the psalter, not to mention the ebullient foliage adorning the grand initial that faces the frontispiece would, one might have thought, have encouraged a comparably luxurious treatment of the miniature, complete with foliate frame.

(Boulogne 11), of synthesizing divergent pictorial traditions (Harley 2506), of realizing novel iconographies (Harley 2904), and of articulating the content of *ad librum* dedicatory inscriptions (Orléans 175). This was clearly valued. That our artist had acquired a significant reputation in his homeland during the heyday of the English monastic reform movement is indicated by the prestigious commission to supply the frontispiece to the Ramsey Psalter; while the fact that he was entrusted by the Abbot of Saint-Bertin, an illuminator and bibliophile, with the task of decorating the most luxurious project undertaken in the latter's scriptorium indicates that he was also very highly regarded on the other side of the Channel.

With a certain oeuvre of two gospel-books, a psalter, an illustrated scientific manuscript, and one patristic treatise, our artist contributed to the spectrum of texts that tended to receive pictorial decoration at this date. Given the range and number of his surviving books, it is striking that he made no purely scribal contribution to any of his manuscripts,<sup>90</sup> and that the task of supplying secondary decoration was also undertaken by someone else (Figures 6, 14). His profile of activity is thus distinct from that of other Anglo-Saxon scribe-artists who worked abroad. The Leofnoth whose name was inscribed in one of his stints in a Fleury manuscript, for example, seems to have taken his turn alongside the 'locals', writing parts of 'ordinary' library books there.<sup>91</sup> At Saint-Bertin, the second English hand that contributed a short series of vignettes in the margins of the early pages of the Odbert Psalter was modestly augmenting an already complete manuscript; while the third Englishman, who accomplished the initials to the gospel prefaces in the Odbert/Beauvais Gospels, was contributing the secondary illumination to a book whose primary decoration was done by Odbert himself<sup>92</sup> (in Boulogne 11, by contrast, it was Odbert who did the minor initials, 'playing second fiddle' to our artist: Figure 6). Although, as we have seen, our man could almost certainly write (and neatly) if the nature of his imagery required it, the contributions he made to

<sup>90</sup> Three of his manuscripts have no contribution by an Anglo-Saxon scribe; there is no common scribe to the other two, and in any case none of this work resembles the hand seen in the Caroline minuscule inscriptions that are attributable to our man.

<sup>91</sup> J. Vezin, 'Leofnoth: un scribe anglais à Saint-Benoît-sur-Loire', *Codices Manuscripti*, 3 (1977), 109–20.

<sup>92</sup> Boulogne, BM, MS 20; PML, MS M 333. Relevant reproductions: F. Wormald, 'Anglo-Saxon Initials in a Paris Boethius Manuscript', in *Essais en l'honneur de Jean Porcher*, ed. by O. Pächt, special issue, *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* (1963), 63–70, fig. 4 (fol. 82<sup>v</sup>); Berkowitz, *In Remembrance of Creation*, ill. 62A.

each of his books consisted exclusively of the most prominent artwork: manifestly he was a specialist for whom particularly important artistic tasks were reserved.

What, then, was the probable status of our artist? The known locations of his activities lie on routes that were well trodden by English churchmen in the later tenth century. Significant numbers of them headed to Fleury to experience its Benedictine monasticism and to enjoy proximity to the body of St Benedict that it claimed to possess. Many English travellers to Fleury (as indeed to other destinations on the Continent) crossed the Channel at the straits of Dover, and some will have broken their journey at Canterbury on the one side and Saint-Omer on the other; if they were monastics, they would doubtless have claimed hospitality at the religious houses there. The presence of other Englishmen at both Fleury and Saint-Bertin around this time is shown by their contributions to local books (remarked earlier) and by documentary records. The most famous English visitor to Fleury, subsequently culted there, was of course Oswald of Worcester. Clearly, Oswald or someone in his retinue could have visited the same places as our man, albeit at a slightly earlier date. Was this artist, then, a Benedictine monk? Many commentators have assumed that he was;<sup>93</sup> and given the known circumstances of someone like Otloh, monk of Saint-Emmeram, whose scribal work (as he tells us himself) was distributed amongst Amorbach, Fulda, Hersefeld, Lorsch, Regensberg, and Tegernsee, this is not impossible. Yet Otloh (c. 1010–post November 1070), though in Regensberg for some thirty years, had been associated with both Hersefeld and Tegernsee as a youth, was a secular cleric for part of his career, endured an enforced exile at Fulda, and some of his books were sent to their destinations rather than ‘done on location’.<sup>94</sup> Moreover, our man was responsible for artwork not text, and we should remember that Ramsey or Winchester, Saint-Bertin, and Fleury are the minimum number of places at which he worked in person: one of his books (the Anhalt Gospels) is unlocalized, and may have been done somewhere different again; it is not impossible that he was also active at Canterbury; and if we had the full corpus of his output, the list might grow rather longer. An individual who never seems to have worked as a scribe but who evidently had an outstanding reputation as an artist; who seems exclusively to have provided high-grade artwork

<sup>93</sup> To cite representative works fifty years apart: Boutemy, ‘Monument capital’, p. 182; Brown, *Manuscripts from the Anglo-Saxon Age*, pp. 89–90. By contrast, Noel, ‘Utrecht Psalter’, p. 151, allows that he could have been a monk or a layperson.

<sup>94</sup> *PL*, CXLVI, cols 52–58. I have not had access to the new edition by S. Gäbe, *Otloh von St. Emmeram, ‘Liber de temptatione cuiusdam monachi’: Untersuchung, kritische Edition und Übersetzung* (Bern: Lang, 1999).

for which spaces were sometimes reserved; who combined and transcended the house styles of individual scriptoria; who was peripatetic, and who could remain at Saint-Bertin long enough to decorate a highly luxurious gospel-book — such a profile surely suggests a professional artist.

Professional artists are familiar figures in English Benedictine contexts during the twelfth century, known both from documentary references and from extant works: cases in point include the Alexis Master who contributed to the St Albans Psalter, the Master Hugo who painted the miniatures for the Bury Bible, also casting bronze doors and carving a crucifix for that abbey, and the various artists of the Winchester Bible, some of whom also worked on a cycle of frescoes in northern Spain.<sup>95</sup> A century earlier at Echternach, a professional illuminator — or a type of one — is famously depicted in a pericopes book that was prepared for presentation to Emperor Henry III;<sup>96</sup> and, moving back to the later tenth century, there is the arguable case of the Master of the *Registrum Gregorii*, whose eponymous work and other things were accomplished for Bishop Egbert of Trier (sedit 977–93), but who also seems to have had a spell at Reichenau and to have been commissioned by the Ottonian court to create the magnificent marriage roll of Theophanu (970).<sup>97</sup> The underlying factor here is that while most moderate-sized religious houses might count on nurturing a satisfactory supply of *inclusi* with the ability to write well and even perhaps some competence in decoration, the presence of a brother or sister with genuine artistic, as opposed to calligraphic, talent was altogether less certain. To secure a luxury decorated manuscript in the absence of

<sup>95</sup> Otto Pächt and others, *The St Albans Psalter* (London: Warburg Institute, 1960), esp. pp. 165–77; R. M. Thomson, *Manuscripts from St Albans Abbey 1066–1235*, 2 vols (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 1982), I, 24–27; R. M. Thomson, *The Bury Bible* (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2001), pp. 29–47; W. Oakeshott, *Sigena: English Romanesque Paintings in Spain and the Winchester Bible Artists* (London: Harvey Miller and Medcalf, 1972).

<sup>96</sup> Bremen, Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, MS b. 21, fol. 124<sup>v</sup>; datable 1039x43. Facsimile: *Das Evangelistar Kaiser Heinrichs III*, ed. by G. Knoll and others (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 1981–93); Carl Nordenfalk, *Codex Caesareus Upsaliensis* (Stockholm: Almqvist and Wiksell, 1971), pp. 129–33, christened him ‘the Master of the Echternach Workshop’.

<sup>97</sup> C. Nordenfalk, ‘The Chronology of the Registrum Master’, *Kunsthistorische Forschungen Otto Pächt zu seinem 70. Geburtstag*, ed. by A. Rosenauer and G. Weber (Salzburg: Residenz, 1972), pp. 62–76; Hartmut Hoffmann, *Buchkunst und Königtum im ottonischen und frühsalischen Reich*, Schriften der MGH, 30, 2 vols (Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 1986), I, 103–26; H. Mayr-Harting, *Ottoman Book Illumination*, 2 vols (London: Harvey Miller, 1991), I, 39–42. Debate is likely to be reinvigorated by W. Berschin, ‘Der Hauptschreiber des “Codex Egberti”’, *Scriptorium*, 61 (2007), 3–47, with its daring final speculation (p. 46).

local talent, one could either 'commission' the whole book from a centre that currently had the requisite expertise and so could produce such work for 'export', or one might write it 'in-house' and engage the services of a 'visiting' or professional artist to supply the required artwork. The individual we have considered here is, I suggest, the first Englishman we can reasonably identify as fulfilling the latter role.

What might have been the background of such a figure in tenth-century England? It is not difficult to think of scenarios whereby a non-monastic might have gained literary skills. He might, for example, have been one of the lower-status pupils at the 'secular' school in Winchester that had been established by Alfred the Great, or a young secular cleric dispossessed by the activities of the monastic reformers, or a non-professed attendee at a monastic school who subsequently went on, by accident or design, to ply the trade of high-status artist. This is not to suggest that any of these was necessarily the case for our man — such would be piling speculation upon hypothesis — the point is merely to demonstrate that a literate late Anglo-Saxon illuminator was not by definition a monk.

The hypothesis that our man was a professional artist is readily reconcilable with, indeed makes excellent sense of, the known facts of his career. Whereas late tenth-century Winchester and Canterbury had thriving scriptoria with some in-house artists, such was not the case at contemporary Worcester.<sup>98</sup> Although a dearth of evidence makes it impossible to comment on other houses of Oswald's connection, given that 'his' Worcester was prepared to offer material rewards to secure the services of a scribe,<sup>99</sup> it would hardly have been anomalous if a professional artist had been hired to decorate the one particularly fine book to survive from his circle. At Saint-Bertin, under an abbot who was both an admirer of Anglo-Saxon art and a lover of fine books, engaging the services of a highly talented Anglo-Saxon to decorate a supremely luxurious gospel-book would have appeared an attractive proposition — and given the many Anglo-Saxons trailing through the town, even staying at the abbey, it is not difficult to account for how Odbert might have encountered, or come to hear of and been able to summon, our man. In the community of Fleury during the tenth century, illuminators — as opposed to scribes — seem to have been in very short supply. Decoration of any sort is far from common, such figural imagery as appears is fairly rudimentary (one thinks of the gawky Augustine that prefaces the local copy of the Bishop of Hippo's

<sup>98</sup> R. G. Gameson, 'Book Production and Decoration at Worcester in the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries', in *Oswald LI*, pp. 194–243.

<sup>99</sup> Gameson, 'Book Production and Decoration', p. 198 with n. 14.



Commentary on the Psalms, and the less than flattering portrait of Abbo himself),<sup>100</sup> and ornamental initials, which were less demanding to create, are rarely more than elementary.<sup>101</sup> It is perhaps significant in this connection that the gospel-book which, if the attribution is correct, would be Fleury's most artistically ambitious late tenth-century manuscript was supplied with decorated canon tables and incipit initials, but not the evangelist portraits for which pages were nevertheless reserved.<sup>102</sup> When in the time of Abbo's immediate successor, Abbot Gauzlin (1004–30), major artwork was required, it was entrusted to a foreign professional: the *Vita Gauzlini* records that that abbot summoned from Lombardy 'the most skilful of painters' (*pictorum peritissimus*), some of whose work at Fleury is believed to have come down to us in the form of the so-called Gagnières Gospels, along with the 'Beauvais' Sacramentary.<sup>103</sup> A similar course had been followed, I suggest, a generation earlier for the illustration that was needed then — a dedication miniature and possibly also a set of drawings of the constellations — and on this occasion it was an Englishman who was hired.

The monastic links between Oswald and Fleury, Abbo and Ramsey, have reasonably been seen as the context for English work at Fleury and vice versa. In the present case, however, they were more probably the means by which the artist was

<sup>100</sup> Orléans, Médiathèque, MS 46, image on p. 1: [Ville d'Orléans] *Lumières*, no. 96 (where the MS is — surely wrongly — ascribed to s. ix). Orléans, Médiathèque, MS 277, fol. 62' (Abbo): [Ville d'Orléans], *Lumières*, p. 39.

<sup>101</sup> For example, the rudimentary initials in Orléans, Médiathèque, MSS 44 and 45; E. Lalou, C. Rabel, and L. Holtz, '*Dedens mon livre de pensee: de Grégoire de Tours à Charles d'Orléans, une histoire du livre médiéval en région Centre*' (Paris: Somogy, 1997), pp. 44–45.

<sup>102</sup> Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, W 3. A simple and unfinished pen-drawing of Matthew was subsequently added to fol. 19'; the other pages for portraits remain blank. C. Nordenfalk, 'A Tenth-Century Gospel Book in the Walters Art Gallery', in *Gatherings in Honor of Dorothy E. Miner*, ed. by U. E. McCracken, L. M. C. Randall, and R. H. Randall (Baltimore: Walters Art Gallery, 1974), pp. 139–70; L. M. C. Randall, *Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the Walters Art Gallery*, vol. 1: *France 875–1420* (Baltimore: Walters Art Gallery, 1989), no. 3. If it was indeed a Fleury book, one wonders why neither our man nor the Lombard Nivardus was asked to supply the missing images.

<sup>103</sup> *Vita Gauzlini*, c. 65: *André de Fleury, Vie de Gauzlin abbé de Fleury*, ed. by R.-H. Bautier and G. Labory (Paris: CRNS, 1969), pp. 132–34; C. Nordenfalk, 'A Travelling Milanese Artist in France at the Beginning of the Eleventh Century', in *Arte de primo Millennio, Atti del II° convegno per lo studio dell'Arte del Alto Medio Evo* (Turin: Viglongo, 1953), pp. 374–80; BnF, MS lat. 1126; [Ville d'Orléans], *Lumières*, no. 98. Los Angeles, Getty Museum, Ludwig V 1/83.MF.76; A. von Euw and J. M. Plotzek, *Die Handschriften der Sammlung Ludwig*, 4 vols (Cologne: Schnütgen-Museum, 1979), I, 219–22, ills 137–41.

recommended and summoned than the reason why he was there. After all, if the Ramsey Psalter was indeed given to that abbey by Bishop Oswald, then Abbo may well have seen it himself during his sojourn there from 985–87; and if perchance it was actually made at Ramsey, then Abbo may conceivably have met our man then. As for the possible extra works tentatively indicated above: such a talented and versatile artist was surely precisely the sort who would have been sought out when Christ Church, Canterbury, was contemplating the ambitious project of creating a revised version of the Utrecht Psalter. And the possibility of forays into ivory carving is all the more plausible in relation to a professional artist, for whom diversification would make obvious commercial sense. The Lombard Nivardus who worked at Fleury in the following generation and who was styled *pictorum peritissimus* was also specifically credited with work in other media<sup>104</sup>

Two further observations follow from the hypothesis that our man was a professional artist. The first arises from the fact that, although we cannot recover his biography, we do know some of the places at which he plied his trade and can identify a few of the items he saw along the way. Now, while in relation to a monastic scriptorium one might reasonably infer the actual presence of a particular model (whether owned or borrowed) from the echoes of it that appear in local work, such an approach is inapplicable to the contribution of an itinerant professional who could have seen the item(s) elsewhere on his travels. We know from his designs in Boulogne 11 that our artist had had the opportunity to contemplate illuminated manuscripts of, or derived from, the schools of Reims, Tours, and/or the court of Charlemagne. Yet there is no direct evidence, it will be remembered, for the presence of any such books at Saint-Bertin. Perhaps one or more has perished or is no longer identifiable; however the list is quite a long one and, as the borrowings take the form of pastiches rather than copies, is it not more likely that some of these models were seen elsewhere? As noted above, the evangelist portraits in Boulogne 11 and St John in the Ramsey Psalter may have been informed by knowledge of the Utrecht Psalter as well as, or instead of, a Reimsian gospel-book, and this manuscript was almost certainly at Canterbury by the time in question.<sup>105</sup> Correspondingly, unless the Anhalt Gospels was at Saint-Bertin when our man

<sup>104</sup> *Vita Gauzlini*, c. 65, ed. by Bautier and Labory, pp. 132–34.

<sup>105</sup> With regard to astrological cycles, in addition to the models for his own exercise in the genre (BL, MS Harley 2506) probably done at Fleury, our man is likely to have seen the ninth-century Leiden *Aratea* (Leiden, Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit, MS Voss. Lat. Q. 79) which was at Saint-Bertin by Odbert's day, and he may equally have seen one or both of the copies of its cycle which were made at that abbey then (Bern, Burgerbibliothek, MS 88; Boulogne, BM, MS 188).

worked on it, the similarities between the portraits he supplied there and those that he did in Boulogne 11 demonstrate the replication of designs in different locations by one artist — extending to the redeployment to represent an evangelist of a figure-type devised to illustrate the genealogy of Christ (Figures 13 and 3). In brief, our man provides as good an example as one could hope for at this date of the transmission of motifs, styles, and images through personal experience, memory, and (presumably) sketches — hence the futility of trying to tie his sources to particular locations.

The identifiable places at which he worked were a series of prestigious Benedictine monasteries. If this is unsurprising given their prominence in the evidence that has come down to us, it remains interesting nonetheless and leads to our final point. For if our artist was indeed a hired professional, then it follows that some of the finest illuminations in a series of great Benedictine manuscripts were produced by secular rather than monastic hands. As has long been recognized, tenth-century reform movements were about redefining rather than severing the relationships between monastic and secular society: potentates were to provide the lands, resources, and security that were a precondition for successful coenobitic monasticism, a monasticism which could then invest some of its surpluses in building and adornment — and this, of course, meant the patronage as well as the ‘in-house’ production of art. While at one level the role of monasteries as both patrons and makers of art is well known, at another it tends to be the presumption in relation to the twelfth century rather than the tenth, and for carving, metalwork, and frescoes rather than illumination. Yet we should be open to the possibility that some high-quality illumination in tenth-century Benedictine books could also have been contributed by secular artists, whose work thus reached to the very heart of monastic liturgy and *lectio*. We are accustomed to the paradox that some ruler-images of the tenth century were realized not within the court but rather in ecclesiastical scriptoria;<sup>106</sup> we should perhaps be more open to the idea that certain contemporary ‘monastic’ illuminations were not done by monks. The Crucifixion of the Ramsey Psalter (Figure 9), an icon of reformed monastic piety, celebrated for its anticipation of the finest eleventh-century meditational writing on the Redemption, may have been the creation of profane hands. The finest painting of the Crucifixion done in the twentieth century was the work of a man noted more for his

<sup>106</sup> For example, the image of Otto II from the *Registrum Gregorii* that was made at Trier; those of Otto III in his Aachen and Munich Gospel-Books, both made at Reichenau; and that of Edgar in the Charter of the New Minster, Winchester.

exhibitionism and sexual obsessions than for his humility and piety.<sup>107</sup> This may seem a remote comparison. Yet it is a useful reminder of a fact that tenth-century churchmen doubtless appreciated no less than modern connoisseurs, namely that it is great talent and not great fervour that guarantees great art.

Durham University

<sup>107</sup> 'Christ of St John of the Cross' by Salvador Dalí, 1951 (Glasgow Museums): revealingly, it was presented as the climax of the National Gallery's exhibition 'Seeing Salvation' and was chosen as the cover image for the catalogue to the same: G. Finaldi, *The Image of Christ* (London: National Gallery, 2000), no. 77.

## A CAROLINGIAN SCHOLAR IN THE COURT OF KING ÆTHELSTAN

Michael Wood

The tenth century has had a bad reputation, and not just from modern historians. An ‘Age of Iron’ a Frankish Council of 909 pronounced it gloomily: ‘a time in which it is by no means certain that the written word will survive’ wrote an English scribe in 931.<sup>1</sup> But Ages of Iron are often underestimated, and the first half of the tenth century saw many remarkable and formative developments that would shape European culture and history. And what better place to begin than the great city of Trier, which would become a cultural powerhouse of the Ottonian kingdom under Archbishop Robert (930–59) and the great patron of the arts Archbishop Egbert (977–93), and which would send one of its most celebrated intellectuals to help in the restoration of learning in King Æthelstan’s England. This man, Israel of Trier, has too often eluded the attentions of modern scholars. Tentatively reconstructed here, Israel’s life and work brings into vivid focus the terms of cultural engagement between England and the Continent in the far-from-iron tenth century.

The greatest Roman city north of the Alps, Trier had for a time been the seat of the Western Empire, and its Roman remains still stood all around. The tenth-century tourist, like his modern counterpart, could walk through the huge Porta Nigra and gaze on the throne room where Constantine himself had sat — the giant part-Roman basilica — and a dozen other churches going back to Merovingian

<sup>1</sup> *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio*, ed. by J. Mansi (Lucae: Ex Typographia Josephi Salani, and Vincentii Junctinii, 1759–98), XVIII, col. 165, and Sawyer, no. 416.

times, among them Saint-Maximin and the ancient church of St Martin, at that time only recently restored after severe damage during Viking attacks in the 880s.<sup>2</sup>

A great place, then, to contemplate the transformation of the ancient world and the revolutions of history. And here in the early tenth century, with the collapse of Carolingian power now plain to all, painful self-examination was in the air. Writing here in 908 in St Martin's, Regino of Prüm made his memorable historical judgement on the passing of Carolingian power.<sup>3</sup> A few years later such considerations led a Trier cleric reflecting on the 'English people' (*gens Anglorum*) in a new life of Boniface, the evangelist of the Saxons, to add a contemporary note. Impressed by their mobile armies and network of burhs (*urbes*), the English today, he writes, are 'strong and brave and with Christ's grace and strong arms and men, protect themselves with strong garrisons'. At other times, however, when pirate armies arrive from the northern parts, he continues, and cross over their frontiers, 'those the English drive out in violent battles'.<sup>4</sup>

Over the Channel in England the generation of the 910s and 920s had learned that lesson from King Alfred the Great: how strong kings must establish Christian society through war and learning. His grandson, King Æthelstan, was a child of the 890s and could not but be touched by the aspirations of Alfred's court. In particular Alfred's *renovatio*, his 'revival of mere literacy', as Alan Bishop put it, had looked to North-West Francia and to this region of the Moselle in the late 880s for inspiration, texts, and personnel: his circle of scholars was recruited from Saint-Bertin and Reims and perhaps from Trier itself.<sup>5</sup> And through Æthelstan and his

<sup>2</sup> Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseum Mainz, *Führer zu vor- und frühgeschichtlichen Denkmälern 32: Trier*, 2 vols (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 1981), s.n.

<sup>3</sup> *Reginonis abbatis Prumiensis Chronicon*, ed. by Friedrich Kurze, MGH, SS rer. Germ., 50 (Hannover: Hahn, 1890), p. 129; for a convenient translation, see *Carolingian Civilisation: A Reader*, ed. by P. E. Dutton, 2nd edn (Peterborough, ON: Broadview, 2004), p. 541.

<sup>4</sup> *Vita Altera Bonifatii*, ed. by W. Levison, in *Vitae Sancti Bonifatii archiepiscopi Moguntini*, MGH, SS rer. Germ., 57 (Hannover: Hahn, 1905), p. 66; tentatively dated by him s. ix (cf. pp. lii–liii) but perhaps more plausibly dated early s. x: a priest named Radbod appears as *notarius* in 916–19, see *Urkundenbuch zur Geschichte der jetzt die preussischen Regierungsbezirke Coblenz und Trier*, vol. I, ed. by H. Beyer (Wiesbaden: Hardt, 1860), pp. 223–24.

<sup>5</sup> T. A. M. Bishop, *English Caroline Minuscule* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971), p. xvii. It may even be that Trier was the home city of John the Old Saxon: see M. Lapidge 'Some Latin Poems as Evidence for the Reign of Athelstan', *ASE*, 9 (1981), 83–93; repr. Lapidge, *A-LL*, pp. 49–86 (p. 66) though the man here (*Urkundenbuch*, ed. by Beyer, no. 98 of c. 880 (pp. 102–03) is *Jonathas* not *Ioannes*. A *Ioannes* is found at Gorze: *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Gorze*, MS. 826 de la Bibliothèque de Metz, ed. by A. d'Herbomez (Paris: Klincksieck, 1898), no. 64 (s.a. 868); Lapidge, 'Some Latin Poems', p. 66.

learned men and women, these contacts would continue throughout the tenth century.

One important link between Alfred and Æthelstan was John the Old Saxon himself, who was conceivably from Trier or Gorze. John's poem to the young Æthelstan, preserved in Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Rawlinson C.697, suggests that John was the Prince's tutor. And though John died when Æthelstan was about eleven or twelve years old,<sup>6</sup> the German connection seems to have been strongly maintained. When we first meet Æthelstan as king in around 925, new on his throne, his entourage includes a Frankish poet, Petrus, and three Germans, namely Gundlaf, Hilduin, and Walter (the final name is found several times in Trier during the previous few years as priest and notary (*notarius*)).<sup>7</sup> Apparently appointed the next year, 926, the King's new Bishop of London, and close intimate, Theodred, may himself have been German. Other clerics with German names, Gosebriht, Otgar, and Gundlaf (a man of this name also appears with Æthelstan in a Winchester charter),<sup>8</sup> are named as beneficiaries of Theodred's will.<sup>9</sup> Such men came with an intellectual hinterland: the Frankish poet Petrus who was with Æthelstan in the North in 927 sends back a rewrite of verses originally addressed to Charlemagne by Hibernicus Exul.<sup>10</sup> It is intriguing too that Æthelstan's Abbot of Athelney (John the Old Saxon's house, staffed according to Asser with Franks and Germans) signs as Seignus (*Segonus* in Old High German) that is, Saint-Seine, the house in which Benedict of Aniane first tried to live by the rule of his namesake St Benedict.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>6</sup> Michael Lapidge, 'John the Old Saxon (*fl.* c. 885–904)', in *ODNB*.

<sup>7</sup> Sawyer, no. 1417 (c. 925–c. 933 but probably nearer the earlier date); there were two Walters in Trier between 916 and 919: *Urkundenbuch*, ed. by Beyer, pp. 223–24.

<sup>8</sup> Sawyer, no. 1417. To these men we might add Godescalc *sacerdos*, Æthelstan's Abbot of Abingdon in 931 (Sawyer, no. 409).

<sup>9</sup> On Theodred, see his will, Sawyer, no. 1526; *Anglo-Saxon Wills*, ed. by Dorothy Whitelock (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1930), pp. 2–5, 99–103; and *Charters of St Pauls, London*, ed. by S. E. Kelly (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), pp. 29–30, 90–94, and App. 2. A man of the same name in the *familia* of Saint-Maximin in Trier is last recorded in that year: *Urkundenbuch*, ed. by Beyer, no. 165 (p. 230); *Charters of St Pauls*, ed. by Kelly, p. 44, speculates that Theodred may have brought with him a copy of the 816 *Institutio Canoniorum*, the basis of the pre-Conquest rule of the bishopric of London.

<sup>10</sup> Lapidge, 'Some Latin Poems', pp. 71–81.

<sup>11</sup> John the Old Saxon was the Abbot of Athelney which was staffed with Continental monks: Asser (Stevenson), p. 81. The name Seignus appears in Lotharingian houses as Segonus or Segoinus: *Urkundenbuch*, ed. by Beyer, pp. 129 and 130.

So the Continental connection fostered by Alfred was never lost: Frankish and German houses continued to supply the English not only with scholars and manuscripts, but also with people on the ground. The implication of all this of course is that, over thirty years after Alfred's death, English standards of learning were still not sufficient to provide enough literate bishops and priests in the expanded kingdom with its several newly restored bishoprics. That was why there was a pressing need, not only for pastoral care, but also for teachers.

The presence of foreign scholars in Æthelstan's court was first described by Armitage Robinson and has been examined by others since.<sup>12</sup> The purpose of this paper is to bring together evidence for one of these men, Israel of Trier, in whose person the tenth-century Anglo-Saxon revival engages with older Carolingian traditions and with those of the nascent German empire. Needless to say this account is provisional: many manuscripts need to be examined more closely, and by scholars more knowledgeable in the textual history and palaeography of the period. This is a complex task, as texts transmitting Israel's teachings passed down in England and on the Continent for long afterwards and are found in manuscripts as late as the thirteenth century in England and the fifteenth in Germany.

The dates of Israel's life are unknown. After his career in England, in around 939–40, he became the tutor of Bruno of Cologne, and he was a bishop later that decade, so he could have been born at any time between 880 and the late 890s; but we will assume that he was born around 890. He died at some point before the mid-960s. There is still dispute over his origin, but the German Ruotger, who knew him, called him 'Irish' (*Scotigena*), which suggests he belonged to the Lotharingian Irish tradition.<sup>13</sup> It has been argued he was Breton, on the basis of Folcuin calling him 'Britto' and Richer 'Brittigena', but neither allusion is free of ambiguity.<sup>14</sup> We

<sup>12</sup> See Robinson, *TSD*, pp. 51–71, 83, and the fundamental papers by E. Jeauneau including, 'Pour le dossier d'Israël Scot', in his *Études Érigéniennes* (Paris: Études augustinienes, 1987), pp. 641–706; C. Jeudy, 'Israël le grammairien et la tradition manuscrite du commentaire de Rémi d'Auxerre à l'Ars Minor de Donat', *Studi Medievali*, 3rd ser., 18 (1977), 185–248; and Michael Lapidge, 'Israel the Grammarian', in *From Athens to Chartres: Neoplatonism and Medieval Thought*, ed. by H. J. Westra (Leiden: Brill, 1992), pp. 97–114, repr. in Lapidge, *A-LL*, pp. 87–104; for further remarks and references, see Michael Wood, "Stand Firm Against the Monsters": Kingship and Learning in the Empire of King Æthelstan', in *Lay Intellectuals in the Carolingian World*, ed. by Janet L. Nelson and Patrick Wormald (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), pp. 192–217.

<sup>13</sup> Ruotger, *Vita Brunonis*, ed. by Georg H. Pertz, MGH, SS, 4 (Hannover: Hahn, 1841), pp. 252–75 (p. 257).

<sup>14</sup> For discussion, see Jeudy, 'Israël le grammairien', pp. 198–200; Lapidge, 'Israel the Grammarian', pp. 90–91; and Wood, 'Stand Firm', pp. 205–06.



can only securely place him where we can demonstrably locate him, and that is in Trier. There at Saint-Maximin he was remembered as 'a monk of our house' (his obit was 26 April).<sup>15</sup> In a notebook now preserved in St Petersburg, Public Library, MS Lat. Fv.VI.3, fols 39–44,<sup>16</sup> Israel also mentions living in Trier; his poetry and glosses address Archbishop Robert of Trier as a special patron and friend.<sup>17</sup> So Trier is his city and Saint-Maximin his house (where Irish (*Scotti*) were especially involved in the monastic reform emanating from Gorze in the months after December 933).<sup>18</sup>

How Israel came to be in England is not known. Trier may well have been visited by Bishop Cenwald of Worcester on his embassy in late 929 when he visited 'all the houses of Germany', although in a diploma of 929 Israel is not named among the *familia*.<sup>19</sup> Perhaps he was recruited after the 934 reformation of Saint-Maximin: this would be very interesting confirmation of English interest in the

<sup>15</sup> J. Kenney, *The Sources for the Early History of Ireland* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1929), p. 610, and the discussion in Jeaneau, 'Pour le dossier d'Israël Scot', pp. 651–52.

<sup>16</sup> On the St Petersburg dossier in general, see Olga A. Dobias-Rozdestvenskaja and Wsevolod W. Bakhtine, *Les Anciens Manuscrits latins de la Bibliothèque Publique Saltykov-Scedrin de Leningrad, VIII<sup>e</sup>–début IX<sup>e</sup> siècle: catalogue* (Paris: Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1991), pp. 92–95. From Corbie in the ninth century, its first four booklets are an important miscellany of medical material, especially on women's illnesses, on which there is a voluminous literature: Dobias-Rozdestvenskaja and Bakhtine, *Les Anciens Manuscrits*, p. 94. To this, the fifth booklet, Israel's dossier of philosophical notes and grammatical material, plus the Robert poem, was added in the tenth century: this booklet is the subject of Eduard Jeaneau's essay in *Études*.

<sup>17</sup> See the distich in BnF, MS lat. 12949 discussed below, ed. by Eduard Jeaneau, 'Pour le dossier d'Israël Scot', pp. 662–63. Froumund of Tegernsee also described Israel as Robert's 'light'; see *Die Tegernseer Briefsammlung (Froumund)*, ed. by Karl Strecker, MGH, Ep. Sel., 3 (Berlin: Weidmann, 1925), p. 24.

<sup>18</sup> See J. Semmler, 'Iren in der lothringischen Klosterreform', in *Die Iren und Europa in früheren Mittelalter*, ed. by H. Lowe, 2 vols (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1982), II, 941–57; and in the same collection John Contreni, 'The Irish in the Western Carolingian Empire (according to James F. Kenney and Bern, Burgerbibliothek 363)', II, 758–98; on Saint-Maximin, Trier, manuscripts in general, see Richard Laufner, 'Vom Bereich der Trierer Klosterbibliothek St. Maximin im Hochmittelalter', in *Armata Trevirensia: Beiträge zur Trierer Bibliotheksgeschichte*, ed. by G. Franz (Trier: Grafische Werkstatt, Buch- und Verlagsdruckerei, 1960; repr. Wiesbaden: Reichert, 1985), pp. 9–35.

<sup>19</sup> On the texts for Cenwald's mission to Germany, see Simon Keynes, 'King Athelstan's Books', in *Learning and Literature in Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. by M. Lapidge and H. Gneuss (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), pp. 143–201 (pp. 198–201). On the mission, see Wolfgang Georgi, 'Bischof Keonwald von Worcester und die Heirat Ottos I. mit Edgitha im Jahre 929', *Historisches Jahrbuch*, 115 (1995), 1–40. On the Trier *familia* in the late 920s, see Beyer, *Urkundenbuch*, p. 235.

Continental reform movement, as we see too in 936 with Oda, another of Æthelstan's intimate circle, visiting Fleury to take the tonsure.<sup>20</sup>

Whatever Israel's place of origin, the Lotharingian-Irish connection — which looked back to the palace school of John the Scot and to Martin of Laon and Heiric and Remigius at Auxerre — is the key to his intellectual roots. From Carl Selmer's path-breaking studies over fifty years ago, to Colette Jeudy's untangling of Israel's grammatical glosses, and Eduard Jauneau's brilliant deciphering of Israel's dossier in St Petersburg, MS Lat. F.v.VI.3, his scholarly pedigree is clear. Israel's intellectual background was the Auxerre tradition; one of his gurus was John the Scot: 'read the Periphyseon!' (*lege peri physeon*) he urges his readers in his glosses on Porphyry. His commentary on Porphyry is thoroughly in the line of Eriugena and Heiric, both of whom he quotes, and the glosses in the manuscript of it (BnF, MS lat. 12949; Figure 19) are full of Irish abbreviations; the manuscript is evidently based on a collection first put together in Auxerre which Israel later expanded. As we shall see, his grammatical glosses come from the same Auxerre tradition.<sup>21</sup>

Israel was later famous as a schoolmaster. As we have seen, at some point soon after 939 he was tutor to Bruno of Cologne, 'the most learned among the learned' of the Ottonian age according to Hrotsvitha of Gandersheim, a man 'who surpassed all his contemporaries, even the ancients'.<sup>22</sup> This tutoring probably took place at Aachen where Otto established a court school in emulation of Charlemagne, and this school seems to have owed much to Israel's intellectual leadership. As Ruotger says, writing in 967 after the deaths of both Bruno and Israel:

<sup>20</sup> Perhaps Israel first came like the 'certain servants of God coming from Ireland on pilgrimage and wishing to live under the rule of St Benedict'; see MGH, Dip. Reg. Imp., 1 (Hannover: Weidemann, 1884), pp. 160–61 (a diploma for Waulsort by Otto the Great in 946).

<sup>21</sup> In general on this, see C. Selmer, 'The Origin of Brandenburg (Prussia), the St. Brendan Legend and the Scoti of the Tenth Century', *Traditio*, 7 (1949–51), 416–33 (pp. 431–32) with references to Selmer's numerous other studies; Jeudy, 'Israël le grammairien', pp. 185–205; Jauneau, 'Pour le dossier d'Israël Scot', pp. 647–54. For Israel as a disciple of Remigius, see Semmler, 'Iren in der lothringischen Klosterreform', p. 942, and B. Bischoff, 'Monachesimo Irlandese nei suoi rapporti col continente', in his *Mittelalterliche Studien: Ausgewählte Aufsätze zur Schriftkunde und Literaturgeschichte*, 3 vols (Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 1966–81), I, 195–205 (pp. 204–05). Æthelstan's wise men may of course have had direct experience of the library at Laon: English embassies were in the city for example in both summer 936 and spring 937.

<sup>22</sup> Hrotsvitha, *Gesta Ottonis*, pp. 279–80 (p. 330). Bruno 'surpassed all his contemporaries even the ancients' according to *Vita Iohannis abbatis Gorziensis abbate S. Arnulfi*, ed. by Pertz, MGH, SS, 4, pp. 335–77 (p. 370).

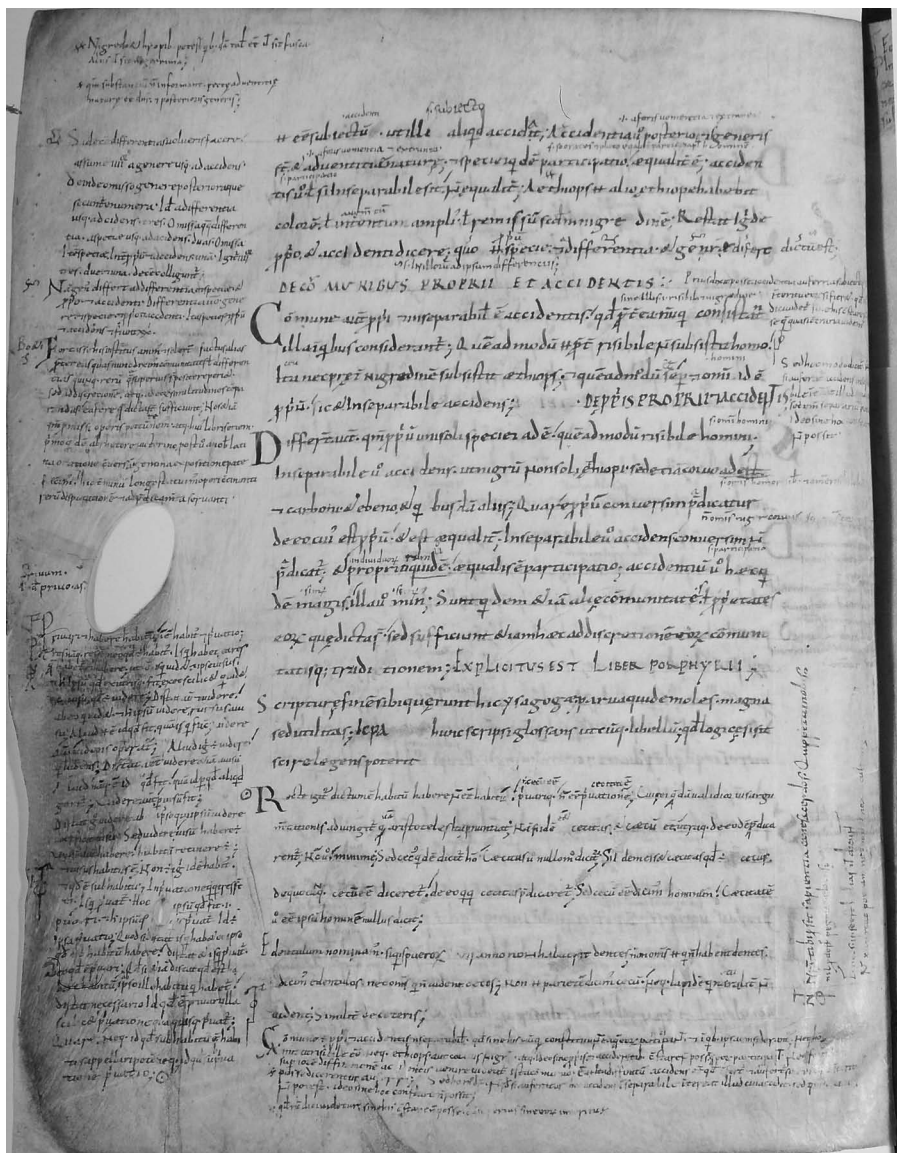


Figure 19. A tenth-century scholar/grammarian/philosopher's commonplace book: Porphyry Isagoge commentary by Israel and glosses. The beginning of Israel's name in Greek capitals (*ICPA*) can be seen over an erasure ten lines up from the bottom of the page. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS lat. 12949, fol. 52<sup>v</sup>. Reproduced with permission.

The bishop Israel Scotigena, in whose school the renowned man of whom we are speaking declares that he had learned the most, was once asked about the conduct of Bruno and answered that he was a truly holy man.<sup>23</sup>

Later we find Israel in Aachen, Verdun, Aachen, and back in Trier: a note in a copy of one of his manuscripts shows that he visited Rome too. So his world encompassed Italy, Francia, Germany, and Britain. He was then a figure of European stature, 'the last of the Irish court masters' as Bernard Bischoff called him: a judgement supported, as we shall see below, by a late tenth-century author who placed him in a fascinating scholarly chain of the great Anglo-Saxon and Carolingian scholars stretching back to Bede and Theodore, a list which is virtually a mnemonic of the intellectual tradition of the early medieval West.<sup>24</sup>

As regards his interests, from surviving manuscripts and notes that have come down from his teaching, we can see that Israel was a grammarian who wrote poetry, collected medical texts, wrote theological tracts, and was interested in several areas of medieval speculative thought. He knew some Greek and, like other great Carolingian grammarians (such as Eriugena and Heiric), he was interested in philosophy and dialectics. It was in a commentary on the Neoplatonist Porphyry's *Isagoge* (a very influential short commentary on Aristotle's *Categories*) that the first clues emerged concerning his hitherto largely forgotten role in tenth-century learning.

At the end of the commentary on Porphyry in BnF, MS lat. 12949, written over a partially erased six-letter name in capitals, is a name apparently beginning 'Icpa'.<sup>25</sup>

<sup>23</sup> Ruotger, *Vita Brunonis*, p. 257. According to Ruotger the schola of Israel also included Greeks as teachers. For evidence of the teaching of Greek in Ottonian Cologne, see Walter Berschin, *Greek Letters and the Latin Middle Ages*, trans. by Jerold C. Frakes (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 1988), pp. 191–92. On Bruno and the Cologne school, see now Henry Mayr-Harting, *Church and Cosmos in Early Ottonian Germany: The View from Cologne* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007).

<sup>24</sup> Bischoff, 'Monachesimo Irlandese', I, 205.

<sup>25</sup> A compilation of logical treatises and glosses BnF, MS lat. 12949 is 'One of the most interesting school books of the Carolingian period' according to John Contreni in 'John Scottus, Martin Hiberniensis, the Liberal Arts and Teaching', in *Insular Latin Studies: Papers on Latin Texts and Manuscripts of the British Isles, 550–1066*, ed. by M. W. Herren (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1981), pp. 23–44 (pp. 31–32). Israel's commentary on Porphyry was edited by Clemens Baeumker, *Frühmittelalterliche Glossen des angeblichen Jepa zur Isagoge des Porphyrius*, ed. by C. Baeumker and B. S. Waltershausen, Beiträge zur Geschichte der Philosophie des Mittelalters, 24.1 (Münster: Aschendorff, 1924), on which see J. Marenbon *From the Circle of Alcuin to the School of Auxerre: Logic, Philosophy and Theology in the Early Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), pp. 176–77, 122. For a full account of the contents of BnF, MS lat. 12949, see C. H. Beeson, 'The Authorship of *Quid Sit Ceroma*', in *Classical and*

This text was edited back in 1924 by Clemens Baeumker after which (against Baeumker's better judgement) the name in the subscription was read as 'Icpa' or 'Iepa', with unfortunate results. Right up to the 1970s scholars of the stature of Cappuyns pursued a phantom 'so-called Iepa' or 'this mysterious ... this famous Icpa' (who some thought could even be John Scotus himself).<sup>26</sup> All this was despite the clear reading of a distich in another part of same manuscript at folio 44<sup>r</sup> in a treatise on the Trinity addressed to 'holy Father Robert' who is described as Israel's 'glory' (*decus*). As may be seen in Figure 19, the true meaning was in front of them. Read in Greek capital letters the inscription, on fol. 52<sup>v</sup> of BnF, MS lat. 12949, actually says:

The writings of the Isagoge find their end here  
 A little text indeed but one of great value  
 I, ICPA(ΗΛ) [=ISRAEL], have in whatever way written this little book of glosses  
 The reader will be able to know if it makes sense!<sup>27</sup>

This then is the great teacher whom we find in the company of King Æthelstan. But his role in England starts with a bibliographical mystery worthy of M. R. James. The first clue was published in Armitage Robinson's Ford Lectures of 1922.<sup>28</sup> Robinson was the first to suggest the breadth of intellectual horizons of Æthelstan's court (a subject, it has to be said, that is still only imperfectly understood). He drew attention to an intriguing inscription in Oxford, Corpus Christi College, MS 122, a twelfth-century Irish Gospel Book that contains a description of a Gospel game, the *Alea Evangelii* (Figure 20), and which was acquired by the Irish bishop Dubhinsi<sup>29</sup> in the hall (*domus*) of King Æthelstan from a mysterious

*Mediaeval Studies in Honour of E. K. Rand*, ed. by L. Jones (New York: L. Jones, 1938), pp. 1–7 (page one carries a misprint on the number of the manuscript). P. Courcelle argued for the original compilation of the collection at Auxerre under Remigius: *'La Consolation de Philosophie' dans la tradition littéraire: antécédents et postérité de Boèce* (Paris: Études augustiniennes, 1967), pp. 251–59; to this Israel added further material including the commentary on Porphyry in the mid-tenth century. For the possibility that the hand of the Paris glosses and the passage to Robert on fol. 44 is that of Israel himself, see Marenbon, *From the Circle of Alcuin*, p. 177, n. 13. The manuscript comes from Corbie: Jeaneau, 'Pour le dossier le d'Israël Scot', p. 646, after Vezin, dates it to the late tenth or early eleventh century; Bischoff suggested mid-tenth century (Marenbon, *Alcuin to Auxerre*, pp. 121–23, quoting B. Bischoff (pers. comm.)).

<sup>26</sup> Maieul Cappuyns, *Jean Scot Érigène: sa vie, son oeuvre, sa pensée*, Université Catholique de Louvain, Dissertationes, 2nd ser., 26 (Brussels: Culture et Civilisation, 1969), pp. 71–73.

<sup>27</sup> Israel's *utcumque* ('in whatever way') is a self-deprecating joke; cf. Hucbald's 'Commemoratio brevis', in *PL*, CXXXII, col. 1027 ('hoc opusculo habeo utcumque edicere').

<sup>28</sup> Robinson, *TSD*, pp. 69–71, 171–81.

<sup>29</sup> Dubhinsi died in 956; his journey to England was made after 929.

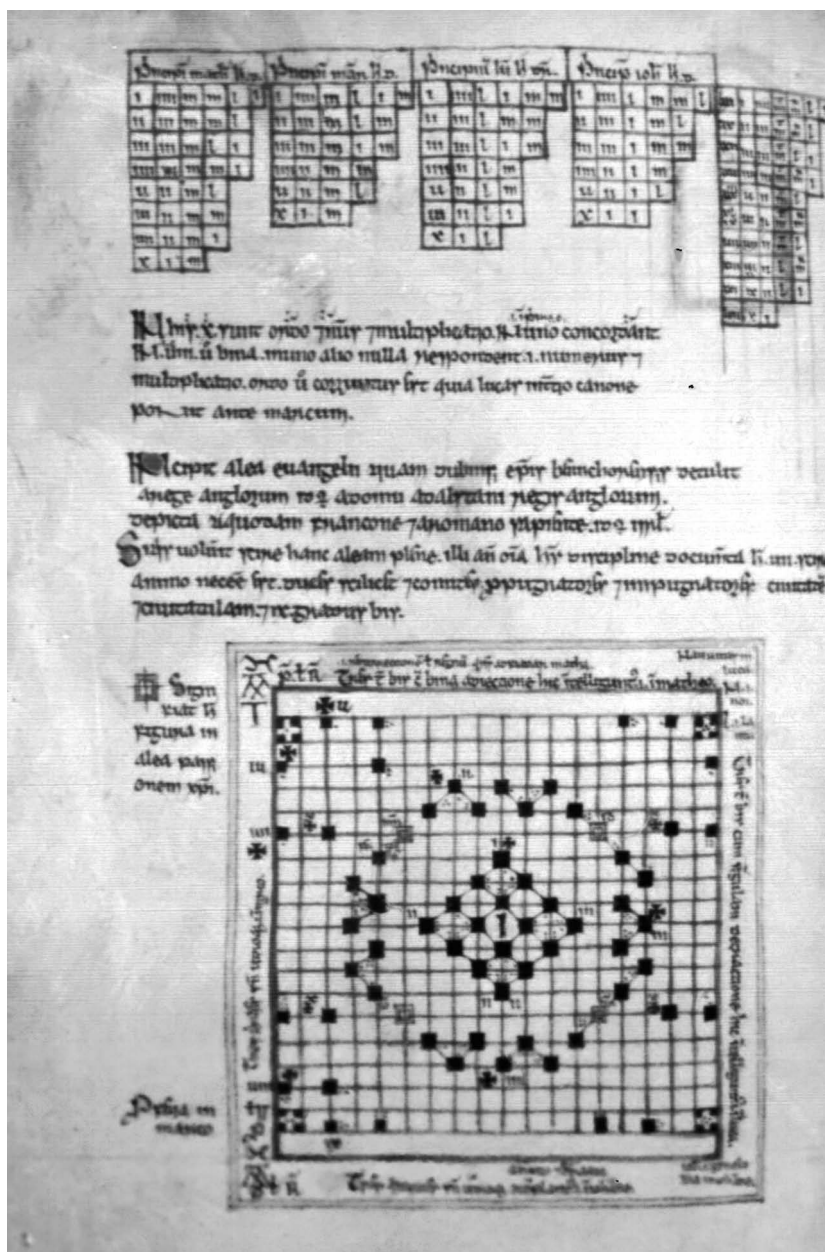


Figure 20. 'Game of the Evangelists' (*Alea Evangelii*), with an inscription referring to the 'Romanus sapiens Israel' at the house of Æthelstan, king of the English. Oxford, Corpus Christi College, MS 122, fol. 5<sup>v</sup>. Reproduced with permission.

Continental polymath. The Bishop was presumably a guest in the King's hall on his way to Rome, one among several learned Irishmen who had contact with the King including Maelbrigde, coarb of Armagh, whose name appears in London, Lambeth Palace, MS 1370; the *Dubliter* or 'Black Letters' of the Winchester charter referred to above, a name always associated with a scribe or librarian in Irish annals; or the bishops Colman and Benedict 'the Irishman' (*Evermensicus*), both of whom were with the King in the early 930s.<sup>30</sup>

In the royal hall of King Æthelstan, 'rejoicing under the wing of royal generosity', Dubhinsi learned about the 'Gospel dice' (an allegorized chess game) and copied the board and its rules from 'a certain Frank and wise Roman (*sapiens Romanus*), *that is Israel*' (italics added) (see Figure 20). Later in the text this enigmatic *sapiens* becomes 'a Roman Jew extremely skilled in the Gospels' but this may be a simple misunderstanding. Though Jewish amanuenses crop up in Carolingian texts in the ninth century, Oxford, Corpus Christi College, MS 122 is not a contemporary witness, and it is more likely that its twelfth-century copyist assumed Israel was a Jew because of his name. But Oxford, Corpus Christi College, MS 122 is clear evidence that in Æthelstan's court there was a Continental scholar called Israel, who can only be our master from Trier.

Had Armitage Robinson only followed up this reference (for example, in the index to the fourth volume of *Monumenta Germaniae Historica Scriptores*), all (or at least more) would have been revealed, further pieces in the puzzle whose basic picture he had so brilliantly sketched out. Nor does he seem to have noticed a reference, in the 1906 catalogue of Worcester manuscripts by Floyer and Hamilton, to a poem in an English manuscript, Worcester, Cathedral Library, MS Q.5, a Christ Church Canterbury book of the late tenth century, dedicated to a learned prelate (*praesul*) *Rotbert* (actually Archbishop Robert of Trier, mentioned above, one of the key figures in the culture of the early Ottonian kingdom; see Figure 21).<sup>31</sup>

These things O wise prelate and hope of the wise  
Your Israel addresses to you concerning just the verb and the nominative.<sup>32</sup>

<sup>30</sup> Wood, 'Stand Firm', p. 204: cf. *Annals of the Four Masters* in Corpus of Electronic Texts (CELT), available at <<http://www.ucc.ie/celt/>> s.a. 922 = 924 and 930 = 932; both these Duibhlitirs were heads of well-known Irish houses; one of them, the Abbot of Teach-Moling and lector of Gleann-da-locha, died in 932.

<sup>31</sup> J. K. Floyer and S. G. Hamilton, *Catalogue of Manuscripts Preserved in the Cathedral Library in Worcester Catalogue* (Oxford: Parker, 1906), p. 107.

<sup>32</sup> 'Haec vobis praesul sapiens et spes sapientum | Israel hic vester de verbo et nomine tantum.'

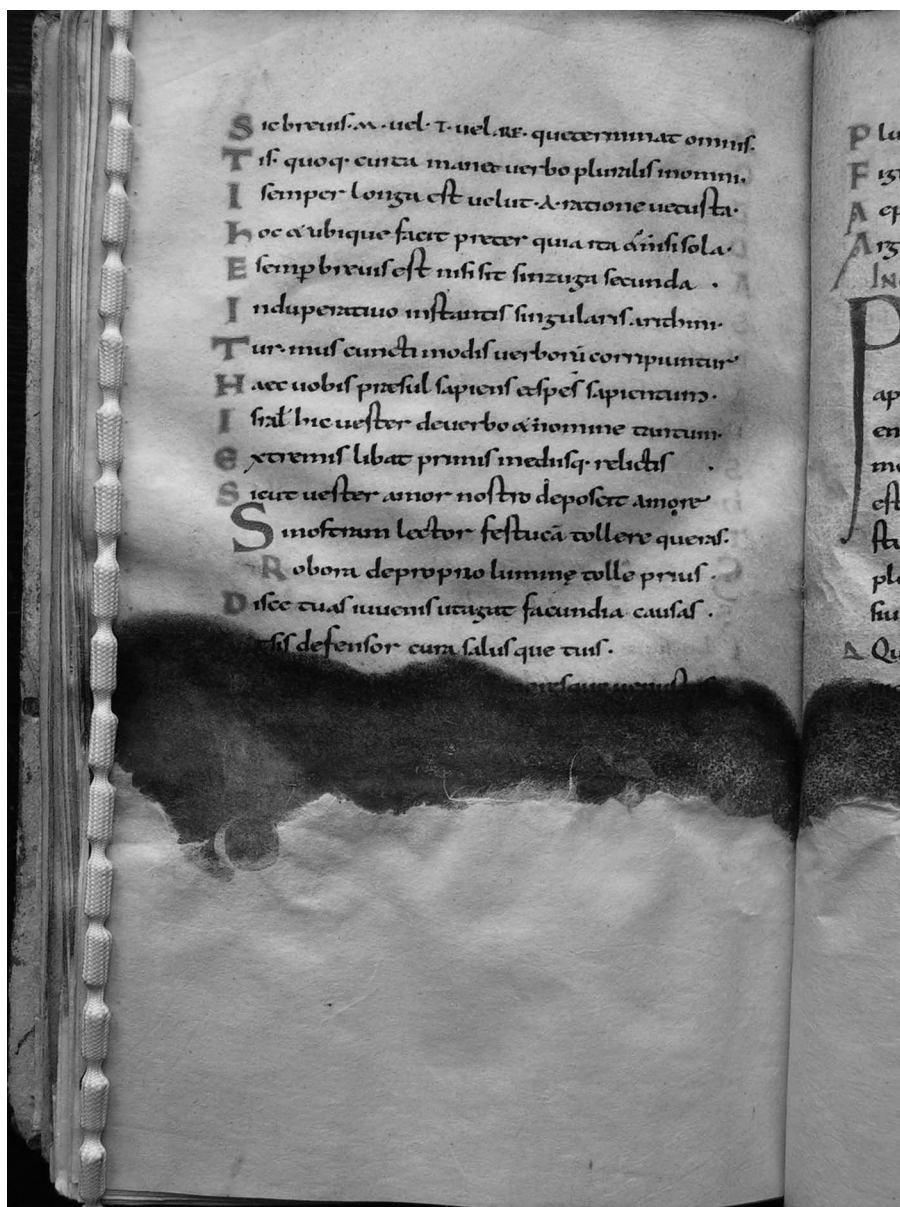


Figure 21. A tenth-century grammarian's teaching dossier: late tenth-century copy for St Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury, of Israel's dossier of *grammatica*. Lines 8–9 down read 'Haec vobis praesul sapiens [...] Isra(e)l hic vester [...]'. The Alcuin poem starts twelve lines down: 'Si nostrum lector [...]'. Worcester Cathedral Library, MS Q.5, fol. 71<sup>v</sup> (from St Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury). Reproduced with permission.



In their catalogue Floyer and Hamilton recognized that Israel might be a personal name, but did not quite believe their eyes: 'Are we to suppose that the writer describes himself as "Your Lordship's Israel"? or that he addresses the bishop as "the hope of the learned in Israel"? The clue was not followed up. It was Neil Ker, editing Patrick Young's seventeenth-century *Catalogus* in 1944, who left an unpublished note in Worcester Cathedral Library suggesting that this could be the famous Continental scholar and tutor of Bruno of Cologne. He was right: the erudite poem 'On the Art of Metre' (*De arte metrica*) is found in three manuscripts of English origin, and one German (from Saint-Gall, now Rome, Vatican Library, MS Reginensis lat. 421), and one from Corbie (now in St Petersburg, MS Lat. F.v.VI.3) but it was written by Israel and perhaps in England (see Figure 21), and it praises Robert of Trier just as does the treatise on the Trinity in the Paris manuscript, BnF, MS lat. 12949. They urge Robert to safeguard (*salvere*) the publication (*praeconia*) of (the art of) metre: 'The wise life alone is seen to be worthy of praise.' As we have seen, at end of poem Robert is addressed by 'your Israel':

These things O wise prelate and hope of the wise  
Your Israel addresses to you concerning just the verb and the nominative  
Leaving aside first, last, and middle matters [i.e. the other parts of grammar]  
Just as your love demands of our love.

The manuscript Worcester Q.5 is badly damaged by water, but other texts can be recovered, as can be seen now in Rodney Thomson's new catalogue: Bede and Priscian on grammar; a dialogue on grammar beginning 'Anima quae pars orationis est?'; grammatical notes and explanations of Greek words; a collection of medical verse with Greek terminology. These texts include the 'hermeneutic' *flegmon* text found in other Israel manuscripts.<sup>33</sup> There is also a text called *De philosophiae*

<sup>33</sup> See Rodney Thomson's catalogue, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Medieval Manuscripts in Worcester Cathedral Library* (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2001), pp. 120–21. The *flegmon* ('phlegm') text is edited by Lapidge, 'The Hermeneutic Style in Tenth-Century Anglo-Latin Literature', in Lapidge, *A-LL*, pp. 105–49 (pp. 142–43); it occurs in five manuscripts, three from England and one from Corbie, all of them containing Israel material, and a fifth, Orleans, Médiathèque, MS 184, where it is added on the last page of a large, tenth-century compilation of texts by Isidore of Seville, from Fleury. This combination of versified medical terminology and Greek vocabulary strongly suggests the inspiration of the circle of John the Scot (on which, see John Contreni, 'Masters and Medicine in Northern France during the Reign of Charles the Bald', in *Charles the Bald: Court and Kingdom*, ed. by Margaret Gibson and Janet L. Nelson, BAR, International Series, 101 (Oxford: BAR, 1981), pp. 333–50). *De philosophiae partibus* is discussed by Gabriele Knappe, *Traditionen der klassischen Rhetorik in angelsächsischen England* (Heidelberg: Winter, 1996), pp. 201–03, 242, 289–90.

*partibus* beginning ‘Philosophia quid est?’ which is only known from this manuscript, but which has close affiliations with the short philosophical treatises in Israel’s notebook in St Petersburg, MS Lat. F.v.VI.3 (and with the Auxerre corpus of glosses to the *Categoriae decem* printed by Marenbon).<sup>34</sup> Finally there is a text on metrical feet. Some or all of this material no doubt was part of Israel’s dossier. There is also a short poem beginning ‘Si nostram lector festucam’. This is by Alcuin, exhorting young men to work hard at their learning;<sup>35</sup> but it is interesting that Israel has made a slight change, adapting the poem to a single ‘youth’ (*iuuenis*) who apparently rules or desires to rule justly over his people (Figure 21):

If you wish to remove the splinter from our eyes, reader.  
First remove the plank from your own!  
Teach yourself young man so that eloquence can drive all your actions  
So that you can be the defender, care, and salvation of your own people  
Learn, young man, I pray, stylish figures of speech and styles  
So that your name will be praised across the whole world.

Did Israel have a real person in mind for his *iuuenis*? An unmarried king or prince? It is an intriguing thought. As Duby pointed out, *iuuenis* easily encompasses an unmarried man in his thirties and is not necessarily someone literally ‘young’ in modern eyes.<sup>36</sup> But that is perhaps to let ourselves run ahead of the evidence.

So Israel was in England in the 930s rubbing shoulders with the other foreign scholars in Æthelstan’s court — people like Theodred’s Germans or the Frankish poet Petrus. These men had come to England for practical reasons: in search of patronage no doubt, but also to do a job whether as scribes, scholars, or carers of souls in the field. And it is at least worth asking whether Israel might have been invited to England to help establish a teaching programme as he did later in Aachen or Cologne, providing teaching to young English *palatini* or courtiers like Æthelwold who would be the leading lights of the next generation. Æthelwold’s biographer, Wulfstan Cantor, seems to say that in the 930s there was such a school centred on the court:

‘Brought into the king’s presence he found favour in his sight and in the eyes of the king’s great men (*optimates*)’. Æthelwold spent a long period in the royal palace in the king’s

<sup>34</sup> Marenbon, *From the Circle of Alcuin*, pp. 152–66.

<sup>35</sup> The poem comprises lines 7–14 of Alcuin LXXX, ed. by Ernst Dümmler, *Poetae latini aevi Carolini*, vol. 1, MGH, Poet. Lat., 1 (Berlin: Weidmann, 1881), pp. 299–300; the opening image is from Matthew 7. 3 and Luke 6. 41.

<sup>36</sup> On the *iuuenis*, see G. Duby, *The Chivalrous Society*, trans. by Cynthia Postan (London: Arnold, 1977), pp. 112–22.

inseparable companionship (*individuo comitatu*) and learned much from the king's wise men (*sapientes*) that was useful and profitable to him. Later he was tonsured by the king's command and spent time with Bishop Ælfheah further to improve his learning.<sup>37</sup>

Clearly the education of talented young men like Æthelwold was directed by the King himself with his circle of scholars, and Israel was certainly the kind of wise man (*sapiens*) the young Æthelwold might have admired and profited from.

In this connection Mechthild Gretsch has recently stressed the key role of Aldhelm in the teaching programme — and even in the intellectual atmosphere — of Æthelstan's court.<sup>38</sup> But of course before a student advanced to study the abstruse delights of Aldhelm, he needed to master basic metre, quantity, and grammar, and this started with the standard works: Donatus, Priscian, and Bede; the texts in Worcester Q.5 that precede the Israel miscellany constitute just such a collection. In this connection it is therefore worth noting that Israel was author of an important redaction of the commentary on Donatus's *Ars minor* by Remigius of Auxerre (c. 850—908). This commentary was a core teaching text of the late Carolingian and post-Carolingian world: it survives in manuscripts in Germany up to the fifteenth century and in England to the thirteenth century, and was still in print in the last century. Israel's redaction of Remigius's commentary is still cited in the scholarly apparatus of W. Fox's edition in Teubner in 1902,<sup>39</sup> and though it does not survive, save as glosses incorporated into later manuscripts, it clearly once existed as a separate volume, as is noted in a recently discovered medieval catalogue of the manuscripts of Lobbes which lists 'Israel's commentary on Donatus'.<sup>40</sup> Remigius's commentary would have been an obvious text to use in trying to re-establish schools in England, even before the development of the royal proprietary church or *Eigenkirche* of Glastonbury as a Benedictine house towards the end of, or soon after, Æthelstan's reign. Remigius's commentary was certainly known in Anglo-Saxon England. The key surviving text is now divided between BL, MS Additional 32246, and Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum, MS M.16. 2 (the

<sup>37</sup> Wulfstan of Winchester, *The Life of St Æthelwold*, ed. and trans. by Michael Lapidge and Michael Winterbottom, OMT (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), pp. 10–11.

<sup>38</sup> M. Gretsch, *The Intellectual Foundations of the English Benedictine Reform* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), pp. 332–424.

<sup>39</sup> *Remigii Autissiodorensis in artem Donati minorem Commentum*, ed. by W. Fox (Leipzig: Teubner, 1902).

<sup>40</sup> *Expositio Israel cuiusdam super Donatum*: F. Dolbeau, 'Un nouveau catalogue des manuscrits de Lobbes aux XI<sup>e</sup> et XII<sup>e</sup> siècles', *Recherches augustiniennes*, 13 (1978), 3–36 (pp. 15 and 33).

commentary is on fols 4<sup>v</sup>–17<sup>v</sup>);<sup>41</sup> the manuscript is from the eleventh century and significantly came from Abingdon, one of the powerhouses of English Benedictine learning, founded in the 950s by Æthelstan's protégé Æthelwold. It is as yet impossible precisely to date its reception into Anglo-Saxon England, and copies of the Israel recension citing his glosses have so far only been found in a cluster of seven manuscripts, all from Germany: but it is possible that the presence of Remigius's original text in tenth-century England is connected directly or indirectly with Israel, and that perhaps Israel brought a copy with him from Trier.

An interesting sidelight on the Remigian commentary from the school of Auxerre is a series of doxographies (collections of instructional or philosophical opinions) also connected with the schools of Laon and Auxerre. These are teaching aids, mnemonics on classical poets, thinkers, and philosophers, potted thumbnails to help students understand the frequent references to classical literature in their school texts: as, for example, in Martianus Capella, a work which came into England in Æthelstan's day in copies from both Wales and Francia. The best known is a doxography on the Muses composed by the Irishman Martin of Laon.<sup>42</sup> This consists of a short commentary on Ausonius's poem on the Muses, and a further elaboration in prose. Martin's text is quoted — probably by Israel himself — in an extensive additional gloss to the Remigian commentary on Donatus's *Ars minor*, chapter 25 on the Muses, preserved in Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, MS Clm 17209, a manuscript which is a key testimony to the Israel glosses.<sup>43</sup> This text on the Muses (printed by Contreni<sup>44</sup>) is also in CCCC, MS 330, part 1 (a late Malmesbury copy of Martianus Capella), presumably a replacement, as part 2 consists of a late ninth-century manuscript of Martin of Laon's commentary on Martianus with English glosses from Æthelstan's day.<sup>45</sup> This Muses doxography comes through English manuscripts down to Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS e Mus.

<sup>41</sup> Jeudy, 'Israël le grammairien', pp. 232–33.

<sup>42</sup> For Martin of Laon on the Muses, see John Contreni, 'Three Carolingian Texts Attributed to Laon: Reconsiderations', *Studi Medievali*, ser. 3, 17 (1976), 797–813. For John the Scot's glosses on the Muses in his commentary on Martianus, see É. Jeuneau's transcription in *Quatre thèmes érigéniens* (Montréal: Institut d'Études Médiévales; Paris: J. Vrin, 1978), pp. 141–66; for Israel's gloss on the Muses, see *Remigii Autissiodorensis*, ed. by Fox, p. 17; Jeudy, 'Israël le grammairien', p. 193, prints a further selection.

<sup>43</sup> Printed in *Remigii Autissiodorensis*, ed. by Fox, p. 11.

<sup>44</sup> See above, note 42.

<sup>45</sup> CCCC, MS 153 (Wales tenth/eleventh centuries: additions in England, first half of the tenth century) includes Dunchad's commentary on Martianus and the Laon poem on the Muses.

96 (thirteenth century) where it is still found alongside the Remigian commentary on Donatus's *Ars minor*, and with Greek *liturgica* or liturgical texts to which we will return.<sup>46</sup> A second doxography, on the Greek Sages, is found in the philosophical texts in Israel's dossier in St Petersburg, MS Lat. F.v.VI.3 and as an addition on a blank leaf in BnF, MS lat. 12949 entitled *De illustribus philosophis* and beginning 'Sapientes autem praecipui fuerunt numero VII' (fol. 44<sup>v</sup>). A third one, on famous Greek writers, is preserved in an English manuscript, BL, MS Cotton Titus D XVIII, which also contains Israel material including the Greek *liturgica* found in Æthelstan's Psalter (BL, MS Cotton Galba A XVIII). More work is needed on these texts, but obviously it is possible that Israel brought them to England.

It would be fascinating if we could show that these hints were evidence of the kind of programme of teaching that has been demonstrated for Ottonian Cologne or Aachen. There Israel, as Bruno's tutor, was presumably responsible for the choice of the four core teaching texts: Remigius on grammar and Martianus Capella on the liberal arts, plus Boethius's *Arithmetica*, and Gregory the Great's *Cura Pastoralis*.<sup>47</sup> Something similar must have existed in 930s England, but so far we have only hints in English class-books.<sup>48</sup> Some are to be found in the famous Cambridge Songs manuscript (Cambridge, University Library, MS Gg.3.35).<sup>49</sup> This massive anthology of Christian Latin poetry is a teaching book in three parts, graded according to difficulty with all sorts of miscellaneous titbits added. In its present form, a mid-eleventh-century class-book from St Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury, it is a kind of palimpsest with earlier layers including ninth-century Carolingian texts (Hucbald, Hrabanus Maurus, Smaragdus) and a poem by the

<sup>46</sup> The Remigian material in Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS e Mus. 96 is discussed by Jeudy, 'Israël le grammairien', pp. 232–33; a Greek Creed and Lord's Prayer are entered in Latin letters in a different hand on an added leaf in the prefatory contents: but it is not possible to say whether these were transmitted in the same exemplar as the Remigian commentary. The Muses poem also appears with the Remigian *grammatica* — with the Israel glosses — in Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, MS Clm 5177 (tenth-century): Jeudy, 'Israël le grammairien', pp. 223–24.

<sup>47</sup> Mayr-Harting, *Church and Cosmos*, pp. 131–44 and (on Martianus) pp. 195–225.

<sup>48</sup> For example, the presence of a dialectical collection with a Continental pedigree from the school of Auxerre in CCCC, MS 206 (Boethius's translation of the *Isagoge* of Porphyry and other texts closely related to the Israel material in BnF, MS lat. 12949). This came into England in the early tenth century which suggests the reception of philosophical material in Æthelstan's England (where CCCC, MS 206 was annotated in the first half of the tenth century).

<sup>49</sup> A. G. Rigg and G. Wieland, 'A Canterbury Classbook of the Mid-Eleventh Century (the "Cambridge Songs" Manuscript)', *ASE*, 4 (1975), 113–30 (pp. 126–27). See on this Lapidge's remarks in 'Israel the Grammarian', p. 97.

Frankish poet-scholar Frithegode of Brioude (whose career in England in the 940s has only recently been rediscovered).<sup>50</sup> But Cambridge, University Library, MS Gg.3.35 also includes pieces that we have already met in Israel manuscripts, notably the Greek *liturgica*, and medical texts including 'flegmon' from Worcester, MS Q.5. David Howlett has argued that the two famous 'Hisperic' poems in the manuscript, namely *Adelphus* and *Rubisca* (which is credited to 'a certain Irishman'), were written by Israel himself, and *Adelphus* survives in only one other manuscript, Paris, Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, MS 2410, which also contains Israel material.<sup>51</sup> If the core collection of Cambridge, University Library, MS Gg.3.35 was originally put together in the tenth century as a teaching aid in St Augustine's, Canterbury, it may well be wondered whether one stage of compilation directly or indirectly involved Israel's teachings.

Israel's presence in Æthelstan's circle of court scholars, suggested already by Dubhinsi who met him 'in the king's hall', is also indicated by BL, MS Cotton Galba A XVIII. A sixteenth-century note in the manuscript records the Winchester tradition that this had been Æthelstan's psalter, and this is strongly suggested by contents added in the King's time, especially by the Greek *liturgica* at the end of the book, the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, the Trisagion (a hymn beginning with a threefold invocation of God as holy), and a litany of saints in English square minuscule of the 930s (Figure 22).<sup>52</sup> These pieces appear in other Israel manuscripts in the Vatican, Paris, and St Petersburg. As Edmund Bishop long ago deduced from the Antiochene character of the litany, these Greek pieces came to

<sup>50</sup> On Frithegode, see M. Lapidge, 'A Frankish Scholar in Tenth-Century England: Frithegode of Canterbury/Fredegaud of Brioude', *ASE*, 17 (1988), 45–65; repr. in Lapidge, *A-LL*, pp. 157–81.

<sup>51</sup> Howlett shows that the author of *Rubisca* was an Irish scholar and suggests a connection with Israel and the court of King Athelstan: David Howlett, 'Rubisca: An Edition, Translation, and Commentary', *Peritia*, 10 (1996), 71–90. That *Rubisca* might have come from the milieu of Israel is also suggested by Jane Stevenson 'Rubisca, Hiberno-Latin and the Hermeneutic Tradition', *Nottingham Medieval Studies*, 36 (1992), 15–41 (pp. 36–37). David Howlett, 'Five Experiments in Textual Reconstruction', *Peritia*, 9 (1995), 1–50 (p. 30) also points out that Athelstan's chief court scribe ('Athelstan A') was evidently familiar with both *Rubisca* and its companion poem *Adelphus*, in Cambridge, University Library, MS Gg.3.35. Æthelstan's charters contain unusual words from both, e.g. *gibonifer* from *Rubisca* (Sawyer, no. 399) and *tanaliter* from *Adelphus* (Sawyer, no. 425).

<sup>52</sup> On BL, MS Cotton Galba A XVIII, see Keynes, 'King Athelstan's Books', pp. 193–96; Lapidge, 'Israel the Grammarian', pp. 99–103; and Michael Wood, 'Stand Firm', pp. 206–08. For a general account of the manuscript, see 'The Story of a Book' in Michael Wood, *In Search of England: Journeys into the English Past* (London: Viking, 1999), pp. 169–85.

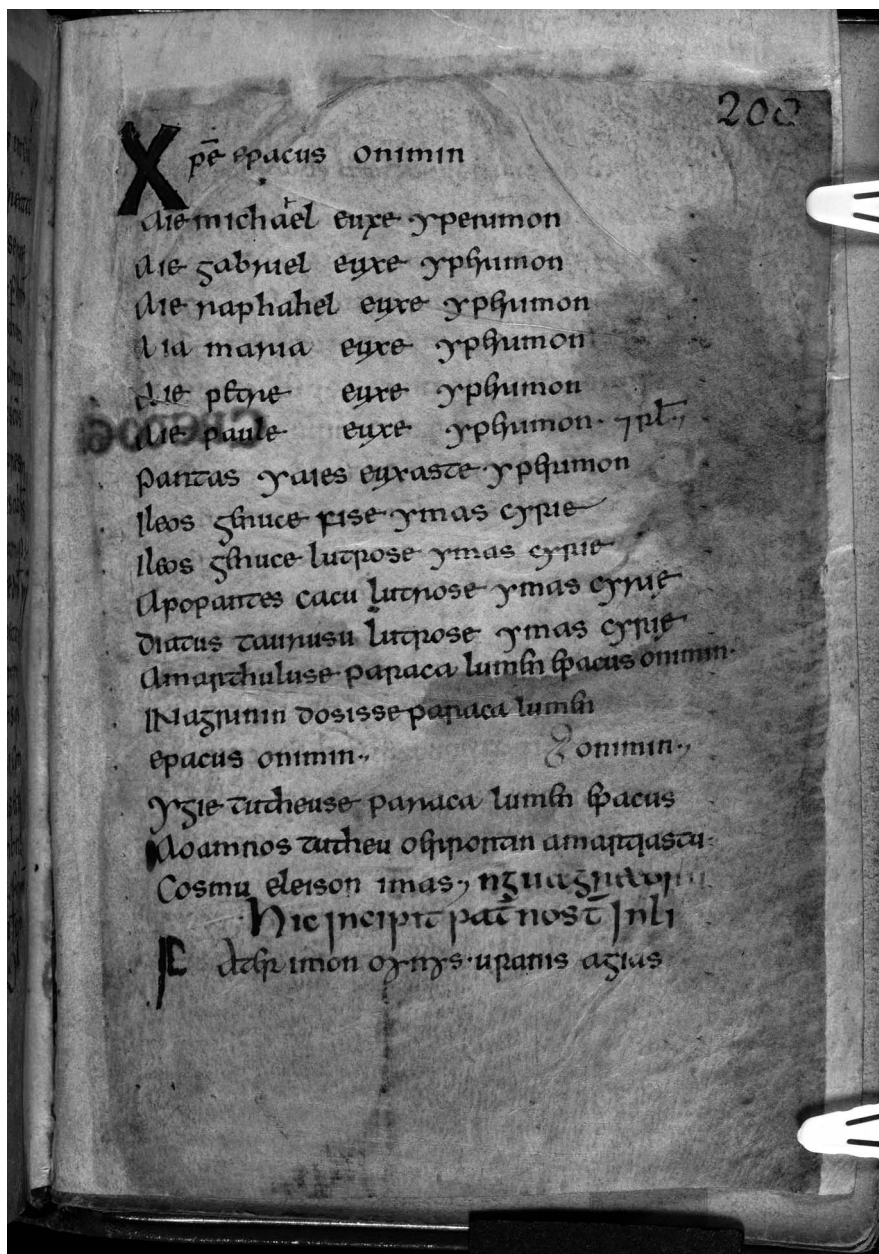


Figure 22. A tenth-century king's private psalter, containing a Greek litany from Antioch in an English hand of the 930s. At the bottom the *Pater Noster* begins in Greek. London, British Library, MS Cotton Galba A XVIII (*Æthelstan Psalter*), fol. 200<sup>r</sup>. Reproduced with permission.

England from Syria in the seventh century, probably with Theodore of Tarsus, and must have been still available at Canterbury in the 930s.<sup>53</sup> At the same time paintings were added to Æthelstan's Psalter, which evidently derived from a late antique cycle of pictures from the same region (Figures 23–25): their closest analogue, the Rabbula Gospels (Florence, Biblioteca Mediceo-Laurenziana, MS Plut. I, 56), came from Zagba near Apamea in the diocese of Antioch (Figure 26). This material, then, is Theodoran, the symbolic root of the scholarly tree of the West.<sup>54</sup>

This Greek dossier in Galba is found in later Canterbury manuscripts (Worcester, MS Q.5; Paris, Saint-Geneviève, MS 2410; Cambridge, University Library, MS Gg.3.35), and in Israel's dossier from Corbie in St Petersburg, MS Lat. F.v.VI.3.<sup>55</sup> They are still found in manuscripts as late as the thirteenth century (Oxford, Bodleian, MS e Mus. 96) and in the perplexing first twelve folios of BL, MS Cotton Titus D XVIII from the fourteenth century, complete with texts on alphabets (including the Hebrew and Greek alphabets) clearly copied from a manuscript of the Old English period.<sup>56</sup> A likely explanation for the presence of these texts in such far-flung manuscripts would be that Israel was shown them (or discovered them) in Canterbury; that they caused much interest; and that at the king's request they were copied by an English royal scribe into the back of his private psalter for his personal use; that they also circulated in school-texts of the mid-tenth century; and that Israel copied them into his own notebook and took them with him when he returned to Germany because they were texts from the horse's mouth, as it were: the beginning of the scholarly chain that led from Theodore down to John the Scot

<sup>53</sup> Edmund Bishop, *Liturgica Historica* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1918), pp. 144–45, building on pioneering work by J. Baron, *The Greek Origin of the Apostles Creed* (Oxford: Parker, 1885), a detailed study of the Greek liturgica in BL, MS Cotton Galba A XVIII.

<sup>54</sup> On the picture cycle, see Wood, 'Stand Firm', pp. 207–08.

<sup>55</sup> Lapidge, 'Israel the Grammarian', pp. 99–101; cf. Jeauneau, 'Pour le dossier d'Israël Scot', pp. 699–700.

<sup>56</sup> R. Derolez, *Runica Manuscripta: The English Tradition* (Brussels: De Tempel, 1954), pp. 335–43. The philological material in Titus, fols 1–12, in part derives from a Carolingian collection known as *De inventione litterarum* attributed to Hrabanus Maurus, and may have been combined with the Greek liturgical and poetic extracts in England in the 930s.



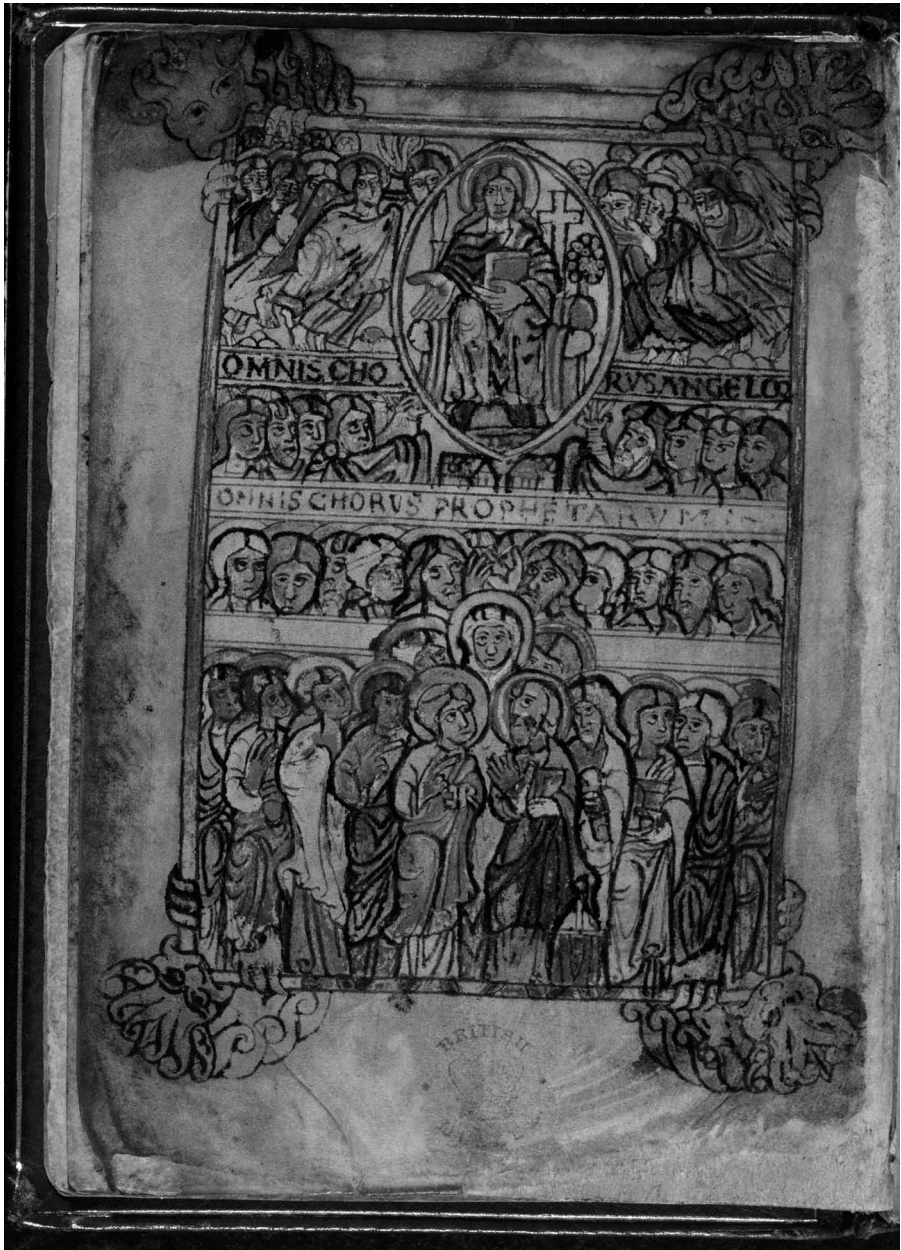


Figure 23. Christ with the instruments of the Passion, and choruses of angels and prophets. Second quarter of the tenth century, from a Syrian model perhaps of the sixth or seventh century. London, British Library, MS Cotton Galba A XVIII (Æthelstan Psalter), fol. 2<sup>r</sup>. Reproduced with permission.



Figure 24. The Nativity and Baptism of Christ. Of those in the original book, this miniature is closest to a Syrian model. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Rawlinson B.484, fol. 85 (a stray leaf from the Æthelstan Psalter (London, British Library, MS Cotton Galba A XVIII)). Reproduced with permission.

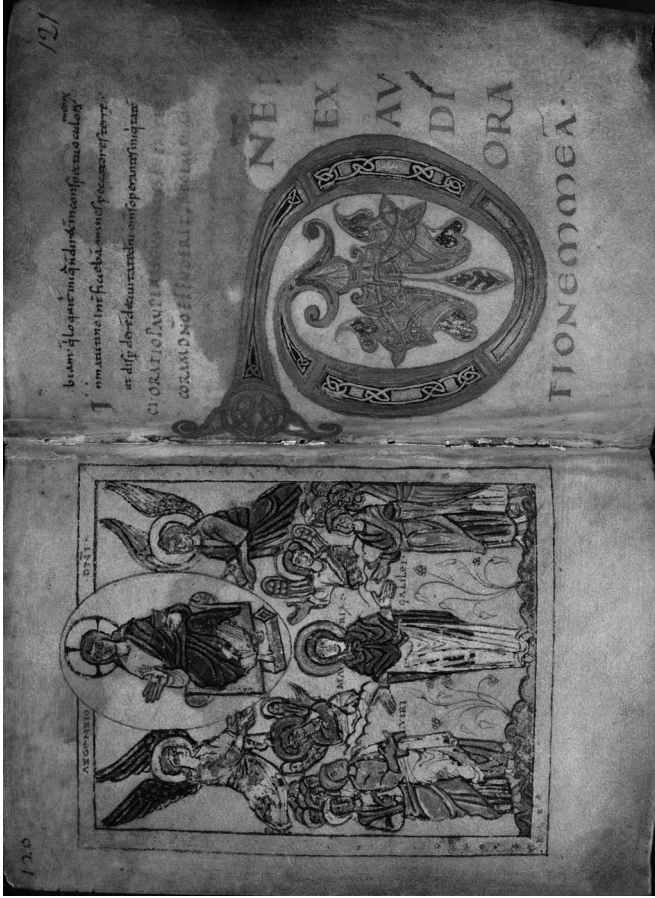


Figure 25. The Ascension of Christ painted in the 930s and copied from a sixth- or seventh-century Syrian painted cycle (cf. Figure 26), and *Incipit* to Psalm 101. London, British Library, MS Cotton Galba A XVIII (*Æthelstan Psalter*), fols 120<sup>v</sup> and 121<sup>r</sup>. Reproduced with permission.



Figure 26. Rabbula Gospels, AD 580, Syrian, from Apamea in Antioch. This must have resembled the model for the miniature of the Ascension of Christ in the Æthelstan Psalter. Florence, Biblioteca Mediceo-Laurenziana, MS Plut. I, 56, fol. 13<sup>v</sup>. Reproduced with permission.

and his own generation of masters, testimony to the almost magical power that such Greek texts had in the minds of early medieval schoolmasters.<sup>57</sup>

And that, for the moment, is as far as we can take Israel's English career. As will be glaringly apparent, this is no more than a tentative sketch — much is speculation only, and no doubt there will be many corrections and amplifications. When Israel left England is not known, but it was perhaps soon after the King's death in late 939 (ambassadors from Germany were in Cheddar to greet the new king, Edmund, in 940).<sup>58</sup> Israel's poem on the grammatical arts to his beloved Robert 'light of our times' almost reads like a begging letter to go back home to Trier.<sup>59</sup> But there may in fact have been a direct invitation — an offer he could not refuse. For in 939, around the time of Æthelstan's death, the young Bruno, now aged fourteen and out of his adolescence (*adolescentia*), was summoned by his brother Otto to court in Aachen where he was put in the hands of advanced teachers. Pre-eminent among them was Israel 'Scotigena' from whom Bruno later told Ruotger that 'he had learned the most'. It was in Aachen or Cologne in the early 940s that Israel's fame was made, which caused Froumund of Tegernsee to call him Robert's 'shining light' (*lux praesulis*).<sup>60</sup> On 17 November 947 in Verdun, he appears as a bishop, without his see being named, at a council in Robert's company along with Otto

<sup>57</sup> Israel may also have collected hagiographical texts. For his possible role in the transmission of the famous *Vita Brendani*, see three works by Charles Selmer: 'The Origin of Brandenburg', pp. 416–33; *Navigatio Sancti Brendani Abbatis* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1959), pp. xxvi–xxxix; and 'A Study of the Latin manuscripts of the Navigatio Sancti Brendani', *Scriptorium*, 3 (1950), 177–82. Though the text was composed in the late eighth century, the textual tradition begins in mid-tenth-century Lotharingia, and Selmer was probably right that Israel was connected with it: see his 'The Beginnings of the St Brendan Legend on the Continent', *Catholic Historical Review*, 29 (1943), 169–76, and Bischoff, 'Monachesimo Irlandese', p. 204. The key manuscripts are all from late tenth- to eleventh-century Lotharingia, including two from Trier, MS Add. 36736 (the oldest), and one late tenth-century manuscript, Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, MS Clm 17740, from Saint-Maximin's. For a recent comment on the date, see *The Voyage of St Brendan*, ed. by W. R. J. Barron and Glynn S. Burgess (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 2002), pp. 17–18. Israel's hagiographical interests might also repay close study.

<sup>58</sup> *Vita Beati Dunstani*, ed. by William Stubbs, in *Dunstan Memorials*, p. 23.

<sup>59</sup> 'Praesul sapiens ... Israel hic vester' (Figure 21, lines 8–9). The poem is edited (after the Worcester and Vatican manuscripts) by Karl Strecker in *Die Ottonenzeit*, MGH, Poet. Lat., 5. 1–2 (Berlin: Weidmann, 1978), pp. 500–02, and (after the Leningrad manuscript) by Jeuneau, 'Pour le dossier d'Israël Scot', pp. 656–58.

<sup>60</sup> *Die Tegernseer Briefsammlung*, ed. by Strecker, p. 24.

and Hugh the Great.<sup>61</sup> Between 948 and 950, he seems to have held a bishopric in Aachen, but we might guess him to be temperamentally not an administrator. His notebook in St Petersburg, MS Lat. F.v.VI.3 also places him in Aachen in 949, no doubt at the Easter great court when Louis d'Outremer came to meet Otto.<sup>62</sup> English ambassadors from Æthelstan's half brother King Eadred were there too, along with envoys from Italy. That scene conjures up a wonderful image of the royalty and nobility of mid-tenth-century Europe, German, Frankish, English, and Italian, and it is intriguing to think that Israel was a link between them, who could converse with them all, and who had lived in all four countries.

At Aachen that Easter Israel talked to visitors just as he had in Æthelstan's hall. In his notebook in St Petersburg, MS Lat. F.v.VI.3 he mentions an intense (and slightly combative?) conversation about Christian ideas on the Trinity with a Jewish intellectual conversant in Greek, who was called Salomon and whom one is strongly tempted to identify with the Byzantine ambassador of that name who came to Aachen in 949.<sup>63</sup> Israel's note on this is a vivid insight into the conversational possibilities of the tenth-century world — the 'spaciousness' of the times that Armitage Robinson so brilliantly evoked.<sup>64</sup>

By the early 950s Israel was still wandering: in his travelling bags, his dossiers now bulging, his workbook crammed with Greek glossaries, lists of classical Greek medical terms, *liturgica* from Æthelstan's Canterbury, sketches of treatises on philosophical problems, maps of the soul, mystical diagrams of the theological concept of Ousia, and much else besides. His dialectic manuscript (if BnF, MS lat. 12949 is anything to go by) was dense with glosses and marginalia, extra strips of parchment inserted in various parts of the codex with scribbled ideas: 'Versus iohanni scotti, Bedae, Virgil etc'. In the notebook in St Petersburg, MS Lat. F.v.VI.3 he sounds like a man always on the move, speaking of currently living in Trier while recalling 'last year when I was in Rome'. The picture suggested is of a typical Irish *peregrinus* or wandering pilgrim, a person with unending curiosity about the world.

Israel's life of travel and intellectual discovery — it seems appropriate to use such a phrase — led him to meet and talk to some of the greatest figures of the tenth century: Æthelstan and Otto, Hugh the Great, Louis IV, and Bruno of

<sup>61</sup> *Flodoard* (Lauer), p. 107.

<sup>62</sup> Jeuneau, 'Pour le dossier d'Israël Scot', p. 663.

<sup>63</sup> Jeuneau, 'Pour le dossier d'Israël Scot', pp. 662–63.

<sup>64</sup> Robinson, *TSD*, pp. 51–71 (the reference to the 'spaciousness' of Æthelstan's court is at p. 71).

Cologne, and no doubt too the likes of Queen Edith, Hadwig and Gerberga (both women poets who knew Latin and Greek), Æthelwold and Dunstan, Byzantine ambassadors, Irish bishops, not forgetting an oddball genius like Liudprand of Cremona, the diplomat and historian who led missions to Constantinople and who also spent time in the Ottonian court in the 940s/950s. No doubt too Israel came across the smartest brain of them all, the supreme stylist of the age: the garrulous and self-reflexive Rather of Liège and Verona, ‘first among the philosophers’ as Folcuin calls him.<sup>65</sup> For an Age of Iron these are all remarkable figures.

As we have seen, Israel died some time before 967/68. In Germany he was commemorated in the *Life of Bruno of Cologne*, in the necrologies of his house, and at Merseburg and Echternach (where his obit calls him ‘bishop and *conversus* of Saint-Maximin’), and in the textual tradition of his work.<sup>66</sup> But in England he was forgotten. We would know nothing of him but for a casual mention by a visiting Irish cleric, and his tell-tale presence in poems in manuscripts in Worcester, Paris, Leningrad, and Rome which have only now come to light — scraps out of which this tentative story has been constructed. But his memory is most interestingly conserved in a remarkable if somewhat problematical note by one Gautbertus (Gauzebert of Limoges?) now in Leiden: a so-called *grammaticorum diadoche*.<sup>67</sup> This is a scholarly chain of transmission from master to pupil of a kind still handed down in traditional scholastic communities. The first links in the chain are English: it begins with Theodore of Tarsus and goes through Aldhelm and Bede down to Alcuin and Sedulius and then (betraying the pedigree of its author) John the Scot, Heiric, Remigius, and Hucbald, Israel’s intellectual mentors. In the next two generations of the ‘family tree’, among ‘many successors’, Israel himself is named as pupil of one Ambrosius: and, though the author’s meaning is not entirely clear, he appears to say that it was Israel who ‘made Britain famous through the

<sup>65</sup> *Folcuini gesta abbatum Lobiensium*, ed. by Pertz, MGH, SS, 4, pp. 53–74 (p. 64). On Hadwig and Gerberga, see Jane Stevenson, *Women Latin Poets: Language, Gender, and Authority, from Antiquity to the Eighteenth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), pp. 96–98: the Bede-inspired Ottonian poem *De mulieri forti* (‘On powerful women’) which is of uncertain authorship and dedicated to Hadwig (Stevenson, *Women Latin Poets*, p. 102) is found in a dossier of Israel material in Rome, Vat. MS Reg. lat. 421 in between his poem ‘On the Art of Metre’ and his collection of Greek *liturgica*.

<sup>66</sup> Kenney, *Sources for the Early History*, p. 610; cf. Jeaneau, ‘Pour le dossier d’Israël Scot’, p. 651.

<sup>67</sup> Leiden, Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit, MS Voss. lat. O 15 fol. 147<sup>v</sup> pr; Berschin, *Greek Letters*, pp. 123–25. My thanks to John Cramer at Leiden University Library for providing me with the photo of this manuscript.

sevenfold Minerva', that is, through the wisdom of the seven liberal arts. 'We who study today', writes our author in the later tenth century, 'Still drink from their fountains'. 'Three things make a master', Israel wrote, 'namely age, wisdom, and religion'.<sup>68</sup> We can see now that Israel was indeed 'the last of the great Irish court scholars'.<sup>69</sup> His presence in Æthelstan's England till recently was a lost history and is a salutary reminder of the fragmentary nature of our knowledge of the period. Till recently — despite Armitage Robinson — we would never have guessed it possible to connect such a figure with the English court in the 930s. But these recent discoveries force us to view the fragmentary survivals of manuscripts from Æthelstan's England in a very different light. Israel's full role is still to be elucidated, but his career forms a fascinating footnote to the still untold story of England and the Continent in the tenth century — and it is one on which, one would guess, more remains to be discovered.

Maya Vision International

<sup>68</sup> *Remigii Autissiodorensis*, ed. by Fox, p. 17.

<sup>69</sup> Bischoff, 'Monachesimo Irlandese', p. 205.



## ENGLAND AND THE PAPACY IN THE TENTH CENTURY

Francesca Tinti

The special role played by the papacy in the Christianization of the English is very well known to every student of Anglo-Saxon history. Equally well known is the affection which linked the English Church to Rome throughout the early Middle Ages. Several facets of this special relationship have received a great deal of attention. Among them pilgrimage to Rome probably takes pride of place, given the large number of publications on that widespread Anglo-Saxon practice, which attracted kings, bishops, clerics, abbesses, and commoners, all eager to reach and sometimes even to die by St Peter's tomb.<sup>1</sup> Although this bond with

For help with this paper and for supplying bibliographical material not available in Italy I would like to thank Lesley Abrams, Sarah Hamilton, Luis E. Hueso, and Giovanni Isabella. I am very grateful to Nicholas Brooks, Conrad Leyser, David Pelteret, and David Rollason for reading and commenting upon an earlier draft of this paper.

<sup>1</sup> Among the numerous publications on relations between England and Rome, see Levison, *ECEC*; Ortenberg, *ECC*; Veronica Ortenberg, 'The Anglo-Saxon Church and the Papacy', in *The English Church and the Papacy in the Middle Ages*, ed. by C. H. Lawrence, rev. edn (Stroud: Sutton, 1999), pp. 29–62; Nicholas Howe, 'Rome: Capital of Anglo-Saxon England', *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies*, 34 (2004), 147–72. On pilgrimage and travel to Rome, see W. J. Moore, *The Saxon Pilgrims to Rome and the Schola Saxonum* (Fribourg: Society of St Paul, 1937); Bertram Colgrave, 'Pilgrimages to Rome in the Seventh and Eighth Centuries', in *Studies in Language, Literature and Culture of the Middle Ages and Later*, ed. by E. B. Atwood and A. A. Hill (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1969), pp. 29–62; Stephen Matthews, *The Road to Rome: Travel and Travellers between England and Italy in the Anglo-Saxon Centuries*, BAR, International Series, 1680 (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2007); David A. E. Pelteret, 'Travel between England and Italy in the Early Middle Ages', in *Anglo-Saxon England and the Continent*, ed. by Hans Sauer and Joanna Story, Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies: Essays in Anglo-Saxon Studies, 3 (Tempe: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, forthcoming). I am grateful to Dr Pelteret for allowing me to read his paper in advance of publication and for signalling Stephen Matthews's recent book.

Rome would seem to have characterized the entire Anglo-Saxon period, several surveys of contacts between Anglo-Saxon England and the papacy have highlighted a significant gap in evidence for it in the tenth century. For instance, Simon Keynes has observed that 'relations between the English Church and the papacy in the tenth century have [...] left less of a trace than one might expect';<sup>2</sup> and Veronica Ortenberg has pointed out that there ceased to be visits of papal legates to England for two centuries after 824, when a papal legate called Nothhelm, probably of English origin, is reported to have participated in a council at *Clofesho*. This gap has sometimes been explained as a possible consequence of the Viking attacks, but also as a result of the more frequent trips to Rome made by the archbishops of Canterbury to collect their pallium from the pope.<sup>3</sup> The pallium, which was a white woollen band marked with crosses, was worn by an Archbishop of Canterbury during the celebration of Mass as a symbol of authority derived from the pope. In the first centuries of English Christianity, it had been normal to send it to Canterbury, but in the last 140 years of Anglo-Saxon history archbishops travelled to Rome to fetch it.<sup>4</sup> This practice would have made legatine visits unnecessary, as popes could have been periodically informed about England's ecclesiastical affairs by the head of the Anglo-Saxon Church himself when he came to Rome to collect his pallium.<sup>5</sup> If these two factors, that is, the Viking invasions and the higher frequency of archiepiscopal trips to Rome, probably played a significant role in reducing the amount of evidence we have for relations between England and the papacy, it is all the more necessary to undertake a detailed analysis of those relations in the tenth century and to interpret them within a more general appreciation of the troubled political climate which characterized papal history in that period.

<sup>2</sup> Simon Keynes, 'Papacy', in *BEASE*, pp. 352–55 (p. 354).

<sup>3</sup> Ortenberg, 'Anglo-Saxon Church', p. 52.

<sup>4</sup> Ortenberg, 'Anglo-Saxon Church', pp. 48–49. Nicholas Brooks has explained this new practice by referring to the fact that from the early tenth century English kings often translated to Canterbury bishops who already held West Saxon bishoprics; by going to collect their pallium directly from the pope, archbishops would secure papal approval for their translation. The archbishops of York would seem to have begun to go to Rome to fetch the pallium later in the tenth century for similar reasons: Nicholas Brooks, 'Canterbury, Rome, and the Construction of English Identity', in *Early Medieval Rome and the Christian West: Essays in Honour of Donald A. Bullough*, ed. by Julia M. H. Smith, The Medieval Mediterranean, 28 (Leiden: Brill, 2000), pp. 221–47 (p. 228).

<sup>5</sup> On the authority of the metropolitan Church of Canterbury in the tenth century, see Nicholas Brooks, *The Early History of the Church of Canterbury: Christ Church from 597 to 1066* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1984), pp. 209–53.

That is the purpose of this paper, which will pay special attention to the few surviving tenth-century papal letters sent to English recipients. As Wilhelm Levison's magisterial work on England and the Continent demonstrated, correspondence is one of the most significant and most interesting types of sources for the study of such relationships as that between the English Church and the papacy;<sup>6</sup> in certain respects, however, it is also one of the most problematic genres, for in many cases it is not possible to verify the contents of documents purporting to be papal letters and privileges preserved by the receivers against records made by the senders. It is for this reason that we are on much safer ground when considering the earliest papal correspondence with England, that is, the letters of Gregory the Great for which we have copies in the papal *Register*, than when trying to explore the exchanges which took place three or four centuries later. Particularly problematic are documents which purport to be papal privileges in favour of monasteries, as many of these appear to have been fabricated, or at best to be genuine documents which have been interpolated with additional material by their beneficiaries. By excluding seriously dubious privileges from the list of papal letters sent to tenth-century England, just a handful of items remains.<sup>7</sup> In spite of their small number, a careful analysis of these texts, both as individual items and as a group, can cast precious light on the development of the relationships between England and Rome in what has famously been called the 'Century of Iron'.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>6</sup> Levison, *ECEC*; on the importance of papal correspondence for the study of the early medieval papacy, see also Thomas F. X. Noble, 'The Intellectual Culture of the Early Medieval Papacy', in *Roma nell'alto Medioevo: 27 Aprile-1 Maggio 2000*, Settimane, 48, 2 vols (Spoleto: Centro italiano di studi sull'alto Medioevo, 2001), I, 179-213.

<sup>7</sup> The tenth-century papal documents concerning English matters, which will not be considered here because of their clearly spurious nature, are the following: two privileges of John XII in favour of St Augustine's Canterbury (in *Papsturkunden 896-1046*, ed. by Harald Zimmermann, 3 vols, Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-Historische Klasse Denkschriften, 174, 177 and 198, Veröffentlichungen der Historischen Kommission, 3-5 (Vienna: Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1988-89), I, 258-61, nos 142-43); a privilege of John XIII for Westminster (*Papsturkunden*, ed. by Zimmermann, I, 340-41, no. 174); and a privilege of the same pope for Glastonbury Abbey (*Papsturkunden*, ed. by Zimmermann, I, 414-16, no. 211).

<sup>8</sup> The tenth century was described as a 'Century of Iron' (*saeculum ferreum*) by Cardinal Cesare Baronio in his *Annales ecclesiastici* published between the late sixteenth and the early seventeenth century. The extraordinary success and longevity of this label is proved by the title which was given to the 'Settimana di studio' held in Spoleto in 1990, about which see below at note 20. I should specify at the outset that, given the nature of the volume in which this paper is published, I do not intend to deal in detail with the technicalities and the complex diplomatic issues that each letter

## *Rome in the First Half of the Tenth Century*

The history of the papacy in the tenth century is markedly more difficult to reconstruct than its history in the immediately preceding centuries, for the principal early medieval narrative source concerning papal history, the *Liber Pontificalis*, stopped being compiled in the late ninth century, during Stephen V's pontificate (885–91). A detailed recording of papal biographies only began again in the twelfth century, and for most of the intermediate period there only survive lists of popes containing schematic information on their origins and the duration of their pontificates.<sup>9</sup> A quick look at Jaffé's inventory of papal documents will also reveal a sharp contrast between the relatively high number of papal letters preserved from the second half of the ninth century and the few dating from the early decades of the tenth.<sup>10</sup> Furthermore, none of the surviving papal letters from the last years of the ninth century up to the mid-tenth century was addressed to an English person or institution.<sup>11</sup> The earlier part of the tenth century was a time of serious crises, in which popes did not last long on their thrones: in the eight years from 896 to 904, which separated the end of Formosus's pontificate from the beginning of that of Sergius III, as many as eight popes, including one anti-pope, succeeded each

raises, preferring to concentrate in the space at my disposal on what the correspondence can tell us about tenth-century English relations with Rome.

<sup>9</sup> See Louis Duchesne, *Le Liber pontificalis: Text, introduction et commentaire*, 3 vols (Paris: de Boccard, 1955–57), II, 199–264.

<sup>10</sup> Philipp Jaffé, *Regesta pontificum Romanorum ab condita ecclesia ad annum post Christum natum MCXCVIII*, 2nd edn, 2 vols (Leipzig: Veit et comp., 1885–88; repr. Graz: Akademische Druck- u. Verlagsanstalt, 1956), I. See also Jochen Johrendt, 'La protezione apostolica alla luce dei documenti pontifici (896–1046)', *Bullettino dell'Istituto storico italiano per il Medio Evo*, 107 (2005), 135–68 (p. 142).

<sup>11</sup> The last surviving papal letter sent to Anglo-Saxon England before the series starts again in the second half of the tenth century is that of Pope Formosus (891–96) to all the bishops of England (Jaffé, *Regesta pontificum Romanorum*, no. 3506; edited in *Councils and Synods*, I, 35–38, no. 8, and translated in *EHD*, I, 890–92, no. 227). It was included by Heinrich Boehmer among the Canterbury primacy forgeries examined in *Die Fälschungen Erzbischof Lanfranks von Canterbury* (Leipzig: Dieterich, 1902), but Dorothy Whitelock pointed out that the first half of the text may be genuine (*Councils and Synods*, I, 35). If, as it seems, Formosus did send a letter to the English bishops, this may have accompanied the pallium for Archbishop Plegmund (890–923), about which see the next paragraph above. I am grateful to Nicholas Brooks for this point. On the Canterbury primacy forgeries, see most recently Robert F. Berkhofer III, 'The Canterbury Forgeries Revisited', *Haskins Society Journal*, 18 (2006), 36–50.

other at the head of the Roman Church.<sup>12</sup> The political problems of the period were mostly due to the interests that several aristocratic Roman families had in the control of papal elections. With the disappearance of imperial authority following the disbandment of the Carolingian Empire, there was a great deal at stake for the families which tried to achieve control of papal rule.<sup>13</sup> The family which managed to exercise direct influence on papal elections for a relatively long period was that of Theophylact, also known in his time as the *dominus Urbis* ('lord of the City [of Rome]'), as he managed to concentrate a great deal of power in his hands. Theophylact was very probably involved in the obscure events which led to the election of Sergius III in 904.

During Sergius's pontificate, the ecclesiastical consecrations of his predecessor Formosus were declared uncanonical, and this may have given rise to anxiety in England as well, since it may have been from Formosus that Archbishop Plegmund of Canterbury had received the pallium, as was indeed later calculated at Canterbury to have been the case, and may perhaps be implicit in Formosus's letter to the English bishops.<sup>14</sup> It is therefore possible that one of the main reasons for Plegmund's journey to Rome in 908 was to have his authority confirmed by Sergius III. The source for this event is the *Chronicle of Æthelweard*, which specifies that on this occasion the Archbishop took alms to Rome on behalf of the people and also of King Edward (the Elder, 899–924).<sup>15</sup> The practice of taking alms to Rome was not a new development as it is attested in the reigns of Alfred, Æthelwulf, Offa, and apparently even of Ine. In the tenth century, however, it can be connected to coins found in important archaeological excavations as well as

<sup>12</sup> Formosus was the infamous pope whose body was exhumed at the end of the ninth century for a posthumous trial which subsequently generated a complicated dispute between the Formosan and the Anti-Formosan party. See Sebastian Scholz, *Politik – Selbstverständnis – Selbstdarstellung: die Papste in karolingischer und ottonischer Zeit* (Stuttgart: Steiner, 2006), pp. 240–66; and Klaus Herbers, 'Päpstliche Autorität und päpstliche Entscheidungen an der Wende vom 9. zum 10. Jahrhundert', in *Recht und Gericht in Kirche und Welt um 900*, ed. by Wilfried Hartmann with Annette Grabowsky (Munich: Oldenbourg Wissenschaftsverlag, 2007), pp. 7–30.

<sup>13</sup> On the complexities of the Roman society at this time, see Chris Wickham, 'The Romans according to their Malignant Custom': Rome in Italy in the Late Ninth and Tenth Centuries', in *Early Medieval Rome*, ed. by Smith, pp. 151–67.

<sup>14</sup> On the Canterbury lists of popes who granted pallia, see Brooks, *Early History*, p. 369, n. 11. About Formosus's letter, see above at note 11.

<sup>15</sup> Æthelweard, *Chronicle*, p. 52. Cf. Brooks, *Early History*, pp. 210–13, for the suggestion that the journey was also related with the division of the West Saxon dioceses which took place after Plegmund's return.

with legislation leading to the formalization of the payment to the papacy known in the later Middle Ages as *Denarius Sancti Petri* ('Peter's Pence'), but called *Romscot*, *heorðpening* ('hearthpenny'), and *Romfeoh* by the Anglo-Saxons.<sup>16</sup>

In 914 a new and rather different sort of man was elected pope: John X (914–28). In spite of the initial support of Theophylact's family, John X tried to assert his authority independently of it, but he had to succumb to the power of Marozia, Theophylact's daughter, who had him thrown into prison where he died. Notwithstanding this complicated political situation John X could still exercise his spiritual authority, and his fourteen-year-long pontificate was the longest in the tenth century. His correspondence, though very fragmentary, shows papal involvement in various ecclesiastical and political matters both in France and in Germany.<sup>17</sup> None of his surviving letters or documents concerns England, though we do know that it was during his pontificate that Archbishop Wulfhelm of Canterbury (926–41) went to Rome in 927 to collect the pallium in person, thus setting an important precedent for his successors.<sup>18</sup>

None of the popes of the 930s seems to have had any direct contact with England, or at least, no evidence survives to prove any such relationship. This decade was still one of dark times in papal history: 'pornocracy', that is 'rule by prostitutes', is the term which has become most popular in handbooks of medieval history to refer to the then political situation in Rome. Marozia, the above-

<sup>16</sup> For a nineteenth-century find near Rome of a considerable number of Alfredian coins possibly linked with the payment of alms to the papacy, see C. E. Blunt, 'Anglo-Saxon Coins Found in Italy', in *Anglo-Saxon Monetary History: Essays in Memory of Michael Dolley*, ed. by M. A. S. Blackburn (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1986), pp. 159–68 (pp. 162–63, Hoard 6). On the origins of Peter's Pence, see Henry Loyn, 'Peter's Pence', in his *Society and Peoples: Studies in the History of England and Wales, c. 600–1200*, Westfield Publications in Medieval Studies, 6 (London: University of London, Centre for Medieval Studies, 1992), pp. 241–58. See also below, text corresponding to note 33.

<sup>17</sup> Raffaele Savigni, 'Sacerdozio e regno in età post-carolingia: l'episcopato di Giovanni X, arcivescovo di Ravenna (905–914) e papa (914–928)', *Rivista di storia della chiesa in Italia*, 46 (1992), 1–29 (pp. 23–29).

<sup>18</sup> On Wulfhelm, see Brooks, *Early History*, pp. 216–22. The hoard found in Rome in c. 1928 and consisting of 513 Anglo-Saxon coins, mostly from the first quarter of the tenth century, can perhaps be linked with Wulfhelm's trip to Rome, which might have involved the payment of alms to the pope. See M. A. O'Donovan, 'The Vatican Hoard of Anglo-Saxon Pennies', *British Numismatic Journal*, 22 (1964), 7–29 for a full list and reconstruction of the find. See also Blunt, 'Anglo-Saxon Coins', pp. 160–61 (Hoard 2). See pp. 169–71 below for another, more significant find from the time of Pope Marinus II.

mentioned daughter of Theophylact who managed to remove John X, had had a child whose father was Sergius III.<sup>19</sup> This child followed in his father's footsteps and was installed as Pope John XI (931–35) by his mother. However, in spite of the terrible reputation of the papacy in this period that has come down to us through the partisan polemics of such writers as Liudprand of Cremona, papal authority never stopped being recognized, certainly not by the English.<sup>20</sup> This conclusion is reinforced by a very important archaeological discovery made during excavations in the Roman Forum, where in 1883 a hoard of coins was found just outside the House of the Vestal Virgins. This hoard, which is dated to the early 940s on the basis of the coins in it, shows that money was collected throughout England and taken to the pope, for it contains over eight hundred Anglo-Saxon coins from mints located in different parts of the country.<sup>21</sup> The importance of this find is increased by the two hooked tags which were found with the coins, and which are inscribed with the text, 'DOMNO MARINO PAPA' ('To Lord Pope Marinus'). The tags, design, decoration, and inscription of which are of clear Anglo-Saxon origin, were very probably used as fasteners for a bag containing payments for a specific pope, who can only have been, given the inscription and the date of the coins in the hoard, Marinus II (942–46).<sup>22</sup> In spite of the lack of explicit

<sup>19</sup> See Duchesne, *Le Liber pontificalis*, II, 243, and Ambrogio M. Piazzoni, 'Giovanni XI', in *Enciclopedia dei papi*, 3 vols (Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana fondata da Giovanni Treccani, 2000), II, 70–72.

<sup>20</sup> As has been observed by many scholars, one should be particularly wary of Liudprand's writings because of his own agenda to promote the revived Western Roman Empire; cf. Jon N. Sutherland, *Liudprand of Cremona, Bishop, Diplomat, Historian: Studies of the Man and his Age*, Biblioteca degli studi medievali, 14 (Spoleto: Centro italiano di studi sull'alto Medioevo, 1988); Karl Leyser, 'Ends and Means in Liudprand of Cremona', in *Byzantium and the West, c. 850–c. 1200: Proceedings of the XVIII Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies, Oxford, 30 March–1 April 1984*, ed. by J. D. Howard-Johnston (Amsterdam: Hakkert, 1988), pp. 119–43 (repr. in Leyser, *CPME*, pp. 125–42); Girolamo Arnaldi, 'Mito e realtà del secolo X romano e papale', in *Il secolo di ferro: mito e realtà del secolo X: 19–25 Aprile 1990*, Settimane, 38, 2 vols (Spoleto: Centro italiano di studi sull'alto Medioevo, 1991), I, 27–53; Germana Gandino, *Il vocabolario politico e sociale di Liutprando di Cremona*, Nuovi studi storici, 27 (Rome: Istituto Storico Italiano per il Medioevo, 1995); Philippe Buc, 'Italian Hussies and German Matrons: Liutprand of Cremona on Dynastic Legitimacy', *FmaS*, 29 (1995), 207–25; Girolamo Arnaldi, 'Liutprando di Cremona: un detrattore di Roma o dei romani?', *Studi Romani*, 53 (2005), 12–50.

<sup>21</sup> Blunt, 'Anglo-Saxon Coins', p. 161 (Hoard 4); D. M. Metcalf, 'The Rome (Forum) Hoard of 1883', *British Numismatic Journal*, 62 (1992), 63–96.

<sup>22</sup> James Graham-Campbell and Elisabeth Okasha, with an introductory note by Michael Metcalf, 'A Pair of Inscribed Anglo-Saxon Hooked Tags from the Rome (Forum) 1883 Hoard',

written evidence concerning relationships between Rome and the English Church in the first half of the tenth century, this hoard shows that such relationships were still in place. Given the amount of coins found and their diverse provenance in England, these payments must have been taken to Rome by someone who was acting on behalf of a very high authority.

The Archbishop of Canterbury at this time was Oda (941–58) and, although there is no explicit evidence that he made a journey to Rome to collect the pallium, it is possible that he did so, and he was certainly in possession of his pallium by the time he composed the so-called ‘Constitutions of Oda’, in which he described himself as ‘pallei honore ditatus’ (‘enriched by the honour of the pallium’).<sup>23</sup> Moreover, the insertion of a group of English people’s names, including that of Archbishop Oda, into the *Liber Vitae* of Pfäfers may have been done during a trip to the Continent made by that archbishop in the early 940s, possibly on his way to or from Rome.<sup>24</sup> A hypothesis worth considering, therefore, is that on this journey Oda may have taken to Rome the money which was found in the Forum hoard, just as Archbishop Plegmund is reported to have taken alms to Rome in 908 on behalf of Edward the Elder and the English people. The only problem with this hypothesis is that the most likely period for Oda to have made such a trip is during the year 942 (probably the summer), when his name is absent from the witness-lists of a number of charters attested by other southern English bishops. If he had gone to Rome then, he had in any case come back by the end of the year, as his name, accompanied by the archiepiscopal title, does appear in some other charters of 942.<sup>25</sup>

*ASE*, 20 (1991), 221–29. At p. 221, Metcalf notes that the hoard contained only six coins which are not of English origin. These could have been picked up on the way to Rome or, more probably, added to the sum after this had reached the city. Given the presence of the tags and the text inscribed on them, this find can be more directly linked with the payment of alms to the pope and possibly also with Peter’s Pence. For a graphic reconstruction of the bag in which the coins may have been carried, based on the tags found in the hoard, see Gale R. Owen-Crocker, *Dress in Anglo-Saxon England*, rev. edn (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2004), p. 154.

<sup>23</sup> G. Schoebe, ‘The Chapters of Archbishop Oda (942/6) and the Canons of the Legatine Council of 786’, *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, 35 (1962), 75–83 (p. 78).

<sup>24</sup> Simon Keynes, ‘King Æthelstan’s Books’, in *LLASE*, pp. 143–201 (p. 201); cf. Karl Leyser, ‘The Ottonians and Wessex’, in Leyser, *CPME*, pp. 73–104 (p. 84). On Oda, see also Brooks, *Early History*, pp. 222–27.

<sup>25</sup> The charters from which Oda is absent are Sawyer, nos 479, 480, 481, and 483; he attests as archbishop in nos 482, 484, and 485. I am grateful to Professor Nicholas Brooks for pointing this out and for reminding me that Oda would probably have needed to go to collect the pallium in person because of his translation from Ramsbury.



As Marinus II was only elected pope in late October 942, there probably would not have been much time for the English to learn about his election, make the tags, and send the money through Oda, unless the tags were instead made in Rome by metalworkers of the English quarter known as the *Schola Saxonum* (or *Schola Anglorum*, as it was called by the end of the tenth century).<sup>26</sup> All things considered, it would seem more likely for Oda to have received the pallium from Stephen VIII (Marinus's predecessor, whose pontificate lasted from July 939 to October 942) and for the coins of the Forum hoard to have been sent to Rome within the following two or three years.<sup>27</sup>

### *Archbishop Dunstan's Privilege*

Archbishop Oda, who had been very keen on the reformed monasticism he had witnessed at Fleury, was succeeded by Ælfsige, who was translated from the see of Winchester to that of Canterbury in 958. He began his trip, probably late in the year 958, to collect the pallium in Rome, as had by then become normal for an archbishop-elect, but he died in the Alps. In 959, he was succeeded as Archbishop of Canterbury by Byrthelm, who was shortly afterwards replaced by Dunstan.<sup>28</sup> Dunstan's archiepiscopate (959–88) takes us to the earliest surviving authentic papal document of the tenth century concerning English affairs. On 21 September 960, Pope John XII (955–64) granted the pallium to the new Archbishop by means of a formal privilege specifying on which feast-days and other occasions he was allowed to wear it. That Dunstan, like his predecessors, had gone to Rome in person to get this important symbol of metropolitan authority is confirmed both by his first biographer and by the few lines which introduce the earliest surviving version of the privilege, that is, the text copied at the very beginning of Dunstan's personal Pontifical by the same hand which wrote the rest of the book:

Here begins the letter of privilege which was received by Archbishop Dunstan from the hands of Pope John, on the latter's orders and after Dunstan had received his blessing; but

<sup>26</sup> In 990 Archbishop Sigeric wrote in his diary that he went 'ad Sanctam Mariam Scolam Anglorum' after visiting St Peter's. See Veronica Ortenberg, 'Archbishop Sigeric's Journey to Rome', *ASE*, 19 (1990), 197–245 (at p. 212).

<sup>27</sup> According to Metcalf, 'The Rome (Forum) Hoard', p. 77, the hoard was concealed in c. 945.

<sup>28</sup> Brooks, *Early History*, pp. 238–39. Ælfsige's journey and death is recorded in the earliest *Life* of Dunstan: *Dunstan Memorials*, pp. 37–38.

the Archbishop did not receive his pallium from the Pope's hands, but by order of the Pope he took it from the altar of St Peter the Apostle.<sup>29</sup>

The fact that Dunstan asked for the papal privilege to be copied as the opening text of his Pontifical is a strong indication of the way in which he wanted his authority to be perceived and represented. It was from the act described in the passage quoted above that his metropolitan authority derived, and it was through direct reference to that event and that text that all his subsequent archiepiscopal acts, performed through the rites contained in the Pontifical, should be understood. The detailed description of the way in which Dunstan took the pallium from St Peter's altar rather than from the Pope's hands should probably be taken to indicate the enduring power of St Peter's cult notwithstanding the moral conduct of the popes of the time.<sup>30</sup> This privilege is the only surviving English tenth-century document of this type; it is also one of the earliest attestations of a rite which would then become common for all the metropolitans who went to Rome to obtain the pallium.<sup>31</sup> Zimmermann has observed that, with the exception of the address and the final dating clause, the text of this privilege follows very closely a formula from the *Liber Diurnus*, the miscellaneous collection of formulae for letters and official documents compiled in the early Middle Ages for use in the papal chancery; the only other portion of the text which differs from the formula is that concerning the feast-days and the other occasions on which Dunstan was allowed

<sup>29</sup> 'Incipit aepistola privilegii quam, iubente Iohanne papa, suscepta benedictione ab eo, Dunstan archiepiscopus a suis manibus accepit, sed pallium a suis manibus non accepit, sed, eo iubente, ab altare sancti Petri apostoli': BnF, MS lat. 943, fols 7–8; the Pontifical proper is contained within fols 9–154. See Victor Leroquais, *Les Pontificaux Manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France*, 4 vols (Paris: Macon, Protat frères, 1937), II, 6–10. For a more recent description of the Pontifical, cf. Rasmussen, *Pontificaux*, pp. 257–317; see also Jane Rosenthal, 'The Pontifical of St Dunstan', in *Dunstan LTC*, pp. 143–63, and Sarah Hamilton's contribution to this volume.

<sup>30</sup> On John XII's reputation, see Roland Pauler, 'Giovanni XII', in *Enciclopedia dei papi*, II, 79–83 (p. 79).

<sup>31</sup> Brooks, *Early History*, p. 244; Nicholas P. Brooks, 'The Career of St Dunstan', in *Dunstan LTC*, pp. 1–23 (p. 21); Dorothy Whitelock, 'The Appointment of Dunstan as Archbishop of Canterbury', in Whitelock, *History, Law and Literature in 10th–11th Century England* (London: Variorum, 1981), item IV, pp. 232–47 (p. 246, n. 74a) (first publ. in *Otium et Negotium: Studies in Onomatology and Library Science Presented to Olof von Feilitzen*, ed. by Folke Sandgren (Stockholm: P. A. Norstedt, 1973), pp. 232–47). Journeys to Rome of metropolitans from other areas of Western Christianity to fetch the pallium in person seem to become more frequent only at the end of the tenth century; see Wolfgang Huschner, 'Giovanni XV', in *Enciclopedia dei papi*, II, 102–07 (p. 103).

to wear the pallium: as well as Easter, Christmas, and other important feasts, the Archbishop could wear it when consecrating a church and while ordaining another bishop, but also on the day of his own birthday, thus adding an interesting personal touch to the list of official events and feast-days.<sup>32</sup>

Shortly after Dunstan's return from Rome, Edgar, king of England (959–75), issued the Andover law-code. This contains an important section on ecclesiastical matters, such as the payment of church dues, including 'hearthpenny', which was to be paid by St Peter's day. Those who did not meet the deadline were to take their penny to Rome, add thirty pence to it, bring back a statement confirming the delivery, and pay 120 shillings to the king by way of fine on their return. The same penalty applied if the 'hearthpenny' was not paid a second time (with the only difference that the king had to be paid a fine of 200 shillings rather than 120 shillings), but, on the third time it was not paid, recalcitrant payers were to lose everything they owned.<sup>33</sup> These draconian measures were not repeated again in subsequent legislation, and the threat represented by King Edgar's sanction might point towards a general unwillingness to provide yet another yearly church due; at the same time, however, it also indicates an interest on the part of the royal and ecclesiastical authorities in reinforcing England's link with Rome.<sup>34</sup>

### *The English Monastic Reform and the Papacy*

Dunstan takes us to the very heart of the English monastic reform, in which, however, the papacy does not seem to have played a particularly significant role. This was a time in which the principal influences on English religious life came from other areas of Western Christendom; indeed, the English monastic reform has been described as a manifestation of the more general movement which was prominent in northern Francia, Flanders, and Lotharingia. The appointment as Archbishop of Canterbury of Dunstan, who had spent some time at Gent, meant that contacts between England and Flanders became particularly intense in the second half of the tenth century, also because of the close relationships that the Archbishop of Canterbury, together with Æthelwold, bishop of Winchester, and

<sup>32</sup> *Papsturkunden*, ed. by Zimmermann, I, 271–74, no. 149; cf. Douglas Dales, *Dunstan: Saint and Statesman* (Cambridge: Lutterworth, 1988), p. 52.

<sup>33</sup> *Councils and Synods*, I, 95–102 (pp. 100–01).

<sup>34</sup> Cf. Whitelock, 'Appointment of Dunstan', pp. 242–43; Dales, *Dunstan*, p. 53.

Oswald, bishop of Worcester and archbishop of York, had with the king.<sup>35</sup> This productive collaboration between king and bishops is what has been described as the real engine behind the monastic reform of the tenth century.

The only trace of direct papal involvement in the reform is a letter sent by a pope named John and addressed to King Edgar, granting permission for the expulsion of the secular clerics from the Old Minster at Winchester and requiring that future bishops of Winchester should be chosen among monks.<sup>36</sup> The dating and authorship of this letter are controversial, and some doubts have also been raised about its authenticity. No useful chronological information is provided in it: no indiction, no regnal year for either pope or king. We only know that the main protagonists of the reform, that is, Edgar, Dunstan, and Æthelwold, were already active in the highest offices which they held, as they are all mentioned in the letter with appropriate titles. But this still leaves the choice open between two Johns, namely the above-mentioned John XII (955–64) and John XIII (965–72), and scholars are divided as to which pope should be preferred.<sup>37</sup>

John XII, who in 962 had consecrated Otto I as emperor, was deposed by a synod summoned by the Emperor himself on 4 December 963. Two days later another pope, Leo VIII, was consecrated in his stead, and John only managed to get back to Rome in February 964. Æthelwold, who is termed *coepiscopus* (fellow-bishop) in the papal letter, was consecrated on 29 November 963, just five days before John XII's deposition, while the secular canons were expelled from the Old Minster on 19 February 964, that is, in the very month in which John XII returned to Rome, which would have left him no time to write and send to England a letter granting permission for that expulsion.<sup>38</sup> However, those who have considered the

<sup>35</sup> See Steven Vanderputten, 'Canterbury and Flanders in the Late Tenth Century', *ASE*, 35 (2006), 219–44.

<sup>36</sup> *Papsturkunden*, ed. by Zimmermann, I, 416–18, no. 212. On the expulsion, see Wulfstan of Winchester, *The Life of St Æthelwold*, ed. by Michael Lapidge and Michael Winterbottom, OMT (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991; repr. with addenda, 1996), pp. 30–33.

<sup>37</sup> Cf. Patrick Wormald, 'Æthelwold and his Continental Counterparts: Contact, Comparison, Contrast', in *Bishop Æthelwold: His Career and Influence*, ed. by Barbara Yorke (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1988), pp. 13–42 (p. 34, n. 87) (repr. in Patrick Wormald, *The Times of Bede: Studies in Early English Christian Society and its Historian*, ed. by Stephen Baxter (Oxford: Blackwell, 2006), pp. 169–206).

<sup>38</sup> Cf. Pauler, 'Giovanni XII', pp. 81–82. Those who have preferred to ascribe the letter to John XIII include Jaffé, *Regesta pontificum Romanorum*, no. 3712; Levison, *ECEC*, p. 196; *Papsturkunden*, ed. by Zimmermann, I, 416–18, no. 212; and Hannah Vollrath, *Die Synoden Englands bis*

whole issue from the English point of view, focusing specifically on the expulsion of the secular canons, have normally preferred the year 963 (that is, before the deposition of John XII) as a date for the letter, because it would not have made much sense for Edgar to have obtained permission from a pope — John XIII — who was only elected in 965, that is, *after* the expulsion of the secular canons.<sup>39</sup>

The best available version of this letter comes from Canterbury. It has been preserved thanks to Archbishop Parker, who in the sixteenth century copied the document *ex archivis*, 'from the archives'. Some of the formulae it contains were used at Canterbury in the eleventh century to forge another papal bull. It would seem, therefore, that the document remained at Canterbury for some time and only arrived at Winchester later on, as it was copied there in various registers of the thirteenth, fourteenth, and seventeenth centuries.<sup>40</sup>

The text of the letter indicates that permission to eject the secular canons from the Old Minster was sought from Rome after Æthelwold's appointment as bishop. It also reveals that King Edgar had asked Dunstan to send a request for permission to the pope on his behalf, probably because of the Archbishop of Canterbury's easier and more direct access to Rome, also considering that he had recently come back from his trip to fetch the pallium. Presumably the situation in Rome was becoming far too complicated for such a request to be answered as speedily as Edgar, Dunstan, and Æthelwold would have liked, and they might have preferred to continue with their plans regardless. Therefore, one possible solution to the issues raised by this letter could be that when John XIII became pope in October 965, he found a request from England unanswered and proceeded to supply the answer which his predecessor had failed to do. Though a much more respectable figure than John XII, the new pope did have his own problems with a rival faction of the Roman aristocracy, to the extent that he had to spend eleven months in exile and

1066 (Paderborn: F. Schöningh, 1985), pp. 449–53. The dates suggested for the letter by these scholars oscillate between 967 and 971.

<sup>39</sup> Cf. Dom Thomas Symons, 'Notes on the Life and Work of St. Dunstan', *Downside Review*, 80 (1962), 250–61 and 355–66; Whitelock, 'Appointment of Dunstan', p. 242; Brooks, *Early History*, p. 247; Barbara Yorke, 'Introduction', in *Bishop Æthelwold*, ed. by Yorke, pp. 1–12 (p. 3, n. 18); *The Liber Vitae of the New Minster and Hyde Abbey Winchester*, ed. by Simon Keynes, EEMF, 26 (Copenhagen: Rosenkilde and Bagger, 1996), p. 25, n. 95. Julia Barrow, instead, has preferred to consider the letter bogus in her 'English Cathedral Communities in the Late Tenth and Eleventh Centuries', in *Anglo-Norman Durham 1093–1193*, ed. by David Rollason, Margaret Harvey, and Michael Prestwich (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1994), pp. 25–39 (pp. 37–38).

<sup>40</sup> Cf. Levison, *ECEC*, pp. 195–97, and Wormald, 'Æthelwold', p. 34, n. 87.

could only return to Rome in November 966. Although his political actions were always determined by his relationship with the Ottonian emperor, it would seem that during his pontificate the papacy managed to improve its international reputation, after all that had happened in previous decades. Requests for papal advice on various ecclesiastical issues as well as the usual requests for privileges arrived in Rome in the time of John XIII from various areas of Western Christendom, and the surviving letters show that John replied to requests coming from France, Poland, and, as I am suggesting, England too.<sup>41</sup>

The text of our letter shows that after a few lines in which the business of the ejection of the secular canons is dealt with, the rest of the document is devoted to Bishop Æthelwold, to his upbringing within the precepts of the monastic rule ('regularis disciplinis a primevo imbutus'), and to what was to happen after his death. The pope prescribed that every future Bishop of Winchester was to be chosen among the monks of the Old Minster, and if nobody suitable could be found, the new bishop had to be nevertheless a monk, thus excluding those belonging to the *clericorum ordo*.<sup>42</sup> As the preoccupation with the search for a monastic successor as Bishop of Winchester seems to have been at least as urgent as the need for permission to get rid of the secular canons of the Old Minster, one wonders whether papal intervention was solicited having primarily the former preoccupation in mind.<sup>43</sup> This leads us to another possible explanation for the problematic chronological issues raised by the papal letter. It is worth considering the possibility that the request for papal intervention was solicited after the secular canons' ejection had already taken place, that is, in the time of John XIII.<sup>44</sup> The wording of the papal letter probably reflects very closely that of the request which was sent by Edgar through Dunstan, following a common practice recently described by Hans-Henning Kortüm: the great majority of the papal documents issued between the

<sup>41</sup> R. Pauler, 'Giovanni XIII', in *Enciclopedia dei papi*, II, 87–92 (p. 91).

<sup>42</sup> *Papsturkunden*, ed. by Zimmermann, I, 418. For the relevant portion of the letter, see below, note 47.

<sup>43</sup> Cf. Levison, *ECEC*, p. 196. The focus on Æthelwold's successors also helps to explain why the request sent to the pope did not contemplate approval for the parallel expulsion of the clerics from the New Minster.

<sup>44</sup> Requests of papal approval for events or appointments which had already taken place were not unusual. As has been observed by Nicholas Brooks, 'Career of St. Dunstan', p. 21, the tenth-century practice of going to Rome to receive the pallium may have developed in England to obtain retrospective approval for the translation of an already consecrated bishop to the archiepiscopal see of Canterbury.

end of the ninth century and the first half of the eleventh reproduce the formulae employed in the requests sent to Rome, to which introductory and concluding sections were added by the papal scribes.<sup>45</sup>

This process of composition of papal documents might also help to explain the resemblance between the contents of this letter and that of a passage of the *Regularis Concordia* dealing with the election of a bishop within a monastic cathedral, which was first noticed, though not explored, by Stubbs.<sup>46</sup> At such cathedrals the role of the abbot was exercised by the bishop, and the *Regularis Concordia*, compiled around 973, laid down that he should be elected by the monks of that community from among their number. However, if nobody worthy of that office was available, a monk should be chosen from another monastery. The letter under consideration says the same, reinforcing the instruction with papal authority but using some of the key words which are also employed in the *Regularis Concordia*, whose author, as is now widely acknowledged, was Æthelwold.<sup>47</sup> Given the main focus of the letter it would be entirely plausible to assume that the request sent by Edgar to the pope through Dunstan had also been drafted by the Bishop of Winchester, employing words and concepts which were particularly dear to him. Given the process which was followed in Rome to issue papal documents at this time, the resemblance between the two texts should not cause any surprise.

This papal letter would seem therefore to cast light on the preoccupations which might have arisen among the English ecclesiastical leaders for a choice — the creation of monastic cathedrals — which at this stage remained a distinctive

<sup>45</sup> Hans-Henning Kortüm, *Zur päpstlichen Urkundensprache im frühen Mittelalter: Die päpstlichen Privilegien 896–1046*, Beiträge zur Geschichte und Quellenkunde des Mittelalters, 17 (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1995); see also Johrendt, 'La protezione apostolica', p. 140.

<sup>46</sup> *Dunstan Memorials*, p. 364, n. 1.

<sup>47</sup> Cf. *Regularis Concordia*, ed. by Thomas Symons and Sigrid Spath, in *Consuetudinum saeculi X/XI/XII monumenta non-Cluniacensia*, ed. by Kassius Hallinger, Corpus Consuetudinum Monasticarum, 7.3 (Siegburg: Schmitt, 1984), p. 75: 'Si autem inperitia impediante uel peccatis promerentibus talis qui tanti gradus honore dignus sit in eadem congregatione repperiri non potuerit, ex alio noto monachorum monasterio concordi regis et fratrum quibus dedicari debet consilio eligatur', and *Papsturkunden*, ed. by Zimmermann, I, 418: 'Quod si impredientibus, quod absit, peccatis ad hoc pontificale officium in eadem congregatione ydoneum inveniri minime posse contigerit, auctoritate principis Petri [...], precipimus, ut nemo ex clericorum ordine ad huius regimen ecclesie promoveatur, sed pocius ex alia qualibet congregatione, qui dignus inventus fuerit, monachus assumatur et huic ecclesie preficiatur' (the emphasis is mine). On Æthelwold's authorship of the *Regularis Concordia*, see Michael Lapidge, 'Æthelwold as Scholar and Teacher', in *Bishop Æthelwold*, ed. by Yorke, pp. 89–117 (pp. 98–100) (repr. in Lapidge, *A-LL*, pp. 183–211).

English institution. In this, as is very well known, the English Church chose a different path from that followed by the Church on the Continent.<sup>48</sup> But for the first of these experiments in ecclesiastical organization, and also to ensure future continuity, the King, Dunstan, and Æthelwold asked for papal approval. There must have been a certain awareness of this being an unusual step, even though the English may have thought it a natural consequence of the type of ecclesiastical organization which had characterized their Christian history from its very beginning: Gregory the Great had encouraged Augustine to keep on living his monastic life in a community after becoming Archbishop of Canterbury. Preoccupations for a proper monastic life were reiterated by Bede, who did not hesitate to encourage Bishop Ecgberht of York to choose a *monasterium* as the site for a possible new diocesan see in Northumbria.<sup>49</sup>

The next papal letter which needs to be considered here takes us to the other end of the monastic reform and, more specifically, to the troubles which followed the death of King Edgar in 975, often, albeit inappropriately, referred to as the 'anti-monastic' reaction.<sup>50</sup> The letter under consideration was sent by another pope called John to a *dux*, or caldorman, named Ælfric. The pope threatened Ælfric with excommunication because of his actions against Glastonbury Abbey, namely the seizure of various *predia et villas* ('estates and vills'). Dorothy Whitelock, who published a translation of this letter, left the choice open among five late tenth- or

<sup>48</sup> Wormald, 'Æthelwold', p. 37.

<sup>49</sup> The influence of Bede's Letter to Ecgberht on the *Regularis Concordia* was pointed out by Dom Thomas Symons, in his 'Regularis Concordia: History and Derivation', in *Tenth-Century Studies: Essays in Commemoration of the Millennium of the Council of Winchester and Regularis Concordia*, ed. by David Parsons (Chichester: Phillimore, 1975), pp. 37–59 (pp. 44–45); the case has been later strengthened by Antonia Gransden, 'Traditionalism and Continuity during the Last Century of Anglo-Saxon Monasticism', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 40 (1989), 159–207 (pp. 165–68). Cf. Wormald, 'Æthelwold', pp. 40–41. The same monastic tradition, going as far back as the Gregorian mission, is referred to in the short Old English prose tract composed by Æthelwold and known as 'King Edgar's Establishment of Monasteries': Dorothy Whitelock, 'The Authorship of the Account of King Edgar's Establishment of Monasteries', in *Philological Essays: Studies in Old and Middle English Language and Literature in Honour of Herbert Dean Meritt*, ed. by James L. Rosier (The Hague: Mouton, 1970), pp. 125–36 (p. 126) (repr. in Whitelock, *History, Law and Literature*, item VII). See also Yorke, 'Introduction', p. 5, and Lapidge, 'Æthelwold', p. 102.

<sup>50</sup> On the 'anti-monastic' reaction, cf. D. J. V. Fisher, 'The Anti-Monastic Reaction in the Reign of Edward the Martyr', *Cambridge Historical Journal*, 10 (1952), 254–70, and Pauline Stafford, *Unification and Conquest: A Political and Social History of England in the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries* (London: Arnold, 1989), pp. 57–59.



early eleventh-century popes by the same name, that is from John XIV to John XVIII.<sup>51</sup> In his edition Zimmermann has preferred the earlier end of that interval, thus linking the letter with the events which followed Edgar's death. In this case, the most likely author of the letter would be John XIV (983–84), the first pope named John to be elected after 975.<sup>52</sup> Whitelock identified two possible recipients: one is Ealdorman Ælfric of Mercia, also known as Ælfric Cild, who succeeded Ealdorman Ælfhere in 983 and was expelled in 985; the other possible candidate is Ælfric, ealdorman of Hampshire, who flourished in this capacity between 983 and 1016.<sup>53</sup>

Two different versions of this letter survive; the later one, preserved in William of Malmesbury's *Gesta Regum*, has clearly been interpolated with material in the interests of Glastonbury Abbey.<sup>54</sup> The earliest copy of the other version is preserved in BL, MS Cotton Tiberius A XV, fols 169<sup>v</sup>–170<sup>r</sup>, an early eleventh-century manuscript probably from Canterbury, which contains a very interesting collection of letters, mostly pertaining to the archbishops of Canterbury and dated between c. 924 and c. 990.<sup>55</sup> Given the context in which our document has been preserved and the important role played by Glastonbury in the development of the monastic ideals of the reform movement, it is worth considering the possibility that in this case too papal intervention was solicited from Canterbury. Archbishop Dunstan had been educated at Glastonbury, where he had gone on to become abbot in the

<sup>51</sup> *EHD*, I, 895 (no. 231).

<sup>52</sup> *Papsturkunden*, ed. by Zimmermann, I, 550–51, no. 282. The editor has raised some doubts on the authenticity of this *Papstmandat*, but various British scholars have accepted it as reliable. For some criticism of Zimmermann's identification of forged or spurious documents, see Johrendt, 'La protezione apostolica', p. 141, n. 15.

<sup>53</sup> A precise identification appears impossible at this time as both Henry of Huntingdon and the twelfth-century Abingdon chronicle would seem to confuse the two ealdormen because of their being namesakes; cf. Ann Williams, 'Ælfhere (d. 983)' and 'Ælfric (d. 1016)', in *ODNB*. See also Lesley Abrams, *Anglo-Saxon Glastonbury: Church and Endowment* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1996), p. 330.

<sup>54</sup> Malmesbury, *GRA*, I, 248–49.

<sup>55</sup> For the text of the letter, see *Papsturkunden*, ed. by Zimmermann, I, 550–51, no. 282. This and the other letters in the collection were also published in *Dunstan Memorials*, pp. 354–404. The collection includes the Flemish letters recently reedited and translated in Vanderputten, 'Canterbury'. On other letters in the same collection, see Lapidge, 'Æthelwold', pp. 96–98, and Caroline Brett, 'A Breton Pilgrim in England in the Reign of King Æthelstan: A Letter in British Library MS. Cotton Tiberius A. xv', in *France and Britain in the Middle Ages and Renaissance*, ed. by Gillian Jondorf and D. N. Dumville (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1991), pp. 43–70.

reign of King Edmund (939–46); during his abbacy the monastery was very successful in attracting land grants.<sup>56</sup> It has also been suggested that Dunstan may have continued to act as Abbot of Glastonbury for some years after his appointment to the see of Canterbury.<sup>57</sup> It is entirely plausible, therefore, that he may have been responsible for soliciting an official papal intervention against an ealdorman who was injuring the abbey. If that is the case, this papal letter may help us to understand Dunstan's policy in the problematic period which followed King Edgar's death in 975, a policy about which very little is known.<sup>58</sup> The main point for present purposes is that this letter from a pope named John represents another of the very few remaining traces of papal involvement in the English monastic reform.

It is interesting that the only two explicit pieces of evidence for direct papal intervention in the tenth-century English monastic reform should concern, on the one hand, permission to proceed towards what has been taken to represent the most iconic event of the whole movement, the expulsion of the secular canons from the Old Minster at Winchester, and, on the other hand, the period in which the reformers or their successors felt particularly vulnerable because of the new political situation which followed Edgar's death.

### *The Growth of Contacts in the Last Decade of the Tenth Century*

In the last decade or so of the 'Century of Iron' contacts between England and Rome became more frequent. Two successive archbishops of Canterbury went to collect their pallium from Pope John XV (985–96): Æthelgar went in 989 and Sigeric (990–94) in the following year, as the former's episcopate only lasted one year and three months.<sup>59</sup> Sigeric, as is very well known, took some important notes during this trip (or immediately after returning to England), which cast precious light on travel between England and Rome in the tenth century and on the churches that pilgrims would have visited while in Rome at that time.<sup>60</sup> John XV,

<sup>56</sup> Michael Costen, 'Dunstan, Glastonbury and the Economy of Somerset in the Tenth Century', in *Dunstan LTC*, pp. 25–44 (at p. 37).

<sup>57</sup> Brooks, 'Career of St Dunstan', p. 22.

<sup>58</sup> Cf. Michael Lapidge, 'Dunstan [St Dunstan] (d. 988)', in *ODNB*.

<sup>59</sup> Huschner, 'Giovanni XV', p. 103.

<sup>60</sup> This is the most detailed Roman itinerary among the oldest surviving ones: after listing the Roman churches visited by the Archbishop, it describes his homeward journey to Canterbury by referring to seventy-nine sites. Cf. Ortenberg, 'Archbishop Sigeric's Journey to Rome', and Renato

the Pope who granted Sigeric the pallium and with whom the Archbishop also had a meal, as reported in his diary, played an active role in a delicate international situation concerning the relationships between England and Normandy. A letter of 991 from John XV to all the faithful, preserved, like that concerning Glastonbury, in BL, MS Cotton Tiberius A XV, attests the reconciliation between King Æthelred the Unready and Richard, duke of Normandy, achieved thanks to the intervention of a papal legate, namely Leo, bishop of Trevi.<sup>61</sup> Hannah Vollrath has suggested that papal intervention may have been solicited by Sigeric at his meeting with the Pope in Rome, which probably took place in July 990.<sup>62</sup> John XV would have then sent his legate to the English court, which in the papal letter the legate is said to have reached on Christmas Day. King Æthelred welcomed the Pope's mediation and decided to send an embassy to the Norman Duke, who accepted the peace offer mediated by the Pope's representative. This letter is the only surviving trace of the strained relationships between the two rulers, which must probably be interpreted within the more general framework of Æthelred's troubles with the Danes, given the latter's ability to obtain support and supplies in Norman ports.<sup>63</sup> It certainly attests to a reinvigorated and more authoritative papacy, at least outside of Rome, capable of mediation in a delicate international situation.<sup>64</sup> Moreover, if Vollrath's hypothesis is right, this letter would once again point towards England's active role in soliciting papal intervention: an attitude which has already been noted with reference to English internal affairs, but which in this case would extend well beyond that sphere.

Stopani, *Le vie di pellegrinaggio del Medioevo: gli itinerari per Roma, Gerusalemme, Compostella* (Florence: Le Lettere, 1995), pp. 43–56.

<sup>61</sup> *Papsturkunden*, ed. by Zimmermann, I, 595–97, no. 307.

<sup>62</sup> Vollrath, *Die Synoden Englands*, p. 307.

<sup>63</sup> Cf. Eric John, 'War and Society in the Tenth Century: The Maldon Campaign', *TRHS*, 5th ser., 27 (1977), 173–95 (pp. 188–89); Eric John, 'The Return of the Vikings', in *The Anglo-Saxons*, ed. by James Campbell (London: Phaidon, 1982), pp. 192–213 (p. 194); James Campbell, 'England, France, Germany and Flanders in the Reign of Ethelred II: Some Comparisons and Connections', in his *Essays in Anglo-Saxon History* (London: Hambledon, 1986), pp. 191–207 (pp. 198–99) (first publ. in *Ethelred the Unready: Papers from the Millenary Conference*, ed. by David Hill, BAR, British Series, 59 (Oxford: [n.pub.], 1978), pp. 255–70); Simon Keynes, 'The Historical Context of the Battle of Maldon', in *The Battle of Maldon, AD 991*, ed. by Donald Scragg (Oxford: Blackwell, 1991), pp. 81–113 (p. 86).

<sup>64</sup> Cf. Huschner, 'Giovanni XV'.

The last surviving tenth-century papal letter sent to an English recipient is of a very different nature. It was written by Gregory V (996–99) between 997 and 999 and addressed to Archbishop Ælfric of Canterbury (995–1005). It has come down to us because it was copied in three manuscripts of Archbishop Wulfstan's so-called *Commonplace Book*.<sup>65</sup> In all three manuscripts, the letter appears among other letters of penitential interest sent by Wulfstan or addressed to him or other English archbishops. This one, of which the last part is missing, records the penance imposed by the Pope on an unnamed man who had involuntarily killed his son and had subsequently gone to Rome on a penitential pilgrimage. The penitent, who is described as the bearer of the Pope's letter ('*istiuskartule portitor*'), was sent back to England with a written record of the seven-year-long penance decided upon by the Pope for his case. The survival of this and the other penitential letters through being copied into Wulfstan's *Commonplace Book* testifies to the tradition of sending a sinner, guilty of a particularly serious crime, to Rome to confess and receive his penance from the pope.<sup>66</sup> This is the earliest letter in the series, as all the others date back to the early eleventh century, and a proper appreciation of its significance can only be achieved by bearing in mind the general context within which it has been preserved.

It has been noted that evidence for penitential pilgrimage to Rome in the tenth and eleventh centuries is more ample for England than for the Continent and, more importantly, that the English ecclesiastical leaders seem to have endorsed such a practice without sharing the anxieties of their Continental colleagues that papal imposition of penance might diminish episcopal jurisdiction.<sup>67</sup> It seems therefore possible to maintain that in this, as in other circumstances, the English Church demonstrated a more active and enthusiastic attitude towards papal intervention, pursuing direct contacts with Rome as a more appropriate means to expiate serious sins.

<sup>65</sup> Copenhagen, Kongelige Bibliotek, G.K.S. 1595 (4°), fol. 41<sup>v</sup>; CCCC, MS 265, p. 111; Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Barlow 37, fols 12<sup>v</sup>–13<sup>r</sup>. For the edition of the letter, see *Papsturkunden*, ed. by Zimmermann, II, 666–67, no. 342.

<sup>66</sup> See Robin Ann Aronstam, 'Penitential Pilgrimages to Rome in the Early Middle Ages', *Archivum Historiae Pontificiae*, 13 (1975), 65–83.

<sup>67</sup> Cf. Aronstam, 'Penitential Pilgrimages', p. 69.

### Conclusion

The five letters considered here provide important evidence for the development of the relations between England and Rome over a particularly problematic century. Though markedly less numerous than in the earlier and later periods, the letters testify to the importance of these relations and the special role which, on the English side, was played by the archiepiscopal see of Canterbury, including circumstances in which papal correspondence concerned other bishoprics or monasteries, as in the case of Winchester and Glastonbury.<sup>68</sup> Furthermore, the diverse nature and concerns of these letters show that papal intervention could be required on a number of different issues, from international relations to private penance.

The archbishops of Canterbury began early in the tenth century to go regularly to Rome to collect their pallium; later on, in the last decades of the century, this appears to have become a regular feature also for metropolitans coming from other regions of Western Europe.<sup>69</sup> As is proved by the exceptionally well-documented case of Sigeric, an archbishop's journey to Rome would also give the prelate the opportunity to visit the most important churches in the city. Pilgrimage from England to Rome had begun in earlier centuries but had continued to be popular through the tenth.<sup>70</sup> By the end of the same century it had also developed a new significance, as is shown by the letter of Gregory V, recording the penance for a man who had killed his son and had gone to Rome to expiate his crime. Penitential pilgrimage to Rome, for which there is only sparse evidence in Continental Europe, seems to have been more enthusiastically undertaken from England. A similar attitude has emerged from the analysis of the few traces left by papal involvement in the English monastic reform. When the English king and the most important bishops chose to transform the episcopal see at Winchester into a monastic cathedral, thus taking a route which in some significant respects was different from what

<sup>68</sup> On the special role of the links of Canterbury with Rome, see Nicholas Brooks, 'Canterbury and Rome: The Limits and Myth of *Romanitas*', in *Roma fra Oriente e Occidente: 19–24 Aprile 2001*, Settimane, 49, 2 vols (Spoleto: Centro italiano di studi sull'alto Medioevo, 2002), II, 797–829.

<sup>69</sup> Nicholas Brooks, *Early History*, p. 216, has underlined that the effort to go to Rome to collect the pallium in person was made in the interest of the English, eager to prove that their archbishop was of 'incontestable authority'. It should not therefore be interpreted, at least at this stage, as an attempt on the part of the papacy to reinforce its authority.

<sup>70</sup> Cf. *Flodoard* (Lauer), *s.a.* 921 ('Anglorum Romam proficiscentium plurimi inter angustias Alpium lapidibus a Sarracenis sunt obruti'); *s.a.* 923 ('Multitudo Anglorum limina sancti Petri orationis gratia petentium inter Alpes a Sarracenis trucidatur'), pp. 15 and 19.

was happening on the Continent, they sought and obtained papal approval and support. When the results of the reform were threatened by powerful laymen, as in the case of Ealdorman Ælfric at Glastonbury, papal help was again solicited. Interestingly, it was during the same period that the tribute later known as Peter's Pence began to be formally regulated in the English legislation, and it is also to the tenth century that most of the Anglo-Saxon coin-finds in Rome date back. As was shown above, one of the most conspicuous finds (the Forum hoard) can be directly linked with money collected all over the country in the early 940s and taken to Rome to be given to Pope Marinus II.

Notwithstanding all that was going on in Rome in the tenth century, the English continued to maintain an affectionate link with the papacy. In fact, they even developed some significant new practices, as is shown by the evidence concerning archiepiscopal trips to collect the pallium, the origins of Peter's Pence, and penitential pilgrimage. In this relationship the Anglo-Saxon Church clearly played the most active and enthusiastic role, while the papacy simply responded to its requests. The evidence explored in this paper shows that the English needed the papacy's continuing presence and support, as they kept on treasuring their special relationship with the place and the institution from which their Christian history had originated.<sup>71</sup>

Universidad del País Vasco — IKERBASQUE, Basque Foundation for Science

<sup>71</sup> On the special affection of the English Church for Rome over the tenth century in spite of the troubles the papacy went through, see also Pierre Riché, 'La cristianità occidentale (secolo X–metà del secolo XI)', in *Vescovi, monaci e imperatori (610–1054)*, ed. by Gilbert Dagron, Pierre Riché, and André Vauchez, *Storia del Cristianesimo*, 4 (Rome: Borla-Città Nuova, 1999), trans. of original French version in *Histoire du christianisme des origines à nos jours*, vol. IV: *Évêques, moines et empereurs (610–1054)* (Paris: Desclée/Fayard, 1993), pp. 767–863 (p. 770).

## RELATIONS BETWEEN FLEURY AND ENGLAND

Marco Mostert

Let us start with a well-known episode: the death of Abbo of Fleury.<sup>1</sup> On Sunday, 12 November of the year 1004, Abbo, an important figure in the monastic world of his time, arrives with his cortege in the monastery of La Réole, in Gascony. La Réole (Regula) was subject to Fleury (at Saint-Benoît-sur-Loire), but the rule of the *legislator monachorum* ('legislator of monks') was not observed there as it ought to have been. Therefore, Abbo intends to reform the Gascon monks. But alas, on Monday a brawl between the monks of Fleury and La Réole breaks out. 'It was a general tussle with stones being thrown between our [monks] and the mutineers', Abbo's biographer, Aimoin, wrote. He was present at the scene. He continues: 'Meanwhile, Abbo, the man of God, was sitting in the cloisters, editing tables of computus; he hears the clamour of the seditious [monks], goes outside and rushes in haste from the foot of the hill to the summit, occupied by our [monks], whom he wished to stop.' He does not get far: a combatant of the Gascon party 'injures his left arm, by a thrust of his lance which was executed so violently, that, piercing under the armpit, between his sides, the iron penetrated the interior'.<sup>2</sup> The next day, Abbo is dead.

What interests us here is the occupation of the abbot in the cloisters: Abbo, a schoolmaster before he had been elected abbot, busies himself with tables of computus. One might therefore say that he died a scholar, with his last quiet moments devoted to his studies. And we have other indications as well that, even as he had

<sup>1</sup> The abbreviation BF followed by a number refers to the description of a manuscript in M. Mostert, *The Library of Fleury: A Provisional List of Manuscripts* (Hilversum: Verloren, 1989).

<sup>2</sup> Aimoin of Fleury, *Vita et Passio sancti Abbonis*, c. 20, in *L'Abbaye de Fleury en l'an mil*, ed. by R.-H. Bautier and others, Sources d'Histoire Médiévale publiées par l'Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes 32 (Paris: Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 2004), p. 122.

taken the heavy burden of the abbacy upon his shoulders, he continued to devote himself to study and to letters.

For Abbo had brought with him, in his luggage, the *Life of Dunstan*, the Archbishop of Canterbury, which had been written by an Anglo-Saxon monk whose name started with a B: the text known to scholarship as the *Vita Dunstani auctore B*.<sup>3</sup> Wulfric, the abbot of St Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury, had sent it to Abbo so that he might versify the text of B.<sup>4</sup> Abbo had set to work on his last voyage. His companions, disconsolate about their abbot's death, forgot to bring back the manuscript, which remained at La Réole before being transported to St Gall. It is at present Sankt Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, MS 337, with the letter of Wulfric to Abbo on the first page.<sup>5</sup>

Was the presence, in the luggage of our abbot, of a product of contemporary English hagiography a coincidence? Probably not. We are told that there were close connections between Fleury and England. And Abbo had spent some years teaching in the school of Ramsey. But what were these close connections exactly? When, and for what reason, did the monks of Fleury and England come into contact for the first time? Were there many visits across the Channel? Were, perhaps, manuscripts exchanged with their colleagues? Were their literary influences in either direction? To answer these kinds of questions, we can consult contemporary narrative sources, both those written at Fleury and those written in England, and also study the manuscripts and the history of the texts copied in those manuscripts. This means much work indeed, as the number of extant medieval manuscripts from Fleury (including the fragments of medieval manuscripts) is close to 1500, whereas Helmut Gneuss's list of manuscripts written or owned in Anglo-Saxon England numbers around 1270 items.<sup>6</sup> We are dealing therefore with around 2770 manuscripts and a multitude of texts, to say nothing about corrections, additions, and pen-trials. And much has been written on these manuscripts. It is impossible to look at everything. It is possible, however, by simply juxtaposing the lists of

<sup>3</sup> *Dunstan Memorials*, pp. 3–52.

<sup>4</sup> Wulfric, *Letter to Abbo*, in *Dunstan Memorials*, p. 409.

<sup>5</sup> BF 1292.

<sup>6</sup> H. Gneuss, *Handlist of Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts: A List of Manuscripts and Manuscript Fragments Written or Owned in England up to 1100*, *Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies*, 241 (Tempe: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2001) is an extended revision of the same author's 'A Preliminary List of Manuscripts Written or Owned in England up to 1100', *ASE*, 9 (1981), 1–60, which numbered only 947 items. The increase is a staggering testimony to the vitality of manuscript studies in the field of Anglo-Saxon studies.



Gneuss and the one I drew up of the Fleury manuscripts and by considering the opinions voiced in the scholarly literature on the manuscripts mentioned in both lists, to come up with some interesting results. Despite the limitations we have to impose upon ourselves, it is possible, therefore, to present a dossier which may be augmented, corrected, and updated in years to come, but which can nevertheless give us a sufficiently detailed and precise image to allow us to draw some conclusions.

*Fleury and England: The Evidence of Written (Mostly Narrative) Sources*

The history of the monastery of Fleury is well known. From c. 703, the year of the translation to Fleury of St Benedict of Nursia's relics, but especially from the era of the Carolingian Renaissance onwards, donations by throngs of pilgrims who visited the relics of the *legislator monachorum* were used in part to increase the holdings of the library.<sup>7</sup> Consequently, in the tenth century the library of Fleury had become very rich indeed. Of the hundreds of manuscripts and *membra disiecta* ('scattered fragments') which today can be attributed to the scriptorium, school, and library of Fleury, most can be shown to have been there in the period 800–1050, when the monastery was at its cultural height.

After Fleury had been reformed by Abbot Odo of Cluny in 931 (although the Burgundian monastery proved unable to impose either its customs or the ensemble of its monastic and liturgical usages), the monastery developed into a centre of reform. With Conques, Gorze, Metz, Trier, Brogne, Saint-Denis, Cluny, and Gent, in the tenth century Fleury reformed monasteries in the North of France and, after the year 1000, monasteries in the West, in Normandy and Brittany, such as Saint-Hilaire, Saint-Jacques, and Saint-Gildas, and, in the South, La Réole.<sup>8</sup> So it was hardly surprising to hear English reformers knocked on the door, attracted by the spiritual aspect of Fleury life.

If we believe the *Lives* of the protagonists of the English reform, Dunstan, Oswald, and Æthelwold, in the tenth century the Anglo-Saxon Church was in dire

<sup>7</sup> See the introduction of Mostert, *Library of Fleury*, pp. 15–28.

<sup>8</sup> L. Donnat, 'Recherches sur l'influence de Fleury au X<sup>e</sup> siècle', in *Études Ligériennes d'histoire et d'archéologie médiévales: semaine d'études, Saint-Benoît-sur-Loire 1969*, ed. by R. Louis (Auxerre: Société des Fouilles Archéologiques et des Monuments Historiques de l'Yonne, 1975), pp. 165–74, and L. Donnat, 'Les Coutumes monastiques autour de l'an mil', in *Religion et culture autour de l'an mil*, ed. by D. Iogna-Prat and J.-C. Picard (Paris: Picard, 1990), pp. 18–24.

need.<sup>9</sup> But this is an impression given by the reformers themselves, monks who exaggerated the degree of degeneration. There were certainly monasteries under the control of laymen, but that did not prevent them from being quite respectable, and lay control of monasteries seems to have been accepted as normal. And there were indeed 'monasteries' of secular canons, but maybe these served the spiritual needs of the world better than the monks' monasteries did.<sup>10</sup> Religious life according to the Rule of St Benedict ought not to be considered the only form of religious life possible. The inroads of the Vikings did not provide the deathblow to a Church that was already moribund: the Church had managed to survive, even if survival had meant some adaptation to new circumstances. The kings of the Wessex dynasty, Alfred, Edward the Elder, and Æthelstan, had given landed properties and books to religious establishments, and one has the impression that the life of letters flourished in the unreformed monasteries in ways not dissimilar to that in the Benedictines' monasteries.<sup>11</sup> The monastic reform movement took pride in much that was already in existence. Nevertheless, the reform did have important consequences for the cultural and intellectual contacts between England and the Continent, and more particularly for those between England and Fleury.

Let us summarize what is asserted in contemporary sources about these contacts, and what scholars have thought might be concluded from these biased sources. In 936 Oda, the later Archbishop of Canterbury (941–58), may have received the tonsure at Fleury.<sup>12</sup> This is the first event in the relations between

<sup>9</sup> See Catherine Cubitt, 'The Tenth-Century Benedictine Reform', *EME*, 6 (1997), 77–94, and the literature mentioned there.

<sup>10</sup> See Julia Barrow, 'English Cathedral Communities and Reform in the Late Tenth and Eleventh Centuries', in *Anglo-Norman Durham, 1093–1193*, ed. by David Rollason, Margaret Harvey, and Michael Prestwich (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1994), pp. 25–39.

<sup>11</sup> It would be interesting to juxtapose the data in Gneuss's *Handlist* with those in Michael Lapidge, *The Anglo-Saxon Library* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006). Unfortunately, Gneuss did not provide an index of the origin and provenance of the manuscripts, and Lapidge only provides a general index.

<sup>12</sup> See Eadmer, 'Vita Odonis archiepiscopi cantuariensis', in *Scriptores rerum Danicarum medii aevi*, vol. II, ed. by Jacob Langebek (Copenhagen: Typis viduae Andreae Hartvici Godiche per Frider. Christ Godiche, 1773), pp. 406–07. M. Lapidge, 'Oda', in *BEASE*, pp. 339–40, considers his tonsure at Fleury 'possible', even if he considers the details in Eadmer's post-Conquest *Vita* 'interesting but unverifiable'. Byrhtferth, *Vita S. Oswaldi*, part 1, ed. as 'Vita Oswaldi archiepiscopi Eboracensis auctore anonymo' in J. Raine, *The Historians of the Church of York and its Archbishopric*, RS, 71, 3 vols (London: Longman, 1879–94), I, 401–10, does not mention this detail, although he might be expected to show a more than average interest in Fleury (see below). The new

Fleury and England mentioned in English narrative sources. In 939 Glastonbury was given to Dunstan, another future Archbishop of Canterbury, and Æthelwold reformed Abingdon. The customs of these English monastic seminaries were to be influenced by those of Fleury in the years to come. Oda sent his nephew Oswald to Fleury.<sup>13</sup> After his return in 959, he became Bishop of Worcester and then Archbishop of York. When the ealdorman of East Anglia decided to found a monastery at Ramsey, in 969, Oswald took it upon himself to organize the new foundation.<sup>14</sup> His experiences at Fleury can account for the influence of Fleury on the customs of Ramsey. Germanus, the prior of Ramsey, was to visit Fleury from 976 to 979. He benefitted from the teaching of Abbo.<sup>15</sup> Meanwhile Æthelwold, at Abingdon, seems to have been disappointed not to be able to visit Fleury himself. He sent his disciple Osgar instead. In 963 Osgar returned to replace Æthelwold as Abbot of Abingdon, when Æthelwold was made Bishop of Winchester.<sup>16</sup> Æthelwold also invited monks from Fleury to teach liturgical chant.<sup>17</sup>

edition, *Byrhtferth of Ramsey, The Lives of St Oswald and St Edgwine*, ed. by M. Lapidge, OMT (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2009) could not yet be consulted.

<sup>13</sup> See Byrhtferth, *Vita Oswaldi*, part 3, p. 419. According to the *Vita*, Oswald returned from Fleury about the time of Archbishop Oda's death, i.e. around 2 June 958 (see M. A. O'Donovan, 'An Interim Revision of Episcopal Dates for the Province of Canterbury, 850–950: Part I', *ASE*, 1 (1972), 26, 33–34. Oswald's stay in Fleury was remembered by Aimoin, *Vita et passio sancti Abbonis*, c. 4, ed. by Bautier and others, p. 50.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. C. R. Hart, 'The Foundation of Ramsey Abbey', *Revb*, 104 (1994), 295–327. The role of Oswald was remembered by Aimoin, *Vita et passio sancti Abbonis*, c. 5, ed. by Bautier and others, p. 54.

<sup>15</sup> Aimoin, *Vita et passio sancti Abbonis*, c. 5, ed. by Bautier and others, p. 54. See on the English narrative sources M. Lapidge, 'Germanus', in *BEASE*, pp. 202–03, and the literature mentioned there. Lapidge does not mention the *Chronicon abbatiae Ramesiensis*, ed. by W. D. Macray, RS, 83 (London: Longman, 1886), cc. 12 and 20 (pp. 24, 40), or, on his later abbacy at Winchcombe, William of Malmesbury, *De gestis pontificum Anglorum libri quinque*, ed. by N. E. S. A. Hamilton, RS, 52 (London: Longman, 1870), p. 294 (IV, par. 156).

<sup>16</sup> See A. Thacker, 'Æthelwold and Abingdon', in *Bishop Æthelwold: His Career and Influence*, ed. by Barbara Yorke (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1988), p. 54, referring to Wulfstan, *Vita S. Æthelwoldi*, c. 14, in Wulfstan of Winchester, *The Life of St Æthelwold*, ed. by Michael Lapidge and Michael Winterbottom, OMT (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991).

<sup>17</sup> *Regularis concordia angliae nationis monachorum sanctimonialiumque: The Monastic Agreement of the Monks and Nuns of the English Nation*, ed. and trans. by Thomas Symons (London: Nelson and Sons, 1953). For the ascription of the text to Æthelwold, see, e.g., L. Kornexl, 'Regularis concordia', in *BEASE*, p. 389, and the literature mentioned there.

The Council of Winchester of *c.* 973 marked an important moment in the development of the English contacts with Fleury. According to the *Regularis concordia*, a customary sanctioned by this council, King Edgar had been confused by the existence of the many monastic usages in his kingdom. The Council of Winchester, convoked by Edgar and Æthelwold, decided to remedy the situation by imposing the *Regularis concordia*. According to its proem, monks from Gent and Fleury had been called to help in the work of drawing up the customary: 'They summoned monks from St Benedict's monastery at Fleury and from that eminent monastery which is known by the renowned name of Gent'.<sup>18</sup> Lin Donnat has shown, through a comparison of the *Regularis concordia* with the tenth-century *Consuetudines* of Fleury, put in writing at the beginning of the eleventh century by Thierry of Amorbach, that Fleury must have been responsible for many customs in the *Regularis concordia* which seem close to those known from contemporary Germany.<sup>19</sup> Others have suggested (but without being able to prove it) that the origin of liturgical Easter drama, mentioned in the *Regularis concordia*, may also have been Fleury.<sup>20</sup> However this may be, it seems likely that Fleury influence on English monastic liturgy was not limited to the inspiration given by Fleury to a few individuals — even if those individuals later proved to be important in English monastic life. It is hardly surprising to find cultural and intellectual contacts developing in the wake of these earlier liturgical influences. Thus, Fleury provided England with Lantfred of Winchester, who *c.* 971 wrote the *Translation and Miracles of St Swithun*, in the words of Michael Lapidge 'perhaps the most ambitious Latin prose work to survive from the period of the Benedictine reform movement in England'.<sup>21</sup>

In 985, a delegation from Ramsey arrived at Fleury to ask for a schoolmaster. To the surprise of the English monks, Abbo himself, the Fleury *armarius* (the officer in charge of the school, the archives, and the library),<sup>22</sup> one of the most erudite monks of the age, accepted the charge of teaching in Ramsey, at the time a remote

<sup>18</sup> *Regularis concordia*, ed. by Symons, *Proemium*, chap. 5: 'accitis Florensis beati Benedicti, necnon praecipui coenobii quod celebri Gent nuncupatur vocabulo monachis'.

<sup>19</sup> Donnat, 'Les Coutumes monastiques autour de l'an mil'.

<sup>20</sup> On this thorny question, cf. *Regularis concordia*, ed. by Symons, pp. xlvii–xlviii, and N. H. Petersen, 'Les Textes polyvalents du Quem quaeritis à Winchester au X<sup>e</sup> siècle', *Revue de musicologie*, 86 (2005), 105–18.

<sup>21</sup> Lapidge, *Anglo-Saxon Library*, p. 239.

<sup>22</sup> See Thierry of Amorbach, *Consuetudines Floriacenses antiquiores*, c. 9, ed. by A. Davril, L. Donnat, and G. Labory, in *L'Abbaye de Fleury en l'an mil*, ed. by Bautier, pp. 182–85.

and modest foundation.<sup>23</sup> Abbo was to stay in England for two years, returning to Fleury in 987. Abbo's reasons were of a personal nature. Fleury's abbot had died recently, and in his place Oylbold was chosen on 7 or 9 April 985.<sup>24</sup> It is quite probable that Abbo had been a candidate too. Sometimes the most banal of sentiments can influence the currents of intellectual history. We cannot know whether, without Abbo's stay in England, the relations between Fleury and England would have developed in a different way. It is clear, however, that Abbo's teaching left lasting traces among his English pupils.

Abbo's stay at Ramsey intensified the relations between Ramsey and Fleury.<sup>25</sup> Abbo not only taught Latin, but he contributed to the reform movement by teaching monastic custom (*monasticus usus*) as well.<sup>26</sup> This may also account for his visits to Oswald (who ordained Abbo, who had come to England a deacon)<sup>27</sup> and to Dunstan.<sup>28</sup> Dunstan and Abbo developed a friendship which was to last until the death of the Archbishop. Something of their correspondence remains, with the poem in which Abbo praises his friend.<sup>29</sup> Interesting, too, is the role played by Dunstan in the composition of the *Passion of St Edmund*, written by Abbo. This account of the martyrdom of the last king of East Anglia, from the dynasty of the Wuffingas, which had taken place at the hands of the Vikings in 869, was

<sup>23</sup> See M. Mostert, 'Le Séjour d'Abbon de Fleury à Ramsey', *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, 144 (1986), 199–208.

<sup>24</sup> See Aimoin, *Miracula Sancti Benedicti*, II, c. 18, ed. by E. de Certain, *Miracula Sancti Benedicti* (Paris: Renouard, 1858), p. 121, and Mostert, 'Le Séjour', pp. 202–03.

<sup>25</sup> Cf. also Abbo's poem, *O Ramesiga cohors*, *PL*, CXXXIX, col. 534.

<sup>26</sup> Ordericus Vitalis, *Historia ecclesiastica*, IV, ed. and trans. by M. Chibnall, *The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis*, vol. II: *Books III and IV*, OMT (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969), pp. 242–43.

<sup>27</sup> Aimoin, *Vita et passio sancti Abbonis*, c. 6, ed. by Bautier and others, p. 58.

<sup>28</sup> Abbo of Fleury, *Passio sancti Eadmundi*, *Praef.*, ed. in M. Winterbottom, *Three Lives of English Saints* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1972), p. 67.

<sup>29</sup> The three letters are edited in *Dunstan Memorials*, no. 34, I–III (pp. 410–12). The two letters in the form of acrostic poems, *Summe sacer* and *O praesul Dunstane*, have been edited recently by S. J. Gwara, 'Three Acrostic Poems by Abbo of Fleury', *Journal of Medieval Latin*, 2 (1992), 203–35 (pp. 215–26). John Leland, *Collectanea*, 2nd edn, 6 vols (London: B. White, 1774), IV, 97, mentions no less than seventy acrostic *carmina* dedicated by Abbo to Dunstan. This must be apocryphal. Cf. R. Sharpe, *A Handlist of the Latin Writers of Great Britain and Ireland before 1450*, Publications of the Journal of Medieval Latin, 1 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1997), p. 1.

completed only after Abbo's return to Fleury.<sup>30</sup> According to the preface, Abbo had undertaken the work at the request of the monks of Ramsey, but he dedicated it to Dunstan, his main source (Dunstan said he had heard the story, when he was still very young, from the lips of a very old man who had assured him that he had been present at the events).<sup>31</sup> The Archbishop was therefore responsible for the contents of the first hagiographical treatment of the passion of the saint who, until the murder of Thomas Becket, was to be among the most popular saints in the British Isles. The Archbishop's friend, who happened to come from one of the most important Continental centres for the writing of hagiography,<sup>32</sup> was responsible for the literary treatment of the matter.

Important traces remain of Abbo's teaching in England. Important among these are the *Quaestiones grammaticales*, a small grammatical treatise, written in answer to a series of questions put by Abbo's English pupils.<sup>33</sup> In chapter 28, Abbo compares the pronunciation of certain letters used to render spoken Latin with the Anglo-Saxon thorn, wynn, and yogh. Clearly, Abbo was interested in the writing systems current in Anglo-Saxon England, including runes (from which the yogh was borrowed). Possibly he could reciprocate by offering some symbols which can be found in manuscripts then in the Fleury library. Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, MS Voss. lat. F 12 d, of the ninth century, written at Fleury,<sup>34</sup> has on folio 37<sup>v</sup> a well-known text on *litterae formatae*.<sup>35</sup> Usually, this text is followed by a Greek alphabet, with the Latin equivalent of each Greek letter. Here, the Greek alphabet is written between the two columns of the text with, in the upper margin, a runic alphabet with a Latin transliteration. Three of these runes can be found in

<sup>30</sup> For the arguments, see Mostert, 'Le Séjour'.

<sup>31</sup> Abbo, *Passio sancti Eadmundi, Praef.*, p. 67.

<sup>32</sup> See Thomas Head, *Hagiography and the Cult of the Saints: The Diocese of Orléans, 800–1200* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), and the still useful A. Vidier, *L'Historiographie à Saint-Benoît-sur-Loire et les miracles de Saint Benoît* (Paris: Picard, 1965). Adrevald of Fleury's ninth-century *Historia translationis* and *Miracula S. Benedicti* Book I were probably copied in England in the tenth century in Cambridge, St John's College, MS 164 (F.27) (Gneuss, *Handlist*, 153). Other copies may have been known of this hagiographical best-seller (cf. Vidier, *L'Historiographie*, for a list of the extant manuscripts).

<sup>33</sup> Abbo of Fleury, *Quaestiones grammaticales*, ed. by A. Guerreau-Jalabert (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1982).

<sup>34</sup> BF 297.

<sup>35</sup> *Formulae Merovingici et Karolini Aevi*, ed. by Karl Zeumer, MGH, Legum Sectio, 5 (Hannover: Hahn, 1886), p. 409 (collection of Sankt Gallen, no. 23), and by C. Fabritius, 'Die Litterae Formatae im Frühmittelalter', *Archiv für Urkundenforschung*, 9 (1926), 39–40.

the copy of the notes taken by Byrhtferth, Abbo's best pupil at Ramsey — and in no other manuscript.<sup>36</sup>

Among Byrhtferth's notes one can also find other traces of Abbo's teaching. Byrhtferth played an important role in the transmission of Continental, 'Carolingian' knowledge to later generations of English scholars. Byrhtferth had the habit of taking notes and copying extracts in a commonplace book. The autograph no longer exists, but at the end of the eleventh century it was copied at Thorney into Oxford, St John's College, MS 17. In the *Epilogue* Byrhtferth acknowledged his debt to Abbo concerning the computus: 'The learned Abbo [...] through whose goodwill we have obtained understanding of this subject, as well as expertise in other matters'.<sup>37</sup> The ideas on computus in this manuscript derive from those of Abbo and Heiric of Auxerre (who is also mentioned). As for the 'expertise in other matters', this may be a reference to Abbo's astronomical texts.<sup>38</sup> Finally, Abbo must have mentioned the destruction of Fleury, a mention which through the notes of Byrhtferth ended up in the *Historia Regum* of Symeon of Durham.<sup>39</sup>

After his return to Fleury, Abbo kept in contact with his English friends. And why not? The only misfortune which he had suffered there was of a digestive nature. (According to his biographer Aimoin, he began to suffer from a stomach disorder which was to trouble him until the end of his life.<sup>40</sup>) It is significant that

<sup>36</sup> R. Derolez, *Runica Manuscripta: The English Tradition* (Brussels: De Tempel, 1954), pp. 192–97.

<sup>37</sup> 'Abbo sophista [...] per cuius benevolentiam percepimus huius rei intelligentiam, necnon aliarum rerum peritiam': *Byrhtferth's Enchiridion*, ed. by P. S. Baker and M. Lapidge (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), Appendix A, 4.85–87. Cf. *Byrhtferth's Enchiridion*, ed. by Baker and Lapidge, E. iv. 1, p. 404, and Byrhtferth, *Vita Oswaldi*, v. 8, ed. by J. Raine, p. 459.

<sup>38</sup> See the editions of R. B. Thomson: 'Two Astronomical Tractates of Abbo of Fleury', in *The Light of Nature: Essays in the History and Philosophy of Science Presented to A. C. Crombie*, ed. by J. D. North and J. J. Roche (Dordrecht: Nijhoff, 1985), pp. 113–33, and 'Further Astronomical Material of Abbo of Fleury', *Mediaeval Studies*, 20 (1988), 671–73. On the reception in England, see M. Mostert, 'Gerbert d'Aurillac, Abbon de Fleury et la culture de l'an mil: étude comparative de leurs oeuvres et de leur influence', in *Gerberto d'Aurillac da Abbate di Bobbio a Papa dell'Anno 1000: Atti del Congresso internazionale, Bobbio, 28–30 settembre 2000*, Archivum Bobiense: Studia 4, ed. by F. G. Nuvolone (Bobbio: Archivum Bobiense, 2001), pp. 397–432 (pp. 415–16).

<sup>39</sup> *Symeonis monachi Opera omnia*, ed. by T. Arnold, 2 vols, RS, 75 (London: Longman, 1882–85), II, 113 (s.a. 881).

<sup>40</sup> Aimoin, *Vita et Passio sancti Abbonis*, c. 11, ed. by Bautier and others, p. 90, mentioning 'in transmarinibus regionibus peregrinorum ciborum inusitata qualitas decoctaeque potionis haustus' as the culprits.

Pope Gregory V, in one of his friendly letters to Abbo, asked the Abbot of Fleury for news about the Archbishop of Canterbury.<sup>41</sup> And we have seen how Abbo had with him, on his final journey to Gascony, the *Life* of his friend Dunstan, who had died in 988.

This is all that the written (mainly narrative) sources tell us about the relationship between Fleury and England in the tenth and early eleventh centuries. Fortunately, the evidence of the manuscripts that were kept in the library of Fleury can be used to augment our knowledge of the considerable intellectual contacts that were maintained.

### *Fleury and England: The Evidence of Manuscripts and their Texts*

The initiative, so we have learnt, was taken by the English monks. What kind of manuscripts and texts did they hope to obtain from their Continental colleagues? The palaeographer Edmund Bishop observed, in his study of the introduction of Caroline minuscule in England, that English scholarly culture after the death of Alfred clearly showed four characteristics.<sup>42</sup> First, there was the use of the older Insular libraries (with the addition of books from Wales and, possibly, Ireland); secondly, there was the desire for copies of works by Anglo-Saxon authors from the period 600–800 (Aldhelm, Bede, Alcuin, and so on); thirdly, there was a disregard for Carolingian and post-Carolingian authors; and finally, there was only a meagre contribution to Latin letters by English literati (they preferred to write in Old English for a wider audience than that of learned clergy). Recent scholarship has modified some of Bishop's conclusions, but the general picture remains basically unchanged. If one accepts Bishop's views, however, tenth-century English monks cannot have been in need of much more than some texts on the rudiments of science and some others on monastic customs. So, little would have been needed from the libraries of their Continental colleagues.

The picture that emerges from Helmut Gneuss's *Handlist of Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts*, however, is rather different. Of the manuscripts listed, only 201 are

<sup>41</sup> This letter was included in the collection of Abbo's correspondence which survives in BL, MS Additional 10972, fols 1–38 of the eleventh century, written in Fleury (BF 372). (This manuscript is bound up with fols 39–50, also originating from Fleury, but apparently slightly earlier, which contains Abbo's *Quaestiones grammaticales* and some of his minor scientific texts (cf. BF 373).) Gregory V's short letter is edited among the letters of this pope, in *PL*, CXXXVII, col. 920.

<sup>42</sup> T. A. M. Bishop, *English Caroline Minuscule* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971).



thought to come from the Continent. If we omit the nine manuscripts written before 800 in Italy, Africa, Spain, or France,<sup>43</sup> this leaves us with 192 manuscripts of Continental origin which must have been imported into England between 800 and 1100. Of these 192 manuscripts only fifty-three date from the tenth century,<sup>44</sup> and only three can be securely dated to the beginning of the eleventh century.<sup>45</sup> Most of the remaining seventy-six eleventh-century manuscripts in the *Handlist* date from after the Conquest; all of them are too late to be considered. The remaining sixty manuscripts date from the ninth century.<sup>46</sup> It is quite possible, of course, that some of these ninth-century manuscripts arrived in England during the tenth or early eleventh centuries.<sup>47</sup> As Gneuss is not always able to give dates for the English provenances of these ninth-century manuscripts, it seems wise nevertheless to limit ourselves here to manuscripts written in the tenth century.<sup>48</sup>

<sup>43</sup> Gneuss, *Handlist*, 245 (Italy), 297 (Africa), 529 (Italy), 620.6 (N Italy, or France?), 654 (Italy, prob. Sardinia), 770.5 (Spain), 773.5 (Northumbria or Ireland (or Continent?)), 799 (prob. Italy), 848 (Italy). Manuscripts which are thought to have been written either at the end of the eighth century or at the beginning of the ninth century have been considered here as ninth-century manuscripts.

<sup>44</sup> They include manuscripts which Gneuss dated s. ix/x (Gneuss, *Handlist*, 81, 112 (?), 200.5, 211 (or s. x<sup>1</sup>), 362 (or s. x), 444 (or s. x<sup>in</sup>), 489 (or s. x<sup>4/4</sup>), 490 (or s. x<sup>in</sup>), 532, 585, 677.6, 754, 766, 882) or s. x/xi (Gneuss, *Handlist*, 428.4, 442.4 (or s. xi), 559 (or later), 689 (?), 767 (or s. xi<sup>in</sup>), 823 (or s. xi<sup>in</sup>), 914 (or s. x<sup>2</sup>)).

<sup>45</sup> Gneuss, *Handlist*, 477, 700.1, 700.2; see also the previous note.

<sup>46</sup> Cf. the list in Lapidge, *Anglo-Saxon Library*, pp. 167–73, Appendix D, 'Ninth-Century Manuscripts of Continental Origin having Pre-Conquest English Provenance' (eighty manuscripts) and, for the eighth-century manuscripts, see Gneuss, *Handlist*, p. 6 and p. 19, n. 23, and cf. Lapidge, *Anglo-Saxon Library*, pp. 155–66, Appendix C, 'Surviving Eighth-Century Manuscripts from the Area of the Anglo-Saxon Mission in Germany', which lists some manuscripts which were exported to the Continent.

<sup>47</sup> For example, Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, MS 45–1980, a gospel-book dated s. ix<sup>ex</sup> from West France (Brittany, Dol region?) or the Loire valley?, which was in England by the middle of the tenth century (Gneuss, *Handlist*, 119), or Arras, Médiathèque, MS 764 (739), fols 1–93, a copy of Hrabanus Maurus *In Judith* and *In Hester*, which is dated s. ix<sup>ex</sup>. This manuscript was written in North-East France, came to England in the tenth century, and, by way of Bath, ended up in Saint-Vaast, Arras (Gneuss, *Handlist*, 779).

<sup>48</sup> Clearly, if we cannot be sure that a tenth-century manuscript was in England before the end of the eleventh century, we have to omit it from our list as well. This is the case of BL, MS Royal 15.B.XIX, fols 79–199, written in Reims in the tenth century (Gneuss, *Handlist*, 493). The dates of the English provenance of Gneuss, *Handlist*, 185, 196, and 200.5 are in doubt.

What are the contents of these tenth-century manuscripts of Continental origin? There are four manuscripts of Bede,<sup>49</sup> three or four of Alcuin,<sup>50</sup> and one of the manuscripts of Bede contains work by Aldhelm,<sup>51</sup> that is, seven or eight manuscripts of Anglo-Saxon authors whose texts it may have been desirable to recover. A further manuscript, a collection of (mainly Insular) penitentials, may possibly also be considered in the context of the search for manuscripts of English texts.<sup>52</sup> Only four manuscripts contain Carolingian texts, namely commentaries by Remigius of Auxerre on Boethius and Martianus Capella.<sup>53</sup> Possibly a few copies of the classics were imported as well: Vergil's *Aeneid*, Cicero's *Topics* (with Boethius's commentary), Statius's *Thebaid*, and (possibly) Priscian's *Periegesis*.<sup>54</sup> The great majority of the manuscripts contain the Gospels, liturgical, patristic, or hagiographical texts.<sup>55</sup>

Clearly, these numbers of manuscripts are to be taken with a pinch of salt. We know through the study of quotations contained in texts written in England (both in Latin and in Old English) that much more must have been present. Maybe there were, for instance, some Latin classics which had survived the disruption caused by the Vikings? And maybe some books which visiting scholars such as Abbo may have brought with them were read, copied, and used by English scholars.<sup>56</sup>

<sup>49</sup> *De arte metrica*: Gneuss, *Handlist*, 442.4, 489; *De orthographia*: Gneuss, *Handlist*, 69; and *Vita S. Cuthberti* (verse): Gneuss, *Handlist*, 882.

<sup>50</sup> *Carmina* and *De dialectica*: Gneuss, *Handlist*, 67; *Interrogationes Sigewulfi in Genesim*: Gneuss, *Handlist*, 541; *De orthografia*: Gneuss, *Handlist*, 69; Alcuin (?), *Vita S. Judoci*: Gneuss, *Handlist*, 925.5.

<sup>51</sup> *Aenigmata*: Gneuss, *Handlist*, 489.

<sup>52</sup> Gneuss, *Handlist*, 565.

<sup>53</sup> Commentary on Boethius, *De consolazione philosophiae*: Gneuss, *Handlist*, 823; Commentary on Martianus Capella: Gneuss, *Handlist*, 428.4, 490, 700.1.

<sup>54</sup> Vergil: Gneuss, *Handlist*, 477 (probably written on the Continent); Cicero: Gneuss, *Handlist*, 677.6 (France?); Statius: Gneuss, *Handlist*, 766 (France?); Priscian: Gneuss, *Handlist*, 831.8 (England, or France?).

<sup>55</sup> The 'Metrical Calendar of York', in a manuscript from France or Germany (Gneuss, *Handlist*, 914), seems a curious import.

<sup>56</sup> This is the assumption that led Lapidge, *Anglo-Saxon Library*, pp. 242–47, to include Abbo of Fleury among the scholars dealt with in 'Appendix E: Latin Books Cited by the Principal Anglo-Saxon Authors'. Lapidge uses the editions of those of Abbo's works which were presumably written (or at least conceived) either before or during his stay in England in 985–87. Whether Abbo did in fact bring with him to Ramsey copies of all the authors cited in those works is impossible to prove. A similar annexation of Abbo is made by Alison Peden in her edition *Abbo of Fleury and*

Nevertheless, Bishop's suggestion that English scholarship was especially interested in its own heritage is confirmed, also when one allows for the manuscripts of Continental origin written in the ninth and eleventh centuries which found their way to England before 1100. They number a further nine manuscripts of Anglo-Latin texts, among which two more manuscripts of Alcuin and one of Aldhelm.

Gneuss's list can also be used to answer another question. With which intellectual centres were the English in contact? Of the tenth-century Continental manuscripts, ten are insufficiently localized.<sup>57</sup> One comes possibly from Germany,<sup>58</sup> one possibly from Italy,<sup>59</sup> and all the others come from France and the southern Low Countries. Of this large group of manuscripts, in nine cases Gneuss is unable to provide a more precise localization.<sup>60</sup> Five manuscripts come from the North-East of France (of these, one is from Reims).<sup>61</sup> Twelve manuscripts come from the North of France or Flanders (with one each originating from Saint-Amand, Saint-Vaast of Arras, Lobbes, and, possibly, Saint-Denis).<sup>62</sup> Seventeen of the tenth-century manuscripts, then, originate from the North and North-East of France and from Lotharingia. They come from the same areas as the monks of Gorze, Brogne, and Gent. Another quite distinct group comes from Brittany (some ten manuscripts, one of which from Landévennec).<sup>63</sup> Their presence in England can

*Ramsey: Commentary on the Calculus of Victorius of Aquitaine* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), who follows Sharpe, *A Handlist*, pp. 1–4. Abbo is introduced as 'sometime monk at Ramsey, abbot of Fleury' (p. 1), which is sufficient to include the collected works of Abbo, even if few of Abbo's works, so the bibliographer tells us correctly, were composed in England.

<sup>57</sup> 'Continent': Gneuss, *Handlist*, 442.4, 454 (France? Italy?), 477 (prob.), 541, 700.1, 700.2, 715 (or England?), 722 (?), 752, 823 (or England). See also 570, written either in England or on the Continent, by an English scribe.

<sup>58</sup> Gneuss, *Handlist*, 914 (or northern France).

<sup>59</sup> Gneuss, *Handlist*, 454 (or from France).

<sup>60</sup> Gneuss, *Handlist*, 559, 575 (prob.; or England?), 669.4 (?), 677.6 (?), 766 (?), 767, 769, 801, 831.8 (England, or France?).

<sup>61</sup> North-East France: Gneuss, *Handlist*, 67 (?), 200.5, 863.5, 882. Reims: Gneuss, *Handlist*, 490.

<sup>62</sup> Northern France: Gneuss, *Handlist*, 185 (or Flanders), 196 (or Flanders), 211 (prob.), 258.8 (or Brittany), 259.5 (?), 489 (or England?), 565 (or North-West France), 754 (or Brittany). Saint-Vaast, Arras: Gneuss, *Handlist*, 585 (or Cambrai diocese?). Saint-Amand: Gneuss, *Handlist*, 112. Lobbes: Gneuss, *Handlist*, 362. Saint-Denis: Gneuss, *Handlist*, 135 (? or England?).

<sup>63</sup> Brittany: Gneuss, *Handlist*, 69 (?), 132.4 (?), 361, 444, 522 (or England?; however, the manuscript, written s. x<sup>2</sup>, came (back?) to England only around the middle of the eleventh century, by way of northern France or Flanders), 532 (prob.), 567, 688 (prob.), 809.8 (?). Landévennec: Gneuss, *Handlist*, 61.

be explained by the well-attested relations of the inhabitants of Brittany with their Celtic-speaking cousins in Ireland, Cornwall, and Wales. Next come four manuscripts from the West of France.<sup>64</sup> Finally, the 'Centre' of France is represented with one manuscript, from Fleury.<sup>65</sup>

Consulting the index of *The Library of Fleury: A Provisional List of Manuscripts* shows the influence of Fleury on Anglo-Saxon libraries to have been considerably more important than the ascriptions in Gneuss's list lead us to believe, as those ascriptions are rather cautious. *The Library of Fleury* also contains evidence for Anglo-Saxon influence on the holdings of Fleury, allowing us to consider contacts in both directions.<sup>66</sup>

Before summarizing the evidence of the manuscripts for the intellectual contacts between England and Fleury, however, a few words need to be said about Fleury's relationships with other centres of monastic culture, as sometimes Fleury may have served as a link in the chain connecting England with these other centres. In the ninth and tenth centuries the script of Fleury was almost indistinguishable from that of Saint-Germain of Auxerre, so that Bernhard Bischoff believed in the existence of a ninth-century script he called 'Fleury-Auxerre'.<sup>67</sup> This impossibility of distinguishing between the scripts of these two houses suggests something of the exchanges taking part in scholarly life — of manuscripts, scribes, texts, and authors — within regional monastic networks. These exchanges continued after the 'Fleury-Auxerre' script had ceased to be written. One example, Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College, MS 144/194,<sup>68</sup> of the first half of the tenth century, was thought by Bischoff to have been written in Auxerre, and to have come to St Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury, by way of Fleury. Gneuss considered the possibility that the manuscript was in fact written in England — in which case we may have to think of a scribe trained in Caroline minuscule in the Loire area and working in England.

More complex are the relations of Fleury with Brittany. In the calendar of Fleury, St Pol of Léon was mentioned under 12 March. The relics of this saint had been transported to the monastery of Fleury by Mabbo, the bishop of Léon, to keep them out of the hands of the sacrilegious Vikings. It has been suggested that on this

<sup>64</sup> Tours: Gneuss, *Handlist*, 81 (?), 106 (?), 689 (or Angers). Jumièges: Gneuss, *Handlist*, 925.5.

<sup>65</sup> Gneuss, *Handlist*, 428.4.

<sup>66</sup> See Mostert, *Library of Fleury*.

<sup>67</sup> B. Bischoff, *Paläographie des römischen Altertums und des abendländischen Mittelalters*, 2nd edn (Berlin: Schmidt, 1986), p. 157. See also Mostert, *Library of Fleury*, Index under 'Auxerre'.

<sup>68</sup> Gneuss, *Handlist*, 120. Cf. Lapidge, *Anglo-Saxon Library*. Not in BF.

occasion (c. 954) most of the Breton manuscripts kept later in the library of Fleury followed in the wake of the relics of St Pol.<sup>69</sup> There are at least fifteen of them. Only one of these Breton manuscripts dates from the tenth century;<sup>70</sup> most of them date from the ninth century, and the presence of Breton neums in manuscripts written at Fleury<sup>71</sup> witnesses to relations before the tenth century. Breton scribes were at work at Fleury as well, such as Lios Monocus, who made the Fleury copy of the *Hisperica Famina*.<sup>72</sup> Because England, too, entertained relations with Brittany, it is quite possible that Brittany was sometimes the intermediary between England and Fleury in either direction.<sup>73</sup> This problem is not limited to that of the relations between Fleury and Auxerre or between Fleury and Brittany. In the early Middle Ages, and still in the tenth century, certain cultural phenomena ought to be termed 'Insular' rather than either 'Irish' or 'English', either 'Anglo-Saxon' or 'Celtic'.<sup>74</sup>

After these preliminary observations, what do the extant manuscripts teach us about the intellectual relations between the monks of England and Fleury? Does the study of the manuscripts and the copies of the texts they contain tell us something which the contemporary written sources do not?

Let us start with the scholars themselves. We hear in the narrative sources about the stay at Fleury of clergymen such as Oda, Oswald, and Germanus. There were others as well, even if the mentions of simple pilgrims in the rather late Fleury obituaries cannot with any certainty be identified as those of Englishmen.<sup>75</sup> St

<sup>69</sup> See C. Cuissard, 'Vie de Saint Paul de Léon en Bretagne d'après un manuscrit de Fleury-sur-Loire conservé à la bibliothèque d'Orléans', *Revue Celtique* 5 (1881–83), 413–16; F. Kerlouégan, 'Les Vies de saints bretons les plus anciennes dans leur rapports avec les îles britanniques', in *Insular Latin Studies*, ed. by M. Herren, Papers in Mediaeval Studies, 1 (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1981), pp. 195–213; and Mostert, *Library of Fleury*, index under 'Brittany'.

<sup>70</sup> BnF, MS n.a.l. 1604 + BAV, MS Reg. lat. 567, fols 1–18. BF 1251 + BF 1414 + BF 1415.

<sup>71</sup> Orléans, Médiathèque, MS 73 (70), p. 176 (BF 503) and Orléans, Médiathèque, MS 182 (159), p. 5 (BF 626).

<sup>72</sup> BAV, MS Reg. lat. 81, fols 1–12 (BF 1345).

<sup>73</sup> See L. Gougaud, 'Les Relations de l'abbaye de Fleury-sur-Loire avec la Bretagne et les Îles Britanniques (X<sup>e</sup> et XI<sup>e</sup> siècles)', *Mémoires de la Société d'histoire et d'archéologie de Bretagne*, 4 (1923), 3–30.

<sup>74</sup> See M. Mostert, 'Celtic, Anglo-Saxon or Insular? Some Considerations on "Irish" Manuscript Production and their Implications for Insular Latin Culture, c. AD 500–800', in *Cultural Identity and Cultural Integration: Ireland and Europe in the Early Middle Ages*, ed. by D. Edel (Blackrock: Four Courts, 1995), pp. 92–115.

<sup>75</sup> These obituaries have been published in Vidier, *L'Historiographie*. The only two Englishmen mentioned as such are Henry, count of Chester, and Mathilde, the wife of Henry II. Apart from

Oswald was celebrated at Fleury on 28 February during the whole medieval period.<sup>76</sup> He was one of the proper saints of Fleury, and any Continental calendars mentioning him may have something to do with the monastery of Fleury. But he was the only English saint venerated in this way. One group of English clergymen did leave an appreciable mark, though. Those who worked as scribes or artists in Fleury left their traces in the extant Fleury manuscripts, as Fleury scribes and artists did in English manuscripts.

Let us therefore move on to the manuscripts, and start with an examination of their writing. In England, Caroline minuscule was not practised before the middle of the tenth century. In the eighth century, the English scribes had abandoned the use of international styles of script, but *c.* 950 they became interested in the scripts used by their Benedictine colleagues on the Continent — at least for writing in Latin. As Bishop has shown, Caroline minuscule developed in England into a distinct style: 'English Caroline minuscule'.<sup>77</sup> The palaeographers seem to agree that there was a link between the monastic reform-centres on the Continent and the introduction of Caroline minuscule script in England. But where to localize this Continental origin? Before Bishop, all scholars would have considered Fleury very seriously. But are there palaeographical arguments for this assumption? Or did scholars allow their knowledge of the narrative sources' information about relations between Fleury and England to cloud their judgement? Bishop himself did not come up with anything more than some hypotheses: Dunstan might have brought Caroline minuscule from Flanders; the script might have come from Fleury after all; and maybe there was some role played by Corbie as well.<sup>78</sup>

these twelfth-century names, there are names which may or may not have belonged to English pilgrims. The scribes of the obituaries have, however, maltreated Germanic names, so that the origin of an Amphredus, Frambertus, or Canothus must remain unknown. Even if tenth- or eleventh-century necrological texts had survived from Fleury, the normalization of Old English names, which Romance speakers found as difficult a millennium ago as they do today, might have rendered the onomastic evidence useless. The same happened in England with certain Continental names, however, rendering the identification of the Canterbury schoolteacher Frithegoth with Fredegaut of Brioude impossible until relatively recently (cf. M. Lapidge, 'A Frankish Scholar in Tenth-Century England: Frithegod of Canterbury / Fredegaut of Brioude', *ASE*, 17 (1988), 45–65.

<sup>76</sup> See Mostert, *Library of Fleury*, Index, under 'Martyrologies' and 'Calendars'.

<sup>77</sup> Bishop, *English Caroline Minuscule*.

<sup>78</sup> Cf. the script of Orléans, Médiathèque, MS 127 (105) (BF 538), the Sacramentary of Winchcombe, which was written, possibly at Ramsey, at the end of the tenth century and was given to Fleury in the first quarter of the eleventh century.

A few arguments for at least some Fleury characteristics may be advanced. First, there is the abbreviation ‘-.’ for *est*, which has been observed in manuscripts written at Fleury at the end of the tenth century or the beginning of the eleventh century by Elisabeth Pellegrin. The same abbreviation can also be found in contemporary English manuscripts written in Caroline minuscule.<sup>79</sup> Secondly, there is the pointed ‘ct’-ligature, present both in Lincoln, Cathedral Library, MS 182 (C.2.8),<sup>80</sup> written in Abingdon around the first millennium, and in contemporary Fleury manuscripts. The attentive comparison of manuscripts written in England with those written at Fleury has to be accompanied, however, by similarly attentive comparisons of English manuscripts with those originating from the other Continental centres of reform. Æthelwold invited singers from Fleury and from elsewhere, and the musical notation adopted in England was modelled almost exclusively on that of Corbie.<sup>81</sup> Although Fleury had developed an efficient and easily legible style of notation, and although English Caroline minuscule may have undergone some influence from Fleury, there is no clear trace of Fleury musical notation in England.<sup>82</sup>

Did the English reforming monks show themselves interested in possessing Fleury manuscripts? Clearly, one needs to distinguish here between manuscripts brought to England before the second half of the tenth century and later imports. If we limit ourselves to the extant manuscripts, there cannot have been more than a small number.<sup>83</sup> There are *three* possible candidates to consider, the English provenance of one of which predates the Benedictine reform. BAV, MS Vat. lat. 3363,<sup>84</sup>

<sup>79</sup> E. Pellegrin, ‘La Tradition des textes classiques latins à l’abbaye de Fleury-sur-Loire’, *Revue d’Histoire des Textes*, 14–15 (1984–85), 155–67 (p. 167), and especially R. C. Barker-Benfield, ‘A Ninth-Century Manuscript from Fleury: Cato de senectute cum Macrobio’, in *Medieval Learning and Literature: Essays Presented to Richard William Hunt*, ed. by J. J. G. Alexander and M. T. Gibson (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976), pp. 145–65 and Plates XVIII–XIX (pp. 155–56). For the use of the ‘-.’-abbreviation in England around the year 1000, see Bishop, *English Caroline Minuscule*, p. xii.

<sup>80</sup> Gneuss, *Handlist*, 274.

<sup>81</sup> In the South-West, however, musical notation seems to have developed from the Breton system.

<sup>82</sup> See S. K. Rankin, ‘Neumatic Notations in Anglo-Saxon England’, in *Musicologie médiévale: notations et séquences: actes de la table ronde du C.N.R.S. à l’Institut de Recherche et d’Histoire des Textes*, 6–7 septembre 1982, ed. by M. Huglo (Paris: Champion, 1987), pp. 129–44.

<sup>83</sup> We will consider only extant manuscripts, even if the filiation of texts contained in manuscripts of English origin might suggest that, at least for as long as it took to make a copy, Fleury exemplars may have circulated in England. This research still needs to be done.

<sup>84</sup> BF 1313. Gneuss, *Handlist*, 908. Cf. Lapidge, *Anglo-Saxon Library*.

written at the very beginning of the ninth century, is written in a script that is very similar to that of Orléans, Médiathèque, MS 270 (226), pp. 230–320,<sup>85</sup> written at Fleury, and BAV, MS Ottoboni lat. 35.<sup>86</sup> It is possible, however, that our manuscript was written elsewhere in the Loire valley, or at Auxerre. The manuscript, which contains a copy of Boethius's *De consolazione philosophiae*, was in the British Isles at the end of the ninth century, as is suggested by the marginal glosses made by Insular scribes. These glosses are contemporary with the translation of Boethius made at the court of Alfred, and therefore Pierre Courcelle proposed the hypothesis that Asser, Alfred's biographer, was responsible for the commentary contained in the marginal glosses.<sup>87</sup> Another hypothesis comes from D. K. Bolton. According to him, this copy of Boethius had been in the possession of Remigius of Auxerre and was exported to England by Grimbold of Saint-Bertin, a Flemish monk who belonged to the circle of scholars which Alfred had gathered around himself in emulation of Charlemagne.<sup>88</sup> If the manuscript has been read by Remigius of Auxerre, there is no reason to exclude Fleury from the chain of provenances linking Auxerre, the region of the Loire, Brittany, and the South-West of England.

The case of the two manuscripts which came from Fleury to England around the year 1000 is also complex. BL, MS Harley 647<sup>89</sup> was written in the second quarter of the ninth century in Lotharingia. Very soon afterwards, additions were made in the North of France. Next, the manuscript came to Fleury, as is suggested by the tradition of a compilation of astronomical texts which can also be found in BL, MS Harley 2506,<sup>90</sup> its copy, in Cambridge, Trinity College, MS R.15.32 (945),<sup>91</sup> written in England (and incidentally one of the best witnesses of the astronomical texts of Abbo), and two other English manuscripts. BL, MS Harley 647 also contains extracts from a collection of computistical texts, the only complete copy of which is contained in BnF, MS n.a.l. 1615, of the ninth century, and very

<sup>85</sup> BF 734; see also BF 733 (pp. 1–229) and BF 735 (fly-leaves).

<sup>86</sup> BF 1325 (fols 1–35); see also BF 1326 (fols 36–81).

<sup>87</sup> P. Courcelle, 'Étude critique sur les commentaires de la Consolation de Boèce (IX<sup>e</sup>–XV<sup>e</sup> siècles)', *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du Moyen Âge*, 14 (1939), 5–140 (pp. 45–46).

<sup>88</sup> D. K. Bolton, 'The Study of the Consolation of Philosophy in Anglo-Saxon England', *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du Moyen Âge*, 44 (1977), 35–37.

<sup>89</sup> BF 378 (fols 2–21); see also BF 377 (fol. 1). Gneuss, *Handlist*, 423; Cf. Lapidge, *Anglo-Saxon Library*.

<sup>90</sup> BF 380. Gneuss, *Handlist*, 428.4. Cf. Lapidge, *Anglo-Saxon Library*.

<sup>91</sup> Gneuss, *Handlist*, 186. Cf. Lapidge, *Anglo-Saxon Library*.



probably written at Fleury.<sup>92</sup> BL, MS Harley 647 was in England around the year 1000, as is clear from the English copies which were made then. But before leaving, in the last quarter of the tenth century, a copy was also made at Fleury, in BL, MS Harley 2506.

BL, MS Harley 2506 is a rather complex manuscript, written in a number of Continental and English hands, and illuminated by an English artist, the 'Master of Ramsey'. Of this artist other work is preserved in manuscripts from Fleury<sup>93</sup> and Saint-Bertin.<sup>94</sup> Apart from a copy of BL, MS Harley 647, BL, MS Harley 2506 also contains some of Abbo's works on astronomy, although in one of them Abbo's name has been replaced by that of Berno, the scholar from the Reichenau who studied at Fleury *c.* 994.

The two Harleian manuscripts suggest that, shortly after Abbo's return from Ramsey, some English monks had realized that Abbo was an important representative of Continental scientific learning. They must have asked from Fleury the texts which formed the basis of Abbo's learning, and they may have collaborated in the compilation of BL, MS Harley 2506. Clearly, English scholars asked Fleury for scientific texts, for astronomy and computus.

The exchange of manuscripts was reciprocal. We will not go into the early ninth-century Insular influences on the script of Fleury, but concentrate on relations in the tenth and eleventh centuries.<sup>95</sup> Six or seven English manuscripts,

<sup>92</sup> BF 1257 (fols 1–127) and BF 1258 (fols 128–93). The manuscript contains the *Calendarium floriacense*, with additions concerning Fleury on fols 4–9 and, on fols 12<sup>r</sup>–18<sup>v</sup>, notes concerning Canterbury and Lindisfarne.

<sup>93</sup> Orléans, Médiathèque, MS 175 (152), p. 149, dedicated to Abbo (BF 608).

<sup>94</sup> Boulogne, BM, MS 11 and PML, MS 827.

<sup>95</sup> For the earlier influences, see Mostert, *Library of Fleury*. Bernhard Bischoff identified a group of manuscripts datable to *c.* 800, which showed 'ein Nebeneinander von bizarren, eiligen und kalligraphisch abgeklärten Händen', which is related to a group of hybrid minuscule and Insular scripts. If there is illumination in the manuscripts of these two groups, it shows a mixture of Merovingian, Carolingian, and Insular traits. Apparently, when Caroline minuscule was developed elsewhere, at Fleury attempts were made to develop another calligraphic script. This script was superseded by that of Tours, which became the model for Fleury. Insular influence in Fleury can also be observed *c.* 800 in the Anglo-Saxon runes copied by the scribe Agambertus among the exotic alphabets on fol. 264<sup>r</sup> of Bern, Burgerbibliothek, MS 207. Agambertus also gives the Old English names for these runes. Cf. also the runic incipit of Donatus on fol. 2<sup>r</sup> and Valenciennes, BM, MS 59, copied by the same Agambertus. Interest in runes remained at Fleury. In the tenth-century manuscript Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, MS Voss. lat. Q 83, which we have met before, the oldest example of Old Norse *runica manuscripta* occurs.

dating from after the middle of the tenth century, can be found among the still extant manuscripts from the Fleury library.<sup>96</sup> And there are traces of English scribes and artists working in the monastery of Fleury as well.

There were also English scribes working in Fleury, who adopted the Continental Caroline minuscule, but sometimes betrayed their origins by Insular letter-forms (as, for example, the subscript 'i') or Insular abbreviations. Sometimes these Insular traits can be explained on the assumption that Insular exemplars were in use. But when neums are written over Old English syllables, we surely have a pen-trial by an English scribe.<sup>97</sup> We know the name of one of these English scribes, who worked at Fleury at the end of the tenth century: Leofnoth, who signed his work.<sup>98</sup>

There were also English artists at work at Fleury. We have already noticed the Master of Ramsey, who was educated in the school of Winchester. André Boutemy suggested that this artist produced his magnificent drawings at Saint-Bertin and Fleury during a single stay on the Continent, possibly to pay for his needs during a pilgrimage to St Benedict or, who knows, maybe further afield, to Compostella.<sup>99</sup> There is, however, no evidence for this hypothesis. We know of other English artists at Fleury as well. In BnF, MS lat. 6401, a copy of Boethius's *De Trinitate* of c. 1000 was written either by an English scribe at Fleury or in England, in which case the manuscript came to Fleury later; an English draughtsman trained in the school of Winchester subsequently drew Boethius, the author, and started on the initial 'I', which was still missing. This symbolic representation of the Trinity was not finished.<sup>100</sup>

This Boethius is one of the English masterpieces which could be found at Fleury. Other English manuscripts there contained liturgical texts, such as Orléans, Médiathèque, MS 127 (105), the Sacramentary of Winchcombe. Germanus, the prior of Ramsey at the time of Abbo's stay there, had become Abbot of Winchcombe. The manuscript must have been at Fleury at the time of Abbo's successor

<sup>96</sup> BF 380, 538, 1012 + 1013, 1099 and 1292 are discussed elsewhere. BF 859 + 860, Orléans, Médiathèque, MS 342 (290), pp. 1–68 + pp. 69–232 may have been written either in England or at Fleury (or, in the case of BF 859, a palimpsest, rewritten).

<sup>97</sup> Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, MS Voss. lat. Q 106, written in the first half of the ninth century (BF 345).

<sup>98</sup> J. Vezin, 'Leofnoth: un scribe anglais à Saint-Benoît-sur-Loire', *Codices manuscripti*, 3 (1977), 109–20. See BF 1102, BF 1123, and BF 1125.

<sup>99</sup> A. Boutemy, 'Un monument capital de l'enluminure anglo-saxonne: le manuscrit 11 de Boulogne-sur-Mer', *Cahiers de Civilisation Médiévale*, 1 (1958), 181–82 and plates I–II.

<sup>100</sup> BF 1083.

as abbot, Gauzlin, because it has his epitaph on p. 331. The same Gauzlin received the magnificent benedictional, BnF, MS lat. 987, which has the initials in gold mentioned by André of Fleury in his *Life* of Gauzlin.<sup>101</sup> Another manuscript, BnF, MS lat. 7299, has a liturgical calendar on folios 1–12. It was completed at Fleury in the tenth century with computistical tables by a hand resembling that responsible for copying the scientific works of Abbo.<sup>102</sup> And finally there was the manuscript of the *Life* of Dunstan by B, which we mentioned at the beginning of our survey.

There must have been more, however, that is now lost. Aimoin mentions that Abbo had brought with him from England a collection of canon law. The manuscript containing this collection has long been identified with Orléans, Médiathèque, MS 221 (193).<sup>103</sup> However, this manuscript of the first quarter of the ninth century comes from Brittany and contains glosses in Breton. This suggests that the manuscript taken from England by Abbo was lost, and that other English manuscripts may have been lost as well.

Sometimes a clue to a lost manuscript is given by the existence of a text written in England among the Fleury manuscripts. Again, we will disregard the very early Insular texts present at Fleury.<sup>104</sup> Some of the English texts are very short indeed. They are additions in Old English made by English scribes, such as the Anglo-Saxon glosses in Bern, Burgerbibliothek, MS 258, of the end of the ninth century.<sup>105</sup> These glosses form part of a collection compiled between 650 and 800 in England, of which twenty manuscripts still exist. The collection seems to have become known on the Continent through St Gall. Another example is Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, MS Voss. lat. Q 106, of the beginning of the ninth century, which contains a collection of riddles of Symposius and Aldhelm. On folio 25<sup>v</sup> a hand of the tenth century has added fourteen lines of Old English poetry. It is an Old English translation of Aldhelm's *lorica*-riddle.<sup>106</sup> The date of this copy of the Old English riddle suggests that it was made at Fleury by an Anglo-Saxon monk who had come to study monastic life at the shrine of St Benedict. That this monk

<sup>101</sup> BF 1012 (fols 1–84) and BF 1013 (fols 85–111).

<sup>102</sup> BF 1099 (fols 1–12), BF 1100 (fols 12bis–27), BF 1101 (fols 28–71).

<sup>103</sup> BF 697.

<sup>104</sup> Texts in Irish and Breton can be traced through Mostert, *Library of Fleury*. We also disregard Anglo-Latin texts which were well received on the Continent, such as the works of Bede.

<sup>105</sup> BF 138 (fols 1–47) and BF 139 (fols 48–192). BF 138 also contains glosses in Irish.

<sup>106</sup> See M. B. Parkes, 'The Manuscript of the Leiden Riddle', *ASE*, 1 (1972), 207–17.

was interested not only in monastic matters is suggested by another addition in the same manuscript: the names of some nymphs in Old English on folio 10<sup>r</sup>.

These glosses and additions cannot, of course, be considered as evidence for any real reception of Anglo-Saxon culture at Fleury. There are hardly any Anglo-Latin texts copied in the extant Fleury manuscripts, texts which would have been easier to absorb into the intellectual culture of the monks of Fleury than these linguistic curiosities. Although Fleury was interested in hagiography, and although English calendars were welcome, they do not seem to have copied hagiographical texts written by their colleagues from overseas. The Anglo-Saxon contribution to the enormous collection of texts amassed in the Fleury manuscripts was rather poor. This confirms the suggestion of the narrative sources that the initiative for the intellectual contacts with Fleury came from England. Fleury received scribes and artists but did not actively seek to enhance its library by English manuscripts or texts.

As far as the direction in which the texts moved is concerned, they clearly went primarily from Fleury to England. That is where the works of Abbo were copied, to begin with his *Passion of St Edmund*.<sup>107</sup> In the twelfth century, when the scientific work of Abbo had been eclipsed on the Continent by more recent works, in England the schoolmaster of Fleury was still being copied.<sup>108</sup> It has also been observed that the copyists of certain Anglo-Latin texts may have used as their sources copies of those texts preserved at Fleury. There is, for instance, a poem written in the school of Winchester under Æthelwold, the *Altercatio magistri et discipuli*,<sup>109</sup> in which the author for metrical reasons uses the archaic form *siet* for *sit*. This form can also be found in the Fleury copies of Terence, one of which may have been present already at Winchester.

Finally, there is the distinct possibility that Fleury may have influenced Anglo-Latin literature through hermeneutic poetry. There is a poem in hexameters which consists entirely of Greek medical terms, except the last word, the imperative *trico-cinare!*, which might be interpreted as 'now sort it out!'. Michael Lapidge, who has edited this curious poem,<sup>110</sup> a product of the Canterbury school, observed that the

<sup>107</sup> On the reception of the works of Abbo in England, with an indication of the extant manuscripts, see Mostert, 'Gerbert d'Aurillac'.

<sup>108</sup> See, e.g., Malibu, John Paul Getty Museum, MS Ludwig XII 5, an encyclopaedia of the sciences of the quadrivium with a copy of Abbo's *Computus*.

<sup>109</sup> M. Lapidge, 'Three Latin Poems from Æthelwold's School at Winchester', *ASE*, 1 (1972), 85–137.

<sup>110</sup> M. Lapidge, 'The Hermeneutic Style in Tenth-Century Anglo-Saxon Literature', *ASE*, 4 (1975), 67–111.

Greek terms used in this 'final dubious product of years of studying glossaries' are borrowed from a single small medical glossary which is preserved in two manuscripts, BAV, MS Reginensis lat. 1260 and Bern, Burgerbibliothek, MS 337. Both of them come from the library of Fleury.<sup>111</sup> This poem is written in the hermeneutic style, characterized by archaisms, words which are not current in the Latin classics but which could have been borrowed from the grammarians, from Terence and Plautus, by neologisms, and by words borrowed from the Greek. The style shows off an obscure and outmoded vocabulary. One of the first practitioners, in the tenth century, was Odo of Cluny. His *Occupatio*, a difficult poem written c. 925, dealing with Christian history from Creation to the author's own days, shows the prestige of this style in monastic circles. Odo was at Fleury when Oda, the later Archbishop of Canterbury, resided there, and Oda may have fallen under the influence of Odo. At Fleury, too, could be found Lios Monocus, the Breton monk who also wrote using this style. We have already seen that he copied the *Hisperica famina*, the best-known Insular text using the hermeneutic style. At least three of the leaders of the English Benedictine reform who were in contact with Fleury, Oda, Æthelwold, and Dunstan, practised the hermeneutic style. Oswald did not leave any literary oeuvre, but his teacher at Canterbury, Fredegaud/Frithegoth, also practised it. These authors writing in England were hardly influenced by the Irish Church. The fashion arguably came from the Continent, and, hypothetically, Fleury may have played some role in its introduction (or reintroduction) into England.<sup>112</sup>

### Conclusion

We have come to the end of our inventory of the intellectual relations between Fleury and England. We have recalled the evidence of the explicit mentions contained in the (mainly narrative) written sources. We have also seen what the manuscripts and the texts copied in them can teach us about these relations. It is quite clear that much research remains to be done before any conclusions drawn from these disparate sources can be expected to render more than provisional hypotheses. Some suggestions for further research may be made. We have seen how these relations form part of wider monastic and intellectual networks. We need therefore

<sup>111</sup> BF 1486 (fols 165–79) and BF 159 respectively.

<sup>112</sup> See M. L. Cameron, *Anglo-Saxon Medicine* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006) on the manuscripts of the poem.

to investigate also the relations of England with the other centres in this network. Indeed, the tenth-century manuscripts of Continental origin circulating in England seem to come from the North of France and Lotharingia rather than from the area of the Loire. This suggests that the stress on Fleury may on reflection prove to be misguided. More work needs also to be done on the relations between Fleury and the Insular world before the tenth century. And finally the tradition of the texts available in tenth-century England needs to be investigated, to find out whether a text copied in England did or did not use a Continental exemplar, from Fleury, Corbie, Gent, Gorze, or elsewhere. Clearly, the present paper offers nothing more than a renewed reconnaissance of a territory which seems well known already — but in years to come may yield many surprises nevertheless.

Universiteit Utrecht

## Part II

### Kingship, Royal Models, and Dynastic Strategies





# ‘THE KING FROM OVERSEAS’: WHY DID ÆTHELSTAN MATTER IN TENTH-CENTURY CONTINENTAL AFFAIRS?

Veronica Ortenberg

According to the tenth-century chronicler Flodoard, Æthelstan, king of Wessex (924–39), was ‘the king from overseas’.<sup>1</sup> In the early twelfth century William of Malmesbury wrote of him:

This explains why the whole of Europe sang his praises and extolled his merits to the sky; kings of other nations, not without reason, thought themselves fortunate if they could buy his friendship either by family alliances or by gifts.<sup>2</sup>

Was this a case of William of Malmesbury’s hyperbole? How far did it correspond with the reality of Æthelstan’s reign, the perception of him by his contemporaries, and his own perception of his role in Continental politics?

Æthelstan’s Carolingian heritage had its origins in the mid-ninth century. The story of Æthelwulf’s marriage in 856 to Judith, Charles the Bald’s daughter, and its implications, notably in terms of Judith’s anointing and coronation in West Francia prior to her arrival in England, with an English coronation *ordo* adapted by Hincmar, are familiar.<sup>3</sup> A great deal has been made, justifiably, of the impact of

<sup>1</sup> ‘Alstanus rex [...] a transmarinis regionibus’: Flodoard (Lauer), p. 63 (*s.a.* 936); subsequent references will be both to this edition, and to Flodoard (Fanning-Bachrach).

<sup>2</sup> ‘Propter hæc tota Europa laudes eius predicabat, uirtutem in cælum ferebat: felices se reges alienigenæ non falso putabant si uel affinitate uel muneribus eius amicitias mercarentur’; Malmesbury, *GRA*, I, 215–16.

<sup>3</sup> *The Annals of St Bertin*, trans. by Janet L. Nelson (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1991), pp. 83, 86, and 97; *Alfred the Great: Asser’s Life of King Alfred and Other Contemporary Sources*, trans. by Simon Keynes and Michael Lapidge (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1983), pp. 69–71 and 73; Janet L. Nelson, ‘The Earliest English *Ordo*: Some Liturgical and Historical

Judith's charisma on that account, and the way in which the West Saxon kings used this first link with the Carolingian dynasty, especially Æthelwulf's son Æthelbald, who was so aware of it that, rather than lose it on his father's death, he married his widowed stepmother himself in the teeth of ecclesiastical opposition.<sup>4</sup> Judith was anything but just a symbolically important figure: she was given land in England as her dower (which she later relinquished), witnessed charters with Æthelwulf, and sat next to him on the throne.

But Judith, apart from her probable entourage of Franks and her own impact as a learned Carolingian royal, was also very likely to have been closely involved with Alfred, the future King of Wessex. As an older teenager, she was closer in age to Alfred, then a young teenager, by the time she left England after her second husband's death in 860, than to either of her husbands. And Alfred had been to West Francia and stayed at court there. It would be surprising if, equipped with the knowledge of Carolingian rule derived from his visits to Charles the Bald's court, his father's attempts at imitating that court, including his use of a Frankish secretary,<sup>5</sup> and the presence of Judith at his father's and then brother's court, Alfred had not seen, understood, and wanted to use the Carolingian model of kingship. We know indeed to what extent he did so, for example through his deliberately created parallels with Charlemagne's biography by Einhard and those of Louis the Pious by Thegan and the Astronomer, in his own official biography by Asser, and also in the way in which he deliberately continued the kinship with the Carolingians through the marriage of his daughter Ælfthryth to Baldwin II, the son of Judith and of the Count of Flanders Baldwin I.<sup>6</sup> Their sons and Æthelstan's cousins,

Aspects', in *Authority and Power: Studies in Medieval Law and Government Presented to Walter Ullmann*, ed. by B. Tierney and P. Lineham (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980), pp. 29–48, repr. in Nelson, *PREME*, pp. 341–60 (pp. 351–53); see also Pauline Stafford, 'Charles the Bald, Judith and England', in *Charles the Bald: Court and Kingdom*, ed. by Margaret Gibson, Janet L. Nelson, and David Ganz, 2nd edn (Aldershot: Variorum, 1990), pp. 139–53; and M. J. Enright, 'Charles the Bald and Æthelwulf of Wessex: The Alliance of 856 and Strategies of Royal Succession', *Journal of Medieval History*, 5 (1979), 291–302.

<sup>4</sup> Enright, 'Charles the Bald', p. 297; Stafford, 'Charles the Bald', pp. 144–47 and 151–52.

<sup>5</sup> *The Letters of Lupus of Ferrières*, ed. and trans. by G. W. Regenos (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1966), p. 104 (no. 85); Stafford, 'Charles the Bald', p. 140 and n. 8.

<sup>6</sup> Æthelweard, *Chronicle*, p. 2; Malmesbury, *GRA*, pp. 218–19; on this, see Philip Grierson, 'The Relations between England and Flanders before the Norman Conquest', *TRHS*, 4th ser., 23 (1941), 71–112 (pp. 85–88); and S. M. Sharp, 'England, Europe and the Celtic World: King Æthelstan's Foreign Policy', *Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library*, 79 (1997), 197–220 (pp. 202–06).

Arnulf and Adelolf (a Continental Germanic form of Æthelwulf), had names which reflected a whole ideological programme: Adelolf was named after his English grandfather Æthelwulf, while the elder, Arnulf, was given the name of the founding figure of the Carolingian dynasty. Finally, Alfred's use of Carolingian symbolism, which he had been introduced to when he had been consecrated in some way by the pope in Rome when a child of between four and six years old, a ceremony which he subsequently made Asser in his biography associate as closely as he could with Charlemagne's anointing at a similarly young age in 754 by the then pope under the aegis of his father Pippin, was taken up one step further when Alfred chose to replicate it through investing his grandson Æthelstan, at that same age, with a scarlet cloak, a belt with jewels, and a sword with a golden scabbard.<sup>7</sup>

Moreover, Alfred, himself a particularly learned king, obviously brought up his son Edward to think of kingship in association with learning, which Edward, if mostly a soldier-king himself, at least acted on in the education of all his daughters<sup>8</sup> (a very important point for later events), and ultimately in that of Æthelstan himself, brought up by another strong woman, Æthelflæd, at the Mercian court — which I still believe to have happened despite Dumville's determination to prove that William of Malmesbury was unreliable.<sup>9</sup> Pauline Stafford has made a good point about the somewhat different approach towards women in power, that is, queens, in Mercia on the one hand, where they were happily acknowledged as effective rulers, as Æthelstan's cousin the daughter of Æthelflæd was, and in Wessex on the other, where they were still in the background.<sup>10</sup> Æthelstan, brought up in Mercia and possibly becoming king in opposition to the Wessex Establishment, would have been much more used to the idea of such forceful governing women.

<sup>7</sup> 'Clausula de unctione Pippini', trans. in P. E. Dutton, *Carolingian Civilization: A Reader* (Peterborough, ON: Broadview, 1993), p. 12; Malmesbury, *GRA*, pp. 210–11.

<sup>8</sup> Malmesbury, *GRA*, pp. 200–01.

<sup>9</sup> Malmesbury, *GRA*, pp. 210–11; D. N. Dumville, 'Between Alfred the Great and Edgar the Peacemaker: Æthelstan, First King of the English', in his *Wessex and England from Alfred to Edgar: Six Essays on Political, Cultural and Ecclesiastical Revival* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1992), pp. 141–71 (p. 146); against which, see Michael Wood, 'The Making of King Æthelstan's Empire: An English Charlemagne?', in *Ideal and Reality in Frankish and Anglo-Saxon Society: Studies Presented to J. M. Wallace Hadrill*, ed. by P. Wormald, D. Bullough, and R. Collins (Oxford: Blackwell, 1983), pp. 250–72 (pp. 265–66).

<sup>10</sup> Stafford, 'Charles the Bald', pp. 147–49; Pauline Stafford, 'The King's Wife in Wessex, 800–1066', *PP*, 91 (1981), 3–27; and Stafford, *Queens, Concubines and Dowagers: The King's Wife in the Early Middle Ages* (London: Batsford Academic and Educational, 1983); see also J. L. Nelson, 'A King Across the Sea: Alfred in Continental Perspective', *TRHS*, 5th ser., 36 (1986), 45–68.

The Carolingian ideological model had obviously been well understood by at least two of his half-sisters, Eadgifu and Edith, which turned out to be essential for them later on.<sup>11</sup>

The soil of Carolingian association was thus already a rich and fertile one by the time Æthelstan became king. Its manifestations in his reign are well known. First, we have his acknowledged personal learning (whichever text one follows, William of Malmesbury's claimed tenth-century source or John the West Saxon's account)<sup>12</sup> and keenness to bring together a learned court on the model of Alfred's, itself modelled on Charles the Bald's. Next comes his coronation with anointment, which he presumably had performed to enhance as much as possible the parallel between his own rule and Carolingian traditions. It was all the more important to do so since, like Charlemagne, Æthelstan had also been born to his father before the latter became king.<sup>13</sup> Æthelstan's titulature in charters and in his coinage from at least 931 and possibly earlier, 'rex totius Britanniae' at its most restrained, 'regnum totius Albionis auctore dispensans' or 'rex Anglorum, per omnipatrantis dexteram totius Britanniae regni solo sublimatus', with its insistence on the *imperium*, the rule over the whole of Britain and its other princes, becomes, significantly, more and more unified in a consistent formulation of titles, revealing the existence of the nucleus of a royal chancery around the king.<sup>14</sup>

Æthelstan's impetus for the holding of national unifying councils and his large body of legislation, which would have brought together personnel from all the separate sub-kingdoms of his realm,<sup>15</sup> had two purposes. One was to provide for the order and social regulations of relations throughout his domain, in the way that Carolingian councils and capitularies had done, even as far as to firm up the administrative structure of shires and sheriffs, comparable to that of counts and counties. The second purpose was to highlight the unity of *Brittania* (*monarchia totius*

<sup>11</sup> See below, pp. 219, 230, 232.

<sup>12</sup> Malmesbury, *GRA*, pp. 210–13; Michael Lapidge, 'Some Latin Poems as Evidence for the Reign of Æthelstan', *ASE*, 9 (1981), 72–98.

<sup>13</sup> Michael Wood, 'Æthelstan', in *In Search of the Dark Ages*, rev. edn (London: British Broadcasting Corporation, 2001), pp. 127 and 131–33.

<sup>14</sup> C. E. Blunt, 'The Coinage of Æthelstan, King of England, 924–39', *British Numismatic Journal*, 42 (1974), 35–158 (pp. 55–56); Wood, 'The Making', pp. 253–59; Dumville, 'Between Alfred', pp. 149–50 and 153–54.

<sup>15</sup> Frank Merry Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, Oxford History of England, 2, 3rd edn (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971), pp. 352–54; Dumville, 'Between Alfred', pp. 147–48, 151–54, 169–70; Wormald, *MEL*, pp. 290–308; Wood, 'Æthelstan', pp. 137–39.

*Brittaniæ*), notably in Northumbria, where he used, in manuscripts such as CCCC, MS 183, all the influence and power of Bede to remind everyone of the golden age and unity of the original Anglo-Saxon people.<sup>16</sup> Æthelstan's grants of bookland throughout the whole of his kingdom were intended to support this drive for unity, but, above all, the most effective and centralizing of his policies in that respect was his reform of the mints and his tight control over them and the coinage.<sup>17</sup> Coins, for the first time, show the king wearing a crown (not a helmet or diadem), at first in London and Mercia, but gradually extending over most of Britain,<sup>18</sup> and this was all part and parcel of the widespread campaign of dissemination of the king's royal image as the coins passed from hand to hand, abroad as well as in England. The iconography is entirely similar to Æthelstan's portrait in CCCC, MS 183 (Figure 27), a portrait which has clear parallels with those of Charles the Bald and Lothar in the Carolingian dedication scenes of several manuscripts.<sup>19</sup>

Æthelstan's ideology is entirely consistent with the image, not only of Carolingian kings, but also emperors, indeed in his styling in a manuscript inscription as 'basileus et curagulus', with the titles of the Byzantine emperor.<sup>20</sup> And this was not just wishful thinking on his part: the perception of Æthelstan as emperor by his neighbours can be seen, for example, from King Harald of Norway's gift to him of a sumptuous Viking ship with a purple sail (the imperial colour).<sup>21</sup> Michael Wood coined the phrase 'an English Charlemagne' for Æthelstan, the king later called by William of Malmesbury 'Aethelstanus Magnus', and I could not agree more in

<sup>16</sup> Simon Keynes, 'King Æthelstan's Books', in *LLASE*, pp. 143–201 (pp. 180–81); David Rollason, 'St Cuthbert and Wessex: The Evidence of Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS. 183', pp. 413–24, and L. Simpson, 'The King Æthelstan/St Cuthbert Episode in the *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto*: Its Significance for Mid-Tenth-Century English History', pp. 397–411, both in *St Cuthbert, his Cult and his Community to AD 1200*, ed. by G. Bonner, D. Rollason, and C. Stancliffe (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1989).

<sup>17</sup> Wood, 'Æthelstan', pp. 138–39; Dumville, 'Between Alfred', pp. 151–54.

<sup>18</sup> Blunt, 'Coinage of Athelstan', pp. 47–48, 55–56, 62, and 115.

<sup>19</sup> Wood, 'The Making', pp. 268–69; Rollason, 'St Cuthbert', pp. 420–21; Keynes, 'King Æthelstan's Books', pp. 149 and 174.

<sup>20</sup> These occur in BL, MS Cotton Tiberius A II, a gospel-book of the late ninth or early tenth century, possibly produced at Lobbes in Germany and probably given to Æthelstan by Otto I during one of his embassies. When Æthelstan later offered this book to Christ Church Canterbury, an inscription was added: 'Aedelstan Anglorum basyleos et curagulus totius Bryttaniae [gave this manuscript]'; Keynes, 'King Æthelstan's Books', pp. 147–53 (p. 149).

<sup>21</sup> Malmesbury, *GRA*, pp. 216–17.



Figure 27. King Æthelstan and St Cuthbert. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 183, fol. 1<sup>v</sup>. Reproduced with permission.

terms of his description of the cultural and ideological connections which make Æthelstan so.<sup>22</sup>

What I would like to propose in this paper is that, over and above these connections, Æthelstan, through his numerous family links, both was perceived by Continental rulers as and up to a point perceived himself to be a Carolingian. Since I shall argue that this informs much of his policy, we need to look in detail at the way in which these family connections brought him into the family and political networks of West Francia, Flanders, and Germany. I shall leave aside here, for lack of space, the Breton connections, which have already been well discussed by others.<sup>23</sup>

The Carolingian connections of English kings, from those of Charlemagne and Offa to those of Alfred and his contemporaries on the Continent, have been previously discussed.<sup>24</sup> If one looks first at the marriage of Edward the Elder's daughter Eadgifu with Charles the Simple,<sup>25</sup> which was the first strand in the Æthelstan 'network' since Eadgifu was Æthelstan's half-sister, one may well be thinking that one understands why the King of Wessex might have wanted to give his daughter in marriage to the Carolingian King of West Francia, but wonder why it was that the latter and his family should have chosen an English princess. Traditionally the answer has often been that there was a common interest and anti-Viking policies on both sides of the Channel at a time when both kingdoms were repeatedly under attack. This is no doubt plausible, especially if looked at in the light of the difficulty of ensuring that military success in one kingdom would not produce an immediate Viking attack on the other, whichever was perceived as the weakest at that moment.<sup>26</sup> Another answer, and one much more likely to be correct, would be the continuously rising prestige of the English kings through Offa, Ecgberht, and Alfred, and the advantages of an alliance with the West Saxon royal family, by then the oldest royal line (*stirps regia*) in Europe, at least in terms of the way it

<sup>22</sup> Wood, 'Æthelstan', pp. 136–39, and 'The Making', pp. 250–72.

<sup>23</sup> Caroline Brett, 'A Breton Pilgrim in England in the Reign of King Æthelstan: A Letter in British Library MS.Cotton Tiberius A.xv', in *France and the British Isles in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance: Essays by Members of Girton College, Cambridge in Memory of Ruth Morgan*, ed. by G. Jondorf and D. N. Dumville (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1991), pp. 43–70; Sharp, 'England, Europe', pp. 199–202.

<sup>24</sup> In, for example, Nelson, 'King across the Sea'; see also Joanna E. Storey, *Carolingian Connections: Anglo-Saxon England and Carolingian Francia, c. 750–870* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003).

<sup>25</sup> Flodoard (s.a. 926); Æthelweard, *Chronicle* p. 2; Malmesbury, *GRA*, pp. 198–99.

<sup>26</sup> Enright, 'Charles the Bald', pp. 291–93.

repeatedly highlighted its own ancestry (Asser is an example of this). What had been hitherto too uneven a match, which was why Charlemagne had not accepted Offa's request for the hand of one of his daughters for his son, had become entirely acceptable in terms of the worthiness of the Wessex dynasty by the time of Edward: it was the Wessex family which had risen in prestige, while the Carolingians had become less powerful. This was all the more the case because, since Æthelwulf, the West Saxon dynasty had intermarried repeatedly with the Carolingians, through Judith's two English marriages and subsequently through that of Alfred's daughter with Judith's son, so that the two families were already kin. The choice of bride for Charles the Simple (already married and having produced several daughters but no son with his soon-to-be-repudiated queen Frederuna) was becoming limited. There were few women of sufficiently high status with Carolingian blood, who were not already associated with rival relationships (*parentelae*). The East Frankish kings were members of a new dynasty, the Liudolfings, which had emerged after the last Carolingian ruler of East Francia, Louis the Child, had died childless in 911. Any other marriageable women of suitable status from the houses of Vermandois, Burgundy, the Robertians, and so on had the drawback that they were members of the very families of the great magnates that Charles was trying to control, and would have thus obtained a considerable advantage in their own eyes and in that of their rivals through marriage with a Carolingian king. Such an outcome was clearly to be avoided for the Carolingians. It may seem obvious therefore that the best option was a royal princess from the well-respected, powerful, and kingworthy (through its Germanic descent and previous Carolingian alliances) family of Wessex. The alliance would bring reflected glory on Charles, be understood even by Frankish magnates as being superior to that with another aristocratic family from West Francia, and would not allow any of these families access to the Carolingian bloodline. A clever strategy which kept all the aces in Charles's hands!

Through this marriage, Æthelstan, who was already related to the Carolingians through his cousin, Arnulf, count of Flanders,<sup>27</sup> became even more closely enmeshed in the Carolingian network of kinship. In terms of Continental politics, the marriage of Eadgifu made him also related to the family of Heribert of Vermandois, which was one of the two main rising powers in West Francia in the first half of the tenth century, and which also claimed Carolingian descent from Charlemagne via his son Pippin, king of Italy, and then through his son, Bernard of Italy.<sup>28</sup> And this

<sup>27</sup> See above at note 6.

<sup>28</sup> For accounts of these events, see, for example, Rosamond McKitterick, *The Frankish Kingdoms under the Carolingians, 751–987* (London: Longman, 1983), pp. 310–24; Jean Dunbabin,



is where Æthelstan’s policy of creating opportunities, when he had at first only used them when they presented themselves, to become ever more closely entwined with Continental politics which involved his kin comes into focus. In addition to giving his half-sister Edith to be married in 929–30 to Otto, the son of the King of Germany, Henry,<sup>29</sup> of which more later, Æthelstan was asked for the hand of his sister Eadhild in 926 by Hugh of Neustria, the other great force in the politics of the kingdom together with Heribert of Vermandois and Arnulf of Flanders.<sup>30</sup> It is certainly no coincidence that Hugh should have immediately followed suit, only a few years after Charles the Simple had married Eadgifu, and effectively declared his ambition in the direction of the West Frankish throne, admittedly not immediate but in terms of the future of the family, by an alliance with the West Saxon king, and through him also to the Carolingian kin. By the time Edith had married Otto, Æthelstan was further related to the remaining two powerful families in West Francia and Burgundy. Another of his sisters, Ælfgifu (*Adiva* or *Adelana* in Continental Germanic forms), was married to a ‘duke near the Alps’ or ‘king’, who has been said to have been either Louis, brother of King Rudolph of Burgundy, or possibly the future Conrad the Peaceable, king of Burgundy from 937.<sup>31</sup> If so, Ælfgifu would have been the mother of Gisela, who married Henry the Quarrelsome, duke of Bavaria, and, through their son the future Henry II, she would have been the ancestress of the Salian dynasty of German emperors.

*France in the Making, 843–1180* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), pp. 95–98; and Timothy Reuter, *Germany in the Early Middle Ages, 800–1056* (London: Longman, 1991), pp. 148–74.

<sup>29</sup> See below at note 62.

<sup>30</sup> McKitterick, *Frankish Kingdoms*, pp. 305–39; Dunbabin, *France*, pp. 44–100; and Sharp, ‘England, Europe’, pp. 206–08; for Hugh’s marriage, see *Flodoard* (s.a. 926); Æthelweard, *Chronicle*, p. 2; Malmesbury, *GRA*, pp. 200–01.

<sup>31</sup> Æthelweard, *Chronicle*, p. 2; Malmesbury, *GRA*, pp. 200–01; Hrotsvitha’s *Gesta Ottonis*, repr. in B. Hill, *Medieval Monarchy in Action: The German Empire from Henry I to Henry IV* (London: Allen and Unwin, 1972), p. 123. On her name, and marriage, see R. G. Poole, ‘The Alpine Son-in-Law of Edward the Elder’, in *Studies in Chronology and History*, ed. by A. L. Poole (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1934), pp. 119–20, favouring Conrad, and Karl Leyser, ‘Die Ottonen und Wessex’ (1983), 73–97 (English translation, ‘The Ottonians and Wessex’, in Leyser, *CPME*, pp. 73–104 (at pp. 86–87)), who argues for Louis of Burgundy. Philip Nathaniel Cronenwett, ‘*Basileos Anglorum*: A Study of the Life and Reign of King Æthelstan of England, 924–939’ (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Massachusetts Amherst, 1975), pp. 99–100, argues quite convincingly for the Conrad hypothesis, on grounds of age and geography.

Finally, there may have been a further sister, also called Eadgifu the Younger (or Eadgiva), who was married to a certain 'Duke Louis of the Aquitanians', sometimes identified with Louis the Blind, descendant of Boso and Ermengard, daughter of Louis II, king of Italy and Provence, and a Carolingian emperor deposed in 901, whose first wife was the daughter of the Byzantine Emperor and his second that of the King of Burgundy.<sup>32</sup> This identification, however, poses chronological problems, and in any case the alliance may seem rather an unlikely one to have been formed, since nothing else was said about it in Continental sources and would no doubt have been more widely recorded had it really existed.<sup>33</sup> There was no 'duke of the Aquitanians' called Louis, but the duchy of Aquitaine itself was essentially made up of Auvergne and Poitou, counties which had their own ruling families of counts. According to which was the most powerful, their members took turns to use the title of 'duke of Aquitaine'. It is therefore possible that the younger Eadgifu married one of the counts of Poitou, for example William, who had become Duke of Aquitaine in 935; thus William of Malmesbury got the title right but the name wrong.<sup>34</sup> This possibility is further strengthened by William of Aquitaine's readiness to support, twice, the person who would, had he or his father married Æthelstan's sister, have been his cousin, that is, Louis IV, son of Charles the Simple and Eadgifu.<sup>35</sup> The counts of Poitou too were descended from a Carolingian, through an ancestor who had married one of Louis the Pious's daughters. A third possibility has been suggested by Hlawitschka, namely that this sister and the sister discussed in the previous paragraph as having married into the Burgundian family were in fact one and the same, and that the husband was indeed Louis, brother of Rudolph of Burgundy. In Hlawitschka's view, the English writers misread his title 'rex

<sup>32</sup> McKitterick, *Frankish Kingdoms*, p. 356.

<sup>33</sup> Poole, 'Alpine', p. 117 n. 2; Malmesbury, *GRA*, pp. 200–01 and 218–19.

<sup>34</sup> Poole's argument relies on an entry by Adhémar de Chabannes in the earlier version of his Chronicle; see *Adémar de Chabannes: Chronique*, ed. by J. Chavanon (Paris: A. Picard, 1897), p. 143, n. 3, though Adela was in the later one the daughter of the Duke of Normandy. If Edgiva and Adela are two different women (as is likely to be the case) then this marriage must have been a first, and short, one for the Count of Poitou. There is as yet no consensus about the two princesses, though Sarah Foot, in this volume, has suggested that they may have been just one person, who married a prince that William of Malmesbury (wrongly) thought to have been Louis of Aquitaine. Once again, it is a matter of deciding whether to trust William's very precise details, or assume that he must have been mistaken on several counts. Cronenwett, '*Basileos Anglorum*', pp. 94–95, favours William of Aquitaine.

<sup>35</sup> *Flodoard* (s.a. 942 and 951); *Richer* (Latouche), I, 168–69, 214–15, and 288–91.

Alamannorum' as 'rex Aquitaniurum' which they interpreted as 'duke of Aquitaine'.<sup>36</sup> No final agreement has been reached on this, though William of Aquitaine and Conrad of Burgundy's involvement as helpers for Louis could be suggestive of especially close family ties such as those of uncle and nephew.

At any rate, by the early 930s Æthelstan was thus related to every major aristocratic family vying for power in West Francia: he was the cousin of Arnulf of Flanders, the brother-in-law of the late Charles the Simple and now uncle to the current Carolingian king Louis IV, brother-in-law to Hugh the Great and possibly to Conrad of Burgundy and to the Duke of Aquitaine. More importantly, through these alliances, he was related in at least six different ways to the Carolingian family, seven if one counts Charles the Simple's daughter's marriage with Rollo of Normandy.<sup>37</sup> He could be said to have been closer than men like Heribert of Vermandois, Conrad of Burgundy, William of Aquitaine, or William of Normandy to the heart of the Carolingian family, while men like Hugh the Great or Hugh the Black, duke of Burgundy, had a much more tenuous link with it. Through their marriages to Edith and Eadhild, Otto, future king of Germany, and Hugh the Great, the two major contenders for power within the old Carolingian Empire who had no Carolingian ancestry, acquired such an ancestry, as well as plugging into this Carolingian network of power, including making themselves relatives of Louis IV. Allying themselves with Æthelstan meant all that, as well as becoming associated with the most successful military leader and king of the day, the only one to express in his policies the reality of Carolingian-style emperorship (*imperium*). Above all, for Otto and Hugh, it meant acquiring a brother-in-law, Æthelstan, who was the most powerful ruler in Europe.

Æthelstan, of course, was that, and more besides. He had formidable firepower in the form of an army which had repeatedly defeated the Vikings, and especially

<sup>36</sup> E. Hlawitschka, 'Die verwandschaftliche Verbindungen zwischen dem hochburgundischen und der niederburgundischen Könighaus: Zugleich ein Beitrag zur Geschichte Burgunds in der ersten Hälfte des zehnten Jahrhunderts', in *Grundwissenschaften und Geschichte, Festschrift für Peter Acht*, ed. by W. Schlögl and P. Herde, Münchener Historische Studien, Abteilung Geschichtliche Hilfswissenschaften, 15 (Kallmünz: Michael Lassleben, 1976), pp. 28–57 (pp. 50–57).

<sup>37</sup> On all these marriages, see, for example, V. Ortenberg, 'Aux périphéries du monde carolingien: liens dynastiques et nouvelles fidélités dans le royaume anglo-saxon', in *La Royauté et les élites laïques et ecclésiastiques dans l'Europe carolingienne (du début du IX<sup>e</sup> siècle aux environs de 920): Actes du Colloque organisé par le Centre d'Histoire de la Région du Nord et de l'Europe du Nord-Ouest*, ed. by Régine Le Jan (Lille: Presses Universitaires de Lille, 1998), pp. 505–17 (pp. 505–11); a good set of genealogical tables can be found in McKitterick, *Frankish Kingdoms*, pp. 354–67, and for England, in Sharp, 'England, Europe', p. 203, fig. 8.

of a fleet whose reputation was well known.<sup>38</sup> The reigning family of Wessex had known increasing military success since the 870s and had regained England from the Danes. Even before his victory at 'the great battle', that of *Brunanburh*, Æthelstan's greatness was much admired by foreign kings as well as by his own people; but it was bravery in battle and success in warfare that gained him the reputation for 'implanting the nations around him with dread' and 'instilling terror into all enemies of the fatherland', so much so that he ruled 'by terror of his name alone'. Wessex kings carried an aura of power and success, which made them increasingly powerful in the 920s, while most other Continental houses were in military trouble and engaged in internecine warfare.<sup>39</sup> While the civil wars and the Viking attacks on the Continent had spelled out the end of the unity of the Carolingian empire, which had already disintegrated into separate kingdoms, military successes had enabled Æthelstan to triumph at home and to attempt to go beyond the reputation of a great heroic dynasty of warrior kings, in order to develop a Carolingian ideology of kingship. He had learnt early on how to think of kingship in the ideological terms which the early Carolingians had developed and had transmitted to the Wessex kings through Judith and her coronation and through Alfred and his consecration in Rome as a child. Alfred had 'invested' Æthelstan at an early age, and the various ideological supports of this emperorship (*imperium*) claimed by Æthelstan were fully in operation through the creation of a learned court, church reform, accumulation of relics, legislation, administration, and coinage. This was happening even as Continental nostalgia and desire for an imperial revival seemed to have no other possible expression than in the emperorship (*imperium*), the hegemony, of the King of England over all his other subject rulers. Despite the generally accepted non-royal origin of his mother, and his own birth 'not in the purple', he was regarded as not only of a noble and indisputably pure and ancient royal line (*stirps regia*), but he was also increasingly interrelated to the Carolingian family.

Indeed he was clearly treated as the new Charlemagne when Hugh, in the course of his embassy to ask for the hand of Eadhild (led by Æthelstan's cousin Adelolf of Boulogne), gave Æthelstan not only fabulous gifts of jewelry but also relics of the Cross and the Crown of Thorns embedded into the sword of Constantine, the banner of St Maurice which Charlemagne was believed to have carried in battle in Spain, and finally and most symbolically, the spear of Charlemagne, said

<sup>38</sup> Wood, 'Æthelstan', pp. 133–37 and 140–48.

<sup>39</sup> Sharp, 'England, Europe', pp. 197–99.

to have been that of Longinus which pierced the side of Christ on the Cross.<sup>40</sup> This was an obvious acknowledgment of the status of Æthelstan as more than just the powerful West Saxon king, but as a descendant of the Carolingians and a full member of the Carolingian affinity (*affinitas*). Above all, the nature of these relics shows a perception that there had been a *translatio imperii*, a transmission of Charlemagne's emperorship (*imperium*) and power (*virtus*) to Æthelstan.<sup>41</sup> In the manuscript most closely associated with Æthelstan, the psalter now BL, MS Cotton Galba A XVIII (Figures 28–29), two images are clearly meant to recall at least the main relic given to him by Hugh the Great in the 926 embassy, the lance of Longinus. These two scenes, of Christ holding the Cross with the instruments of His Passion and of Christ showing His wounds, were unusual iconographic representations at the time, and their appearance must certainly be related to the gift of the lance of Longinus.<sup>42</sup>

Æthelstan used some of the relics in battle against the pagan Danes, just as Charlemagne had done in Spain against the Muslims. He was only too conscious of his kinship with the Carolingians, as well as having learned to use the benefits of Carolingian royal ideology. But this was also a two-way traffic. Thus, for example, a German cleric celebrating Æthelstan's victory in 927 did so by reworking a ninth-century poem celebrating Charlemagne, and Lupus of Ferrières wrote to Æthelstan describing him in terms which could equally have been applied to Charlemagne as 'excelling in fame and honour all earthly kings of modern times' being an 'exaltor of the holy Church and a subduer of enemies'.<sup>43</sup>

This consciousness of belonging to the Carolingian affinity led Æthelstan to provide help for such members of this kin who asked for it, most famously Louis, who had been brought by his mother, Æthelstan's sister Eadgifu, back to the English Court when her husband, the King of West Francia, Charles the Simple, had been deposed. Louis, the future King Louis IV d'Outremer ('from across the sea'), grew up with Æthelstan and was eventually re-established with his help on the Frankish throne. Among other beneficiaries of Æthelstan's help was Arnulf of Flanders when he had had to remove his enemy Count Herluin of Boulogne and sent his family to Æthelstan's court for safekeeping.<sup>44</sup> But in the volatile context

<sup>40</sup> Malmesbury, *GRA*, pp. 218–21.

<sup>41</sup> Wood, 'The Making', pp. 266–70.

<sup>42</sup> Wood, 'The Making', pp. 267–68; Keynes, 'King Æthelstan's Books', p. 194 and refs.

<sup>43</sup> Wood, 'Æthelstan', p. 137.

<sup>44</sup> *Flodoard* (s.a. 939); *Richer* (Latouche), I, 124–33 and 146–47; Malmesbury, *GRA*, pp. 30–31.

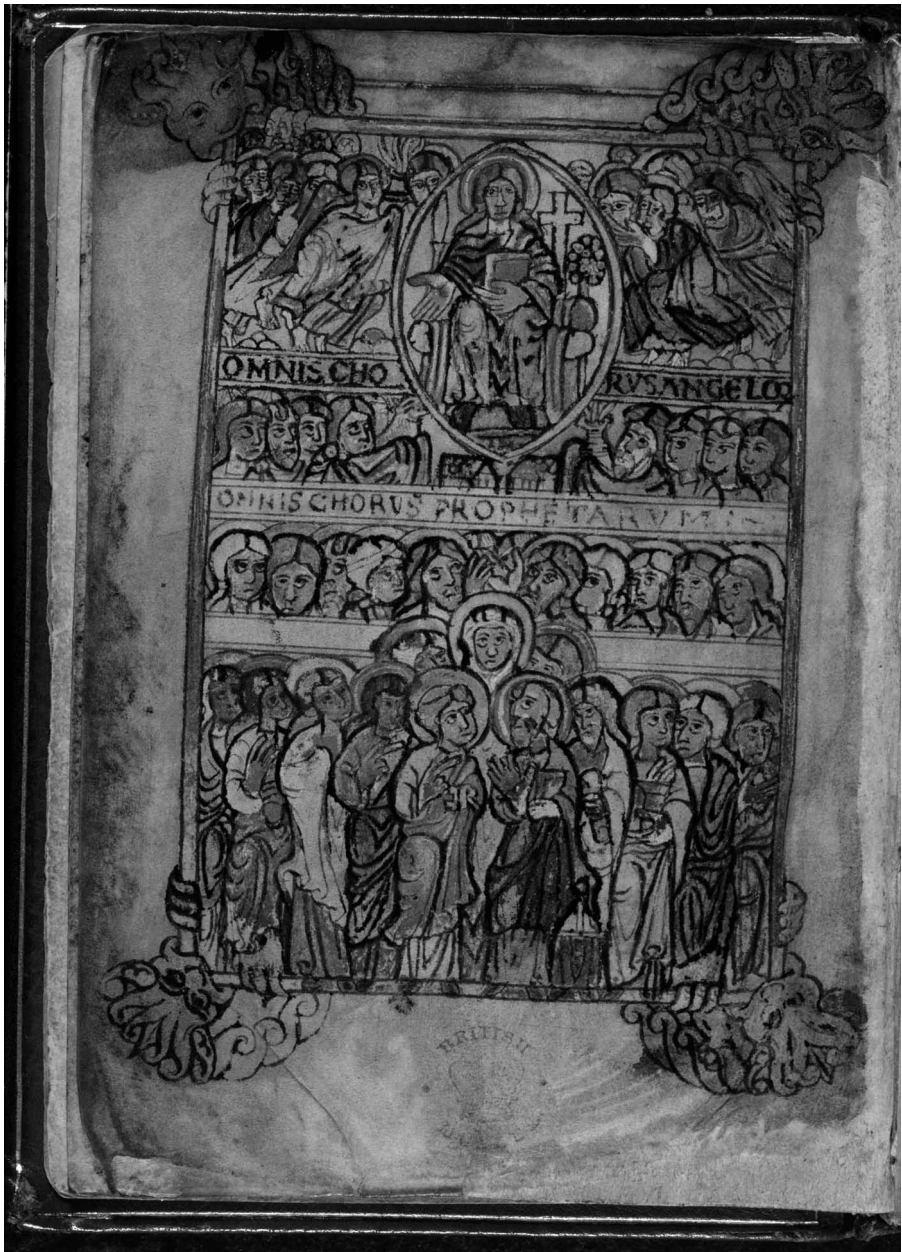


Figure 28. Last Judgement with Christ holding the instruments of His passion, the cross, spear, and sponge. London, British Library, MS Cotton Galba A XVIII, fol. 2<sup>v</sup>.  
Reproduced with permission.

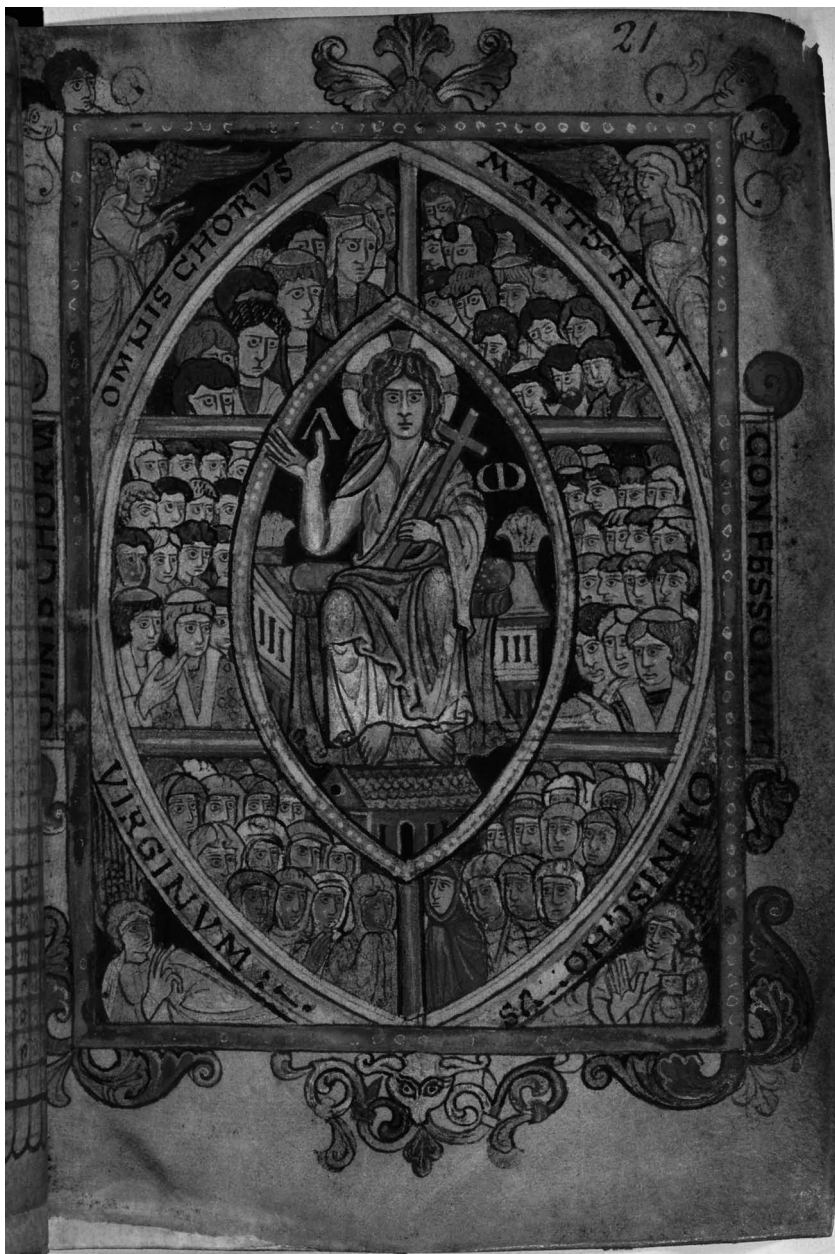


Figure 29. Christ showing his wounds, enthroned with martyrs, confessors, and virgins. London, British Library, MS Cotton Galba A XVIII, fol. 21'.

Reproduced with permission.

of the policies of the 930s, with this kind of background and willingness to involve himself in Continental politics, and with his army and fleet, what was there to say to Frankish princes that Æthelstan, only separated by a small bit of water, would not involve himself even further on the basis of his Carolingian family network and the implicit *translatio imperii*? Magnates like Hugh, Arnulf, Heribert, Hugh the Black, and even William Longsword, who had spent the years since at least 922 fighting each other, might have welcomed not only the return of the legitimate Carolingian Louis IV from England, since none of them would have been strong enough to triumph over the others in the royal stakes and none would have allowed any of the others to seize the crown. But they might also have seen the substitute Carolingian Æthelstan as the best guarantor and arbitrator in the conflicts and, at the very least, they would not have wanted to get on the wrong side of him but rather to keep him neutral.

Æthelstan's direct involvement in West Frankish policies can be said to have begun when his sister Eadgifu and her son Louis returned to Wessex in 923 and remained there until Hugh's embassy (with Æthelstan's Flemish cousin Arnulf, the Count of Flanders this time) in 936 managed, with some difficulty claims Richer, to convince the clearly concerned King that Frankish magnates were indeed asking for his grandson back and that the latter would be safe on his return.<sup>45</sup> Even then, Æthelstan prudently sent a special messenger to test the waters first and to reassure himself of their good faith, asking for guarantees and an oath of fidelity, probably requesting the princes physically to make an appearance on the French coast to give these, which would have enabled him to intervene militarily very fast to protect Louis should things not have gone according to plan.

They did go to plan, however, at least at first. Louis was crowned, possibly with a coronation *ordo* brought from England, perhaps the one written for the coronation of Edward the Elder's second wife Ælflæd,<sup>46</sup> and Louis and his mother took up residence in the only area of the fisc which was still part of the Carolingian possessions, which was around Laon.<sup>47</sup> But Hugh really wanted Louis back as king only as long as Louis was prepared to follow his advice which was to do what Hugh

<sup>45</sup> Flodoard (s.a. 936); Richer (Latouche), I, 126–33.

<sup>46</sup> J. L. Nelson, 'The Second English *Ordo*', in Nelson, *PREME*, p. 367.

<sup>47</sup> On the events of the 920s and 930s in Francia, see, for example, McKitterick, *Frankish Kingdoms*, chap. 12; Dunbabin, *France*, pp. 45–58, 63–74, and 89–98; and more specifically for the events of Louis's reign, P. Lauer, *Annales de l'histoire de France à l'époque carolingienne: le règne de Louis IV d'Outremer*, Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études, 127 (Paris: Émile Bouillon, 1900), pp. 11–75.



wanted. At first Louis did help Hugh win the upper hand in his fight against Hugh the Black in Burgundy, but soon Louis was becoming too independent and determined to follow his own policies which, understandably, involved keeping together and/or retrieving as much of the Carolingian kingdom as could be preserved, as his father had tried to do. Such policies involved recovering as much of the lost terrain as possible, and Louis focused his efforts on the northern and eastern parts of West Francia, trying to ensure fidelity from his main vassals in Flanders, Normandy, Brittany, and the Paris area, as well as maintaining at least the appearance of control through the confirmation of charters as far as the Spanish March and Aquitaine, and attempting whenever possible to assert his authority over Lotharingia. One such policy, for example, involved making an ally of Hugh the Black, against Hugh the Great's wishes.

Without going into the details of Louis IV's constantly changing alliances and his fighting with his main vassals, detailed by Flodoard and Richer, one can detect, broadly speaking, a pattern of (mostly) support from Hugh the Black in Burgundy, William of Aquitaine, who twice intervened to help Louis in 942 and 951, and Arnulf of Flanders — as opposed to (mostly) opposition from Hugh the Great and Heribert of Vermandois, when they were not at loggerheads with one another and prepared to use Louis as a pawn or hostage. Naturally, the main reason for these alliances was the fact that it was the lands of Hugh the Great and Heribert of Vermandois, and their authority, which Louis needed most to control, as being the heartland of the Carolingian fisc and former power-base, and the two magnates naturally resisted this. Heribert in particular was set on gaining the very heart of the remaining Carolingian power, Laon and the archiepiscopate of Reims. Nevertheless, it is interesting that help for Louis was more likely to come from his cousin Arnulf of Flanders and from his probable cousin William of Aquitaine, as well as from his allies in Burgundy and later in Lotharingia. In Arnulf, moreover, he had not only a cousin but an ally with whom he collaborated on economic grounds, as together they tried to rebuild the ports at Quentovic and Guînes in 938<sup>48</sup> to revive trade, though possibly also, for Louis, to keep his English link as active as possible for his own safety. This seems to imply that he already saw the threat posed by his Frankish vassals, and in fostering this link with England, he was considering the possibility that his uncle, King Æthelstan, might be able and willing to send his fleet and maybe even his army to support him in need. Hugh the Great was Louis's uncle by marriage, since his English wife, Eadhild, was the sister of Louis's mother.

<sup>48</sup> *Flodoard* (s.a. 939); *Richer* (Latouche), I, 140–41; see also Grierson, 'Relations', pp. 79 and 89.

Eadhild, however, died in 937, possibly at the very time when Louis was pushing away Hugh's 'protection' and advice in order to follow his own policies.

It has sometimes been suggested that Hugh the Great may have been 'anti-Carolingian' and that the sending of Charlemagne's relics to Æthelstan, with its implication of a *translatio imperii*, could in fact have been a way of removing the Carolingian mystique away from West Francia.<sup>49</sup> In view of the way in which Hugh, like Heribert of Vermandois, wanted to buy into the Carolingian prestige, this seems an anachronistic view. No one in the first half of the tenth century was anti-Carolingian since, with the minor accidents of the interruption of the line for military reasons, to all intents and purposes the Carolingians were the one and only royal family of West Francia and would continue to be perceived as such until at least the reign of Louis's son Lothar (954–86). The Vermandois family, descended directly from Charlemagne, and Heribert of Vermandois's grand embassies to Rome, as well as his pressure on Laon and the Carolingian heartland, were meant to bring him ever closer to the throne through an increasing imitation of Carolingian royal behaviour as well as a highlighting of his Carolingian family connections, until ultimately he pushed this so far as to marry in 951 a much older woman, Eadgifu, mother of Louis himself.<sup>50</sup> It was a way of pursuing the Carolingian kingship even further, since it meant that he had married the Carolingian king's mother. This was a definite blow to Louis, who immediately rejected his mother as queen, notably by removing two of the Carolingian lands traditionally assigned to the queen, the abbey of St Mary of Laon and the fisc at Antony, and giving them to his wife instead.<sup>51</sup>

From early on, Louis was increasingly looking towards the eastern lands of Lotharingia. He had been involved in Lotharingian politics, for example in 939 when the four Lotharingian princes, Duke Gislebert, Count Otto of Verdun, Count Isaac of Cambrai, and Count Theuderic of Holland, defected to him after having briefly flirted with Otto I.<sup>52</sup> After marrying Lotharingia's widowed Duchess Gerberga, who was also Otto I's sister, Louis continued to oscillate between alliances with Otto I when necessary and attempts to recover Lotharingia for the

<sup>49</sup> Sharp, 'England, Europe', p. 207; also Cronenwett, '*Basileos Anglorum*', p. 82.

<sup>50</sup> Flodoard, (s.a. 951); Richer (Latouche), I, 104–07; on the politics of the Vermandois, see McKitterick, *Frankish Kingdoms*, pp. 310–13.

<sup>51</sup> Flodoard (s.a. 951); Richer (Latouche), I, 292–93; Lauer, *Annales de l'histoire de France*, p. 220.

<sup>52</sup> Flodoard (s.a. 939); Richer (Latouche), I, 152–53.

Carolingians whenever this appeared possible. It may be that Louis’s change of orientation in his policies of alliance with Otto and the important role taken on by Gerberga were enough to irritate Eadgifu, who saw her daughter-in-law as increasingly dictating her husband’s policy in such a way as to turn it away from West Francia. This, in turn, led her, Eadgifu, to attempt to regain power via another Carolingian on the sidelines, if it is correct that she married Heribert of Vermandois for that reason — by then Otto was no longer married to her sister Edith, who had died, and the German kingdom of East Francia was rising fast. Louis was supported in his Lotharingian policies by Æthelstan, who sent a fleet to help him out when he heard that Louis was in difficulties with Otto,<sup>53</sup> even though Otto had also been his brother-in-law and his cousin Arnulf of Flanders supported Otto. Despite the fact that his involvement in Continental politics was wide, Æthelstan stuck to his agreement in this instance to support the nephew he had brought up and helped to regain the throne.

Of the famous naval expedition of 939 brief discussion at least is required. Modern interpretations of this, the first ever expedition in European history to have the English fleet cross the Channel to become enmeshed in Continental politics, are completely at variance with each other. The three most common are the following:

- 1) The fleet was powerless, did nothing but pillage the lands of the Count of Flanders and then went home without having achieved its objective (though it is not clear what this was). This is based on Flodoard’s account.
- 2) The fleet returned without doing anything because the leaders found out that they had been misinformed and that there was no rebellion with which to deal. This is based on Richer’s account.
- 3) The expedition took place just a few months before Æthelstan’s death, he did not really direct it, and he was not really involved anyway.

All of these are possible, or none (3 seems the least likely).

One could perhaps suggest another two possibilities. The first is that the presence of the fleet would have been known by Æthelstan to be sufficient as a threat and a deterrent, though possibly it exceeded its brief. The second is that, whilst not planning to involve or attack Arnulf’s lands, Æthelstan might have seen this opportunity as one of greater involvement in Continental affairs, though he himself died too soon after for it to have had any effect.

<sup>53</sup> *Flodoard* (s.a. 939); *Richer* (Latouche), I, 152–53.

The expedition had the unfortunate result of alienating Arnulf, though he may have already been somewhat annoyed since monks from the monastery of Saint-Bertin in his County of Flanders, refusing the changes brought to their abbey by his delegate, had by then already taken refuge at Bath with Æthelstan's agreement.<sup>54</sup> But, and this could only confirm to what extent Æthelstan's influence, let alone the threat of his fleet, was considerable by the 940s, once Æthelstan was dead and the much less powerful King Edmund had succeeded him, Hugh the Great no longer saw any reason to cultivate the goodwill of the English king since there was no longer either a threat or any political gain to be had from England.<sup>55</sup> Hugh needed peace with Otto I of Germany and wanted for himself another upwardly mobile alliance. So, once again, his marriage policy ran parallel with that of the Carolingian king: Louis IV married one of Otto's sisters, Gerberga; Hugh married another sister, Hadwig, after the death of Eadchild.<sup>56</sup> It was somewhat unfortunate for him, though perhaps not entirely fortuitous, that the Carolingians had the most politically active spouses, Eadgifu and Gerberga, and Hugh apparently less forceful ones like Eadchild and Hadwig. The plan was still to emulate the Carolingians, and none of their rivals had as yet any real prospect of removing them, or perhaps even any desire to effect or support such a removal. Indeed, when Louis received the fidelity of both Hugh the Great and Heribert of Vermandois in 939, then that of William Longsword in 940 and in 942 that of Heribert's son Otto, and peace of sorts was established in the kingdom,<sup>57</sup> it may have seemed to Hugh that after letting Louis govern by himself at first in the hope of his failing to do so effectively, Louis might be able not only to salvage his kingdom but even to become increasingly successful at recovering his authority. This is probably the reason why, seeing him recover much more than they expected, Hugh and Heribert finally turned against him when they saw how successful he was becoming and, after claiming to be rescuing him as a prisoner from the Duke of Normandy, Hugh made him his own prisoner. Louis's rescue from Hugh's imprisonment through his uncle King Edmund of England and Gerberga's request to her brother Otto to come to her husband's help shows to what extent, after the death of Æthelstan, it was the

<sup>54</sup> Grierson, 'Relations', pp. 89–90.

<sup>55</sup> *Richer* (Latouche), I, 207–09, but note Edmund's argument to Hugh that, should Hugh not free Louis, the English will attack him in France and, Edmund claims, he would easily find at least as many allies to support him (Edmund) in France as Hugh might be able to gather among the French magnates, and possibly more.

<sup>56</sup> *Flodoard* (s.a. 938 and 939); *Richer* (Latouche), I, 156–57.

<sup>57</sup> *Flodoard* (s.a. 940 and 942); *Richer* (Latouche), I, 168–73.

Liudolfings who had become the main force in Europe. But they, too, had achieved this partly on account of, and through, Æthelstan.

After the death of Arnulf of Bavaria’s son Louis the Child without issue in 911, the Carolingian dynasty in East Francia was finished, superseded by Henry I the Fowler, of the dynasty of the dukes of Saxony begun by Duke Liudolf (d. 866), the Liudolfings. Henry could have carried on the usual policy of East Frankish kings of marrying daughters of the aristocracy, as he himself had done when he had married Matilda, daughter of Theudebert of Saxony and allegedly descended from the eighth-century Saxon warrior Widukind.<sup>58</sup> Karl Leyser has shown to what extent the Liudolfings, the first non-Frankish dynasty to rule in Germany and seen by many as ‘arrivistes’, was in need of legitimacy,<sup>59</sup> in the same way as the Carolingians were when unseating the Merovingians. For that reason, Henry wanted a new marriage policy, involving marriage with women of royal blood. As Charles the Simple had experienced, there were no Carolingian women of great note available, and the Liudolfings, for marriage purposes, were the beggars. In addition, by the mid-920s, even Hugh the Great had managed to insert himself into the Carolingian affinity via his Wessex wife, and the German rulers, with their ambitions in the northern and eastern parts of West Francia, would not have enjoyed having a march stolen on them in this way. For them too therefore the best choice of marrying up was to court the family which combined Carolingian affinity with a royal line which was even older and went back to King Oswald, a saint already highly venerated in Germany through the cult brought there by the eighth-century Anglo-Saxon missionaries.<sup>60</sup> And this was the family of Æthelstan. Such a marriage would be better than Henry’s alliance with Matilda, who could only boast descent from Widukind, who had been Charlemagne’s enemy. Hence Henry’s coup in securing from Æthelstan the hand of one of his sisters, Edith, for his son Otto — not only a bride worthy of a king through what Widukind of Corvey called the ‘regal power of her mighty race’,<sup>61</sup> but also representing the military prestige of the English king and the idea of Carolingian emperorship which he embodied. This

<sup>58</sup> Leyser, ‘Die Ottonen’, p. 81 and n. 1.

<sup>59</sup> Leyser, ‘Die Ottonen’, pp. 75–83; Sharp, ‘England, Europe’, pp. 209–11.

<sup>60</sup> P. Clemoes, *The Cult of St Oswald on the Continent*, Jarrow Lecture (Jarrow: St Paul’s Church, 1983) and Dagmar O’Riain-Raedel, ‘Edith, Judith, Matilda: The Role of Royal Ladies in the Propagation of the Continental Cult’, in *Oswald: Northumbrian King to European Saint*, ed. by Claire Stancliffe and Eric Cambridge (Stamford: Paul Watkins, 1995), pp. 210–29.

<sup>61</sup> *Widukind* (Lohmann-Hirsch), p. 54; also Hrotsvitha in *Medieval Monarchy*, ed. by Hill, p. 123.

would allow the Liudolfings to enter into kinship with the whole network of magnates within Europe, most of whom also claimed affinity with the Carolingians.

Why should Æthelstan have condescended to marry his sister 'down' though? To put it mildly, he was no political fool and could see the way the wind was blowing in the growing success of the Liudolfings, and he wanted connections into what looked like being the future reigning family of Germany. He sent Henry and his son Otto two sisters to choose from,<sup>62</sup> and, through the chosen bride and Æthelstan's frequent later embassies to Germany, Henry and Otto acquired the instruments for developing an ideology of empire based on that of the Carolingians, as Æthelstan himself had done. In the event, Otto chose Edith, the older and, according to our sources, the more beautiful of the two sisters, and probably helped marry off the other, Ælfgifu (*Adiva* or *Adelana* as she was in German sources), to a Burgundian prince present at court, Conrad, who was in the political orbit of the Liudolfings, and who later intervened together with Otto I and King Edmund of England to free Louis IV.<sup>63</sup> To make certain that the German king knew who he was dealing with, the bridal embassy led by Abbot Coenwulf toured famous German monasteries, including St Gall and Reichenau, made sure that Æthelstan's name was entered into their confraternity books, his reputation, both military and political, truly broadcast everywhere, and his wealth and prestige demonstrated through gifts of silver and relics.<sup>64</sup>

From Edith Otto gained not only an alliance with a prestigious royal line but also an alliance indirectly with the Carolingians insofar as Æthelstan was perceived as being one of them. He was taught how to govern in the style of Charlemagne, Charles the Bald, Alfred, and Æthelstan. After Edith's death, possibly inspired by her learning, Otto learnt to read.<sup>65</sup> Edith brought with her prestigious relics, notably those of St Maurice (probably Hugh's gift to Æthelstan), which became the nucleus of the monastery founded by her and Otto at Magdeburg, Edith's *Morgengift*, later to become an archdiocese.<sup>66</sup> Throughout Edith's lifetime,

<sup>62</sup> *Widukind* (Lohmann-Hirsch), p. 54; Æthelweard, *Chronicle*, p. 2; Malmesbury, *GRA*, pp. 200–01.

<sup>63</sup> See above at notes 33 and 34, and *Flodoard* (s.a. 946); *Richer* (Latouche), I, 214–15.

<sup>64</sup> *Liber confraternitatum Sancti Galli, Augiensis, Fabariensis*, ed. by Paul Piper, MGH, *Necr.* (Berlin: Weidmann, 1884), pp. 136–37.

<sup>65</sup> *Widukind* (Lohmann-Hirsch), p. 96.

<sup>66</sup> *Widukind* (Lohmann-Hirsch), p. 100; *Thietmar* (Warner), pp. 91–92; Leyser, 'Die Ottonen', pp. 73 and 84; L. Hibbard Loomis, 'The Holy Relics of Charlemagne and King Æthelstan: The Lances of Longinus and Maurice', *Speculum*, 25 (1950), 437–56 (pp. 440–56). On

embassies between the two countries further contributed to the development of the cult of St Ursula, of great future in Cologne and the German Church,<sup>67</sup> and to the strengthening of that of Oswald, generally regarded, by Hrotsvitha of Gandersheim for example, as Edith's ancestor. Edith herself was regarded as a saint in some quarters, where she was called St Edith, and miracles were recorded by Thietmar of Merseburg.<sup>68</sup> Luxurious manuscripts were exchanged as mutual gifts, Otto sending to Æthelstan the one now known as the Lobbes Gospel Book (BL, MS Cotton Tiberius A II), and Æthelstan the so-called Gandersheim Gospels (MS Veste Coburg 1, though this manuscript has a complex history and may have made its way to Germany via Eadgifu and France).<sup>69</sup> Many people too were travelling between England and Germany, and Edith had brought her chaplains and entourage with her, while in England there was a whole set of German clerics, at Abingdon, Canterbury, the New Minster at Winchester, and around Bishop Theodred of London, who may himself have had German origins.<sup>70</sup> Not only were these men close to the King (acting as witnesses in charters), great scholars such as Israel or translators of vernacular German texts into English (including the *Heliand*), but both they and the English visitors to German monasteries contributed to the ecclesiastical revival consolidated by Æthelstan.<sup>71</sup> Perhaps even more than the relics which the King is forever associated with, what he so successfully fostered and would be of great importance for the future of Church reform in England was a revival of the interest among, and enthusiasm of, the lay aristocracy for monasticism. Such interest, perhaps additionally fuelled by the visits of English clergy like Coenwald and later Oda of Canterbury (traditionally regarded as the first of the tenth-century monastic reformers), to German monasteries, was particularly significant in relation to aristocratic women. A whole set of grants of land to such

the early history of Magdeburg, see D. Claude, *Geschichte des Erzbistums Magdeburg bis in der 12 Jahrhundert*, 2 vols (Cologne: Böhlau, 1972), I, 17–379.

<sup>67</sup> Leyser, 'Die Ottonen', p. 88; Wilhelm Levison, *Das Werden der Ursula Legende*, Sonderausgabe aus Heft 132 der Bonner Jahrbücher (Cologne: Ahn, 1928), pp. 68–78.

<sup>68</sup> Hrotsvitha in *Medieval Monarchy*, ed. by Hill, p. 103; *Widukind* (Lohmann-Hirsch), p. 99; *Thietmar* (Warner), pp. 90–92.

<sup>69</sup> Keynes, 'King Æthelstan's Books', pp. 147–53 and 188–93; Wood, 'The Making', pp. 259–72.

<sup>70</sup> Wood, 'The Making', p. 261; Dumville, 'Between Alfred', pp. 159–60.

<sup>71</sup> Keynes, 'King Æthelstan's Books', pp. 143–201; Wood, 'The Making', pp. 250–72; Leyser, 'Die Ottonen', pp. 85–89; Dumville, 'Between Alfred', pp. 159–67, esp. pp. 165–66; Ortenberg, *ECC*, pp. 55–56, 61–64, 68–70, and 77–94.

women from 939 onwards attests to this growing trend;<sup>72</sup> put side by side with our knowledge of the considerable role of Ottonian royal women in the success of tenth-century German nunneries,<sup>73</sup> we might see this as a trend picked up by Edith and her entourage and transmitted back to England, unless, of course, it was Edith herself who was among the pioneers in the Ottonian royal family, and her prestige contributed to its expansion. The learned court, the ideological and spiritual support of relics, the gifts and display of art, and the new dynastic ecclesiastical centre at Magdeburg were largely Edith's doing, as was probably her first political act, her coronation together with Otto in a ceremony clearly based on the precedent of Æthelwulf and Judith<sup>74</sup> and of subsequent English coronation ceremonies with anointment in the Carolingian fashion.

While this belongs to the realm of politics, there is no doubt that part of the success of the English influence must have been due to the fact that, according to at least three of the writers who had the most direct knowledge of those years, Otto was actually in love with Edith, his 'beloved wife', that he was devastated by her death, and that he adored their son Liudolf, despite the latter's repeated rebellions, for which he was never really punished with the severity which would have seemed appropriate.<sup>75</sup> Such comments are unusual enough in early medieval sources for one to take them seriously. Otto's grief at Edith's early death, after which he transferred all his love for her to their son, may have translated itself into Otto's wish to look for another English wife<sup>76</sup> — this may have been politics too, but at least it shows that the prestige of Æthelstan's dynasty had not disappeared by the middle of the tenth century in Germany, as it probably had done in West Francia. The Ottonians' close relations with King Edgar later in the century confirm this.<sup>77</sup>

Otto may have had other reasons also to value Æthelstan's friendship, if the text known as the *Casus Sancti Galli* is to be believed. According to this, a fleet sent by

<sup>72</sup> Dumville, 'Between Alfred', pp. 165–66; K. Leyser, *Rule and Conflict in an Early Medieval Society: Ottonian Saxony* (London: Edward Arnold, 1979), pp. 49–73.

<sup>73</sup> Leyser, *Rule and Conflict*, pp. 63–73.

<sup>74</sup> Leyser, 'Die Ottonen', pp. 81–82.

<sup>75</sup> Hrotsvitha in *Medieval Monarchy*, ed. by Hill, pp. 129–30, 132–33, and 135–36; *Widukind* (Lohmann-Hirsch), pp. 100, 104 and most of Bk 2; *Thietmar* (Warner), p. 92; see also Leyser, *Rule and Conflict*, pp. 9–31.

<sup>76</sup> 'Vita Dunstani auctore B', in *Dunstan Memorials*, pp. 253–54.

<sup>77</sup> *The Chronicle of John of Worcester*, ed. and trans. by P. McGurk, R. Darlington, and J. Bray, 2 vols, OMT (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995–98), II, 412–13; Leyser, 'Die Ottonen', pp. 89–97; Ortenberg, *ECC*, pp. 56 and 79–94.



Otto to fight the Vikings in the North Sea was supposed to be joining up with Æthelstan's fleet, ready to help; since it appears that, at the time, Æthelstan was effectively harrying the coast of Scotland fighting the Vikings there in 934, it is possible to imagine that this may have been planned as a joint military operation.<sup>78</sup>

However, the alliance could also have some possible disadvantages. Otto's affection for Liudolf, who was supposed to succeed him, was later tested by his son's rebellions when another boy was born to Otto's second wife Adelaide. If succession issues had led to the English king possibly attempting to help his nephew militarily during these rebellions, as Æthelstan had done with his nephew Louis IV, this would not have seemed an empty threat to Otto. As it happens, Liudolf died and the question of the succession no longer applied: Adelaide's son Otto was secure. It may be of some interest to see that, perhaps as with Eadgifu and Gerberga, mother and daughter-in-law may not have been entirely happy with each other: Matilda may have resented her husband's policy of marrying their son outside the scope of the German aristocracy, to a princess made out to be so much better than herself, and may have withdrawn for this reason when Edith arrived. At any rate, her name does not appear in any documents witnessed by Otto and Edith, but reappears in the witness-list of a charter only three days after Edith's death!<sup>79</sup> Nevertheless, relations with England remained close even in the second half of the century, at least until the end of Edgar's reign,<sup>80</sup> and it was only gradually that the memory of them diminished in England, later than in West Francia. Whether this was by design or through genuine oblivion is hard to say: German mentions of the Holy Lance, from the eleventh century onwards for example, refer to it as having been given to the Ottonian king by the King of Burgundy from the monastery of Agaune (there is no mention of Æthelstan at all).<sup>81</sup> By then the omission of an English link may have been deliberate, as the Burgundian connection was seen as increasingly important, and English kings would no longer be as close to their German cousins until the twelfth century.

Æthelstan was indeed, culturally and ideologically, an English Carolingian, if not even an English Charlemagne. He built up a diplomatic network of kinship with Continental rulers which was not to be seen again until the reign of Queen

<sup>78</sup> Sharp, 'England, Europe', pp. 210–11.

<sup>79</sup> Leyser, 'Die Ottonen', p. 83.

<sup>80</sup> Leyser, 'Die Ottonen', pp. 89–97; Ortenberg, *ECC*, pp. 56–57, 62–71, 79–94.

<sup>81</sup> On the complexities of the Holy Lance history, see my discussion in Ortenberg, *ECC*, pp. 69–70 and n. 122.

Victoria (1837–1901), and his style of rulership, like that of Alfred, was deeply modelled on and imbued with the spirit of Carolingian ideology. My contention in this paper has been that the association went further than that. Not only was Æthelstan actually perceived in the former Carolingian empire as the only existing ruler in the Carolingian style at that time, a new Charlemagne, but he was felt to be, and he saw himself, as a member of the Carolingian kin, somebody who had political interests on the Continent and in preserving that kin in power. In view of his fearsome reputation as a military leader, not just as the ‘King of the Anglo-Saxons, Emperor of the Northumbrians, ruler of the pagans and guardian of the Britons’,<sup>82</sup> and especially of his fleet, his Continental interventions may prove to have been only a start, but for his death in 939 — something the likes of which Louis IV or Hugh or Arnulf could not have foreseen. Æthelstan had not gained the English throne by hiding in the background but by a bold move in the face of some strong opposition. He was regarded with awe by his contemporaries and he may well have considered the possibility of acting further as an arbiter of European politics than just helping out refugees — after all, there had been no emperor in the West since the death of Berengar of Friuli in 924, and Otto would not be crowned until 962. In this unusual gap, with no other contender in the 930s, might Æthelstan not have thought about himself becoming emperor? After all, had not the contemporary *Annals of Ulster* (from the other side of his *imperium* this time) proclaimed him the ‘pillar’ or the ‘keystone of the Western world’?<sup>83</sup>

Wolfson College, University of Oxford

<sup>82</sup> Wood, ‘Æthelstan’, p. 149, or Keynes, ‘King Æthelstan’s Books’, p. 190.

<sup>83</sup> *The Annals of Ulster (to AD 1131), Part I: Text and Translation*, ed. by S. Mac Airt and G. Mac Niocaill (Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, 1983), pp. 386–87 (an. 939).

## DYNASTIC STRATEGIES: THE WEST SAXON ROYAL FAMILY IN EUROPE

Sarah Foot

W e first encounter Robyn Penrose, heroine of David Lodge's *Nice Work*, in her bedroom as she mentally prepares a lecture on the nineteenth-century industrial novel. Delivering the peroration to that lecture later the same morning, Robyn disparages the limited range of narrative devices open to nineteenth-century writers of fiction as a means of resolving the personal dilemmas of their characters: 'all the Victorian novelist could offer as a solution to the problems of industrial capitalism were: a legacy, a marriage, emigration, or death'.<sup>1</sup> This remark came immediately to mind when thinking about an early medieval royal family and the strategies it devised to ensure its future continuity. For, in narrating the plans made in the late ninth and tenth centuries by the kings of Wessex for their heirs, there is no need to choose between these alternative outcomes; all of them — legacies, marriages, emigration to the European mainland, and death — feature regularly in the story. One reason for this is the remarkable good fortune successive West Saxon monarchs had in raising children of both sexes to maturity. Happy indeed, is the man who has his quiver full,<sup>2</sup> but in royal circles a multiplicity of offspring could cause its own problems.

This paper explores the dynastic strategies pursued by the royal family of Wessex across four generations from Æthelwulf (r. 839–53) to the time of his great-grandson Æthelstan (r. 924–39), concentrating particularly on decisions made about the futures of the latter's numerous sisters.<sup>3</sup> It pursues these political alliances from the

<sup>1</sup> David Lodge, *Nice Work: A Novel* (London: Secker and Warburg, 1988), p. 52.

<sup>2</sup> Psalm 127. 6.

<sup>3</sup> For which, see also Veronica Ortenberg in this volume.

personal perspective of the king himself as part of a wider project to write Æthelstan's biography. In a recent essay Janet L. Nelson offered a valuable route into questions about family politics by emphasizing the need to locate a biographical subject within his immediate familial context and explore his infancy and childhood, his relations with parents and siblings.<sup>4</sup> Inspired by Nelson, this paper asks how much Æthelstan's childhood experiences might have influenced his decisions about the sort of family he wanted to assemble around him in adulthood and considers how his planning for his siblings' future might have fitted into that grand design.

All early medieval noble and royal families needed strategies to ensure their dynasty's future prosperity in this world and the next; not only had they to plan for the secure inheritance of landed and moveable wealth into the next generation, but it was important that as many as possible of the honours and offices bestowed on senior members of a kin-group remained within that family's ultimate control. When the office in question was that of king, pressure to ensure a smooth inheritance was substantial; because the stakes were so high, the potential for rivalry among the throne-worthy could also be considerable. Effective dynastic planning should, thus, encompass decisions over which heir would succeed to which title, and to the equitable division of land and other family resources among all available claimants, as well as selecting suitable occupations for royal brothers not (yet) in line to succeed. Choices had further to be made for their sisters, who would transmit royal blood to their own children and so potentially carry hopes of the highest preferment into future generations. Marriages were costly, to kings no less than to nobles, and unbetrothed daughters could, as Karl Leyser observed, threaten a family's peace. Consigning such girls to nunneries secured several possible benefits.<sup>5</sup> Veiled and cloistered, they were removed from the rapacious designs of men in the world; unmarried and given into lives of chastity, they would seldom produce additional heirs to complicate already fraught inheritance-strategies. More positively, daughters and sisters dedicated to God could devote themselves to prayerful care of the souls of dead members of the wider kin-group, so fostering the family's future in the afterlife.

Even the best-laid plans were not, of course, immune from the capricious workings of fate. The premarital career of the young King Edgar reveals how permeable

<sup>4</sup> Janet L. Nelson, 'Did Charlemagne have a Private Life?', in *Writing Medieval Biography, 750–1250: Essays in Honour of Professor Frank Barlow*, ed. by David Bates, Julia Crick, and Sarah Hamilton (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2006), pp. 15–28 (p. 17).

<sup>5</sup> Karl Leyser, *Rule and Conflict in an Early Medieval Society: Ottonian Saxony* (London: Arnold, 1979), p. 64.

monastic walls could be, such that even cloistered nuns were plagued by suitors.<sup>6</sup> Offa of Mercia's various schemes for his family's future success came to nothing when not only did he make no marriage-alliance with the Carolingian royal family, but his son and anointed successor died just 186 days after him; left without an alternative heir, his branch of the Mercian royal line had to relinquish the throne to a distant relative.<sup>7</sup> In trying to control its future, the West Saxon royal family faced similar problems to those confronting other royal houses in western Europe, and it did not find unique solutions. What is interesting about the decisions made by this particular dynasty is that, in the hundred years from the mid-ninth to the mid-tenth century, it chose to seek husbands for its daughters by looking beyond English shores. This paper asks why that was so.

### *A Legacy*

Structuring the argument around the four narrative devices identified by the heroine of David Lodge's *Nice Work*, we turn first to legacies, or rather to one particular inheritance. To whom the ultimate prize of rulership over the kingdom might fall was an issue of enormous importance to males born within the royal line (*stirps regia*), and disputes over throne-worthiness and eligibility were common causes of political and dynastic instability. When Æthelwulf succeeded his father Ecgerht to the throne of Wessex in 839, he was the first son to follow his father directly into power since 641 yet, after him, his sons succeeded in turn, followed by his youngest son's son, grandsons, and great-grandsons (see Table 1).

Presented thus, the West Saxon story sounds disarmingly simple, the dynasty a model of amicable stability. But this is to omit various contested successions and the vagaries of early medieval life-expectancy. Alfred may be thought fortunate to have succeeded without dispute as the youngest of his father's sons and to have held his kingdom intact to pass to his own son. Yet, Edward the Elder's acquisition of the legacy of that throne denied his cousins, Æthelwold and Æthelhelm, their share in the realm, which they thought they had been promised by their grandfather's

<sup>6</sup> Sarah Foot, *Veiled Women*, vol. II: *Female Religious Communities in England, 871–1066* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000), pp. 217–18 and 227.

<sup>7</sup> *ASC*, s.a. 796 (ABC); all citations to the *ASC* are to Whitelock's translation in *EHD*, I. For the putative marriage alliance, see Joanna Story, *Carolingian Connections: Anglo-Saxon England and Carolingian Francia, c. 750–870* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003), pp. 184–88.



original plans for the succession.<sup>8</sup> Although the rebellion of Edward's nephew Æthelwold did not succeed, it would be unwise to underestimate its potential significance, for a different outcome at the Battle of the Holme would have led to quite another future.<sup>9</sup> Nor did Edward himself contrive to ensure a smooth passage of the crown after his own death. His second son, Ælfweard, was chosen king in Wessex, while the Mercians placed their trust instead in the eldest, Æthelstan; it was only Ælfweard's death soon after his father's that, ultimately, gave Æthelstan the whole realm.<sup>10</sup> Planning for the succession could thus prove an unreliable activity. Even were its inheritance to be settled without undue dispute in one generation, one could not guarantee that those passed over at one king's death would not reassert their claims on a future occasion. Dynastic strategies had, therefore, to extend beyond the disposition of legacies of crown and land.

### *A Marriage*

Marriage was central to planning for the future of a family and a royal line, and whom a prospective king married mattered. He needed to select a bride of a birth and status that would fit her to be a mother to kings without alienating those families in his realm whose eligible daughters he passed over. Treading this social minefield with caution, successive West Saxon princes looked to their noble peers for wives and to the same group for husbands for their sisters. Æthelwulf married the daughter of his butler (a high-ranking official at his court and probably a man of considerable standing);<sup>11</sup> he arranged matches of equivalent status for his children. Æthelred wed the daughter of an ealdorman of Wiltshire,<sup>12</sup> while Alfred's wife, Ealhswith, came from a prominent Mercian family (an earlier, now side-lined

<sup>8</sup> Barbara Yorke, 'Edward as Ætheling', in *Edward the Elder, 899–924*, ed. by N. J. Higham and D. H. Hill (London: Routledge, 2001), pp. 12–39 (pp. 29–31).

<sup>9</sup> *ASC*, s.a. 903; James Campbell, 'What Is Not Known about the Reign of Edward the Elder', in *Edward the Elder*, ed. by Higham and Hill, pp. 12–24 (pp. 21–22).

<sup>10</sup> *ASC*, s.a. 924 (AEF; *Mercian Register*, s.a. 924). For discussion of the sources for Ælfweard's brief reign, see Simon Keynes, *The Liber Vitae of the New Minster and Hyde Abbey Winchester* (Copenhagen: Rosenkilde and Bagger, 1996), pp. 20–22.

<sup>11</sup> *Asser* (Keynes-Lapidge), p. 68 (chap. 2).

<sup>12</sup> Sawyer, no. 340; Janet L. Nelson, 'Alfred's Carolingian Contemporaries', in *Alfred the Great: Papers from the Eleventh-Centenary Conferences*, ed. by Timothy Reuter (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003), pp. 293–310 (p. 300).

branch of the royal line),<sup>13</sup> and their sister Æthelswith made a yet more prestigious match, becoming queen to the then Mercian king, Burgred.<sup>14</sup> In the next generation Alfred followed a similar policy by marrying his eldest daughter, Æthelflæd, to Æthelred, ealdorman (later possibly king) of the Mercians.<sup>15</sup> No record survives of the matrimonial arrangements made for Æthelwulf's three elder sons (Æthelstan, Æthelbald, and Æthelberht), so it is unclear whether they were assigned noble wives or preferred to attach themselves to less well-born women of their own choosing. A certain Oswald, *filius regis*, who appears in three charter witness-lists dating from 868 and 875, could have been an illegitimate son of one of Alfred's older brothers (see Table 1).<sup>16</sup>

One set of alliances is missing from this account, for some confusion surrounds the arrangements made for the first marriage of Alfred's eldest son and heir, Edward, of which liaison the future King Æthelstan was born. Later commentators cast doubt on the social status of his first wife, although Barbara Yorke has rightly interpreted legends about the status of Æthelstan's mother in the context of the disputed succession to Edward in 924, not as something at issue in the 890s.<sup>17</sup> For whatever reason, Edward and his first wife did not stay married long, and thereafter Edward contracted typical matches with the daughters of ealdorman: first he married Ælflæd, the daughter of Æthelhelm, ealdorman of Wiltshire,<sup>18</sup> and, when he tired of her, Eadgifu, daughter of Sigehelm, ealdorman of Kent.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>13</sup> *Asser* (Keynes-Lapidge), p. 77 (chap. 29); Ealhswith's father was Æthelred, ealdorman of the Gaini, probably a descendant of King Coenwulf: Pauline Stafford, 'Succession and Inheritance: A Gendered Perspective on Alfred's Family History', in *Alfred the Great*, ed. by Reuter, pp. 251–64 (at pp. 259–60).

<sup>14</sup> *ASC*, s.a. 853 (AG), 854 (BC); *Asser* (Keynes-Lapidge), p. 69 (chap. 9).

<sup>15</sup> *Asser* (Keynes-Lapidge), p. 90 (chap. 75). The dynastic implications of the ninth-century alliance between Wessex and Mercia have recently been explored by Pauline Stafford, "The Annals of Æthelflæd": Annals, History and Politics in Early Tenth-Century England', in *Myth, Rulership, Churches and Charters: Essays in Honour of Nicholas Brooks*, ed. by Julia Barrow and Andrew Wareham (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), pp. 101–16 (at pp. 112–13).

<sup>16</sup> Janet L. Nelson, 'Reconstructing a Royal Family: Reflections on Alfred, from Asser, Chapter 2', in *People and Places in Northern Europe, 500–1600: Studies Presented to Peter Sawyer*, ed. by I. N. Wood and N. Lund (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1991), pp. 47–66 (at p. 59); and Nelson, 'The Queen in Ninth-Century Wessex', in *Anglo-Saxons: Studies Presented to Cyril Roy Hart*, ed. by Simon Keynes and Alfred P. Smyth (Dublin: Four Courts, 2006), pp. 69–77 (pp. 76–77).

<sup>17</sup> Yorke, 'Edward as Ætheling', p. 33.

<sup>18</sup> Sawyer, no. 363.

<sup>19</sup> Sawyer, nos 1211–12; BL, MS Stowe 944, fol. 21<sup>v</sup>; Keynes, *Liber Vitae*, p. 94.



Against this background, the choice of husband that King Æthelstan made on behalf of his full sister, the eldest of Edward's daughters, looks entirely conventional. For in offering his sister in marriage to the Danish king in York, Sihtric, Æthelstan merely extended the well-established West Saxon policy of making treaties with neighbouring kings for their mutual protection, even if he were the first to make such a pact with a foreigner (who might further have been a pagan). The pair met at Tamworth in Staffordshire to cement their agreement on 30 January 926, making a variety of promises of mutual aid and support.<sup>20</sup> This was not to prove a long-lasting pact, however, since Sihtric died in 927 and Æthelstan used the opportunity to mount a successful military takeover of his Northumbrian realm. Quite what happened to his widow thereafter remains uncertain; since she does not appear to have remarried, it seems most likely that she entered the cloister.<sup>21</sup>

With one eye on the long-term future and the family's needs in the afterlife, the house of Wessex chose to marry some of its daughters to Christ, as virgins devoted to God, rather than supplying them all with earthly husbands. If Æthelwulf had a spare daughter for a religious career, her name has not survived, but Alfred consigned his second daughter, Æthelgifu, to a newly founded nunnery at Shaftesbury in Dorset. This house sustained a close link with the royal house until the end of the Anglo-Saxon period.<sup>22</sup> Æthelgifu's brother, Edward the Elder, persuaded three of his own daughters to enter the cloister: Æthelhild and Eadflæd were buried at Wilton, together with their mother Ælfflæd, and all three may have had some connection with that nunnery.<sup>23</sup> Eadburh, daughter of Edward's third wife, Eadgifu, apparently became a nun at the Nunnaminster in Winchester, having supposedly shown an aspiration to a life of devotion in infancy.<sup>24</sup>

So far so unsurprising: in the ninth century this royal family normally sought suitable marriages for both its sons and daughters among the highest levels of the

<sup>20</sup> *ASC*, s.a. 926 (D).

<sup>21</sup> Pauline Stafford, 'Sons and Mothers: Family Politics in the Early Middle Ages', in *Medieval Women*, ed. by Derek Baker, Studies in Church History, Subsidia, 1 (Oxford: Blackwell, 1978), pp. 79–100 (at p. 97). For the dubious possibility that she ended her life at Polesworth, see Foot, *Veiled Women*, II, 139–42.

<sup>22</sup> *Asser* (Keynes-Lapidge), p. 90 (chap. 75), p. 105 (chap. 98); Foot, *Veiled Women*, II, 165–77.

<sup>23</sup> Malmesbury, *GRA*, I, 200–01 (Bk II, sec. 126). Foot, *Veiled Women*, II, 226.

<sup>24</sup> William of Malmesbury, *Gesta pontificum Anglorum: The History of the English Bishops*, ed. and trans. by Michael Winterbottom and Rodney M. Thompson, OMT, 2 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2007), pp. 274–75 (Bk II, sec. 78); Susan Ridyard, *The Royal Saints of Anglo-Saxon England: A Study of West Saxon and East Anglian Cults* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), pp. 16–37 and 96–139.

West Saxon nobility and in the different branches of the royal house of Mercia, while protecting its future spiritual interests by gently pushing a few of its daughters into the Church. Æthelstan's brokering of a marriage with a non-native ruler in York comes within this same category of liaisons effected primarily to advance domestic political ends. But one of the more interesting aspects of this family's activities in this period was that it began to look far beyond this normal pool of eligible brides and bridegrooms to the Continental mainland. Considering how close were the cultural, religious, and intellectual links between the different English kingdoms and the courts of western Europe it may be more surprising that no such ties had been made in previous generations. For Æthelwulf's second marriage — to the young daughter of Charles the Bald, Judith, whom he had met on his journey to Rome in 855 — was unprecedented. When Æthelwulf returned to England in autumn 856 accompanied by his new, foreign wife, now consecrated as his queen, he added an entirely new element to already complex family and dynastic politics.<sup>25</sup>

How much strategic planning lay behind this liaison is unclear, as is the extent to which this marriage was contracted to cement a cross-Channel alliance against Scandinavian attack.<sup>26</sup> One doubts whether Æthelwulf, who was by early medieval standards now rather elderly, can have imagined that he might beget a new line of half-Carolingian princes by his young wife, for all that she bore, promisingly, the name of her grandmother, the Empress Judith (who had given Louis the Pious a fourth son in his old age). That the eldest of Æthelwulf's surviving sons, Æthelbald, disapproved of this new marital strategy is shown by the conspiracy into which he embarked in order to keep hold of the power he had enjoyed during his father's protracted absence in Francia and Rome.<sup>27</sup> Yet, when Æthelwulf died not long after his return to England, Æthelbald saw no obstacle to marrying his father's relict, perhaps hoping that to him might fall the privilege of sons with Frankish royal blood. Disappointed in that ambition, Æthelbald died in 860 without known issue. Thereafter Judith returned home to her father for a while before she eloped with the Count of Flanders, although this did not sever her association with England.<sup>28</sup>

<sup>25</sup> Pauline Stafford, 'Charles the Bald, Judith and England', in *Charles the Bald: Court and Kingdom*, ed. by Margaret Gibson, Janet L. Nelson, and David Ganz, 2nd rev. edn (Aldershot: Variorum, 1990), No. VIII, 139–53; Stafford, 'Succession and Inheritance', pp. 257–58.

<sup>26</sup> Stafford, 'Charles the Bald', pp. 142–44.

<sup>27</sup> Stafford, 'Succession and Inheritance', p. 257.

<sup>28</sup> *The Annals of St Bertin*, trans. by Janet L. Nelson (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1991), pp. 97–98, 103–04 (*s.a.* 862, 863).

### *Emigration*

Did Æthelwulf's flirtation with the Carolingian house inaugurate a new trend in West Saxon royal thinking?<sup>29</sup> As we have seen, Alfred married his first two daughters according to conventional West Saxon practice, one to a Mercian ealdorman and the other to God. For his third daughter, Ælfthryth, he pursued a different policy, betrothing her to his former step-mother's son, Baldwin, and thus requiring her to emigrate to Flanders. Quite why this alliance appealed to both sides is uncertain. Perhaps, Grierson wondered, there were political motives, reflecting the common suffering of the English and Flemish peoples during the Scandinavian wars, parallel to Æthelflæd's liaison with the king's representative in a divided Mercia; no evidence survives to demonstrate whether they made a formal treaty.<sup>30</sup> At the Flemish court, Baldwin's wife, Judith, could have supported her daughter-in-law, for she may have retained some affection for Wessex and her former step-son/brother-in-law Alfred. Certainly Alfred's daughter proved able to honour her own family through naming her second son Æthelwulf (Adelolf in its Continental Germanic form) and her daughters Ealhswith and Ælfthryth; one of her grandsons was called Ecgeberht.<sup>31</sup> Ælfthryth's husband Baldwin should not be seen as an inert figure here, either. His father, the first Baldwin of Flanders, had enhanced his own social status by marrying up into the Carolingian royal house; the son cannot have been blind to the advantages likely to accrue to him from taking another royal bride.

In this generation the number of offspring for whose adult futures plans have to be made becomes slightly unmanageable, for between his three wives Edward the Elder contrived to beget more than a dozen children who survived beyond infancy. As a biographer, one may have some sympathy for a man whose parents saw fit to provide him with quite so many younger brothers and especially with so many little sisters (see Table 1).

Æthelstan's own mother had just two children, a boy and a girl;<sup>32</sup> the first of his step-mothers provided him with two more brothers and either five or six sisters, and his second with a further two brothers and either one or two sisters. That the

<sup>29</sup> Compare Andreas Bihrer in this volume.

<sup>30</sup> Philip Grierson, 'The Relations Between England and Flanders Before the Norman Conquest', *TRHS*, 4th ser., 23 (1941), 71–112 (p. 87).

<sup>31</sup> Nelson, 'Alfred's Carolingian Contemporaries', p. 302.

<sup>32</sup> This daughter's name is not reliably recorded; she might have been called Edith (Eadgyth), but see Foot, *Veiled Women*, II, 140.

size and gender-balance of this family had a significant impact on Æthelstan's emotional development is likely. Whether this had any direct part to play in his decisions about the organization of his own private life is harder to establish. Was it the sheer number of mature daughters requiring husbands that led first Edward and then his son to look overseas for husbands, or were they seeking merely to reduce the number of potential heirs to the crown of Wessex? Alternatively, we might read these marriage contracts not as part of a dynastic strategy for one family, but as reflecting a thought-through foreign policy, designed for the greater good of the whole, rapidly expanding Anglo-Saxon realm (see Table 2).

Ælfthryth's Flemish marriage provides a precedent for her brother Edward's decision at some time between 917 and 919 to send Eadgifu, daughter to his second wife, overseas to marry the king of the West Franks, Charles the Simple, son of Louis the Stammerer (d. 879) and thus grandson of Charles the Bald. Anxiety on both sides about the increasing level of Scandinavian activity in Brittany may have been a factor in persuading the protagonists of the benefits of this new alliance, although the match brought the West Saxon king little influence in internal Frankish politics. Charles was deposed from his realm in June 922 and imprisoned. Soon thereafter, Eadgifu sent her son, Louis, home to her father's court for his own safety; she herself may have stayed longer in Francia, perhaps even until Charles died in 929, although she did eventually return home.<sup>33</sup>

If one of the prime motives underlying Eadgifu's emigration to Francia through her marriage had been political, we might see her decision to remain in Francia after her husband's fall from power as governed by similar ambitions. She had much to gain from the fresh marriage-alliance made by her birth family in 926, where her full sister Eadhild married Hugh, duke of the Franks, a potential rival to the Frankish throne. Eadgifu might even have played a role in brokering the match, for it certainly served her own ends by severing the link between Hugh and Count Heribert of Vermandois.<sup>34</sup> William of Malmesbury asserted that Hugh's suit was pressed in Wessex on his behalf by 'Adulf' son of Baldwin, count of Flanders, and his countess 'Æthelswith' (for whom he meant Ælfthryth, daughter of Alfred).<sup>35</sup> The potential for the various families involved here to advance their own interests was considerable, and the sheer coincidence of different royal, ducal, and comital ambitions in this match may well, of course, have been significant in its successful

<sup>33</sup> Æthelweard, *Chronicle*, p. 2; Janet L. Nelson, 'Eadgifu (d. in or after 951)', in *ODNB*.

<sup>34</sup> Nelson, 'Eadgifu'.

<sup>35</sup> Malmesbury, *GRA*, I, 218–19 (Bk II, sec. 135).



contraction. Hugh's and Eadchild's marriage was negotiated in the same year as Æthelstan's alliance with Sihtric, king of York; perhaps it was his increased sense of security at home that gave the West Saxon king the confidence to play on a wider, European stage.

Much the most politically — and strategically — remarkable marital alliance Æthelstan brokered was the treaty he made with the ruling house in Saxony. The marriage of Edith (daughter of Ælflæd) to Otto, son of the East Frankish king Henry the Fowler, accompanied by the exchange of valuable gifts, conferred substantial benefits on both parties. It helped to establish Henry's status as king, and it was probably at the same time that he designated Otto as king.<sup>36</sup> For Æthelstan, forging this further Continental connection might have represented another means of cementing an alliance between legitimate rulers in the difficult period following the death of Charles the Simple and the arrival of Louis, his baby son, at the West Saxon court.<sup>37</sup> Reporting this match, both Hrotsvitha of Gandersheim and Æthelweard, the tenth-century West Saxon chronicler, noted that a second sister of Æthelstan's was sent to Germany with Edith so that the young Otto might make his own choice of bride.<sup>38</sup> This 'extra' daughter could have been born to Edward's third wife, Eadgifu, and have shared her mother's name (a suggestion supported by the fact that Hrotsvitha named her Adiva); alternatively she might have been Edith's full sister, whom William of Malmesbury named Ælfgifu.<sup>39</sup> William complicated this issue by identifying Continental husbands for two additional sisters of Æthelstan's as well as Eadgifu, Eadchild, and Edith, betrothing the one who went to Germany with Edith (whom he called Ælfgifu) to a duke near the Alps and assigning the youngest, Eadgifu's daughter also called Eadgifu, to Louis, prince of Aquitaine. More plausible is Eduard Hlawitschka's suggestion that William counted the same girl twice: Æthelstan had just one further sister, who

<sup>36</sup> Timothy Reuter, *Germany in the Early Middle Ages c. 800–1056* (London: Longman, 1991), p. 145.

<sup>37</sup> Nelson, 'Eadgifu'.

<sup>38</sup> Æthelweard, *Chronicle*, p. 2; Hrotsvitha, *Gesta Ottonis*, pp. 279–80 (vv. 112–20); Karl Leyser, 'The Ottonians and Wessex', in Leyser, *CPME*, pp. 73–104 (pp. 83–85).

<sup>39</sup> Hrotsvitha, *Gesta Ottonis*, p. 279 (v. 112); William of Malmesbury, *GRA*, I, 198–99 (Bk II, sec. 126). An *Odgiva* was named with King Æthelstan, King Edmund, and Archbishop Oda in a later confraternity book from Pfäfers (St Gallen, Stiftsarchiv, Cod. Fabariensis I, p. 33); this might support Hrotsvitha's testimony, although that woman could have been Edmund's mother, rather than one of his sisters.

married a Louis who was a prince near the Alps, viz. Louis, the brother of Rudolf II of Burgundy.<sup>40</sup> (See Table 2.)

### *Death*

Of the various plot solutions to questions of dynastic strategy with which we began, we are left with just one: death. The death of Æthelstan's next youngest brother, Ælfweard, within a month of his father cannot have been part of either Æthelstan's or his father's family-planning, yet this event worked ultimately to Æthelstan's considerable personal advantage. Following Ælfweard's death, Æthelstan's acquisition of all the kingdom of the Anglo-Saxons, originally divided between the two, benefited not just him but also the youngest boys in this generation, Edmund and Eadred, whose chances of succeeding would have looked remote had Ælfweard lived to produce offspring of his own. There is, however, one further son in Æthelstan's generation about whom we have so far said nothing: Ælfweard's younger brother, Edwin, second son to Edward's second wife, Ælflæd.

Various sources reveal that something nasty happened to Edwin. Briefest is the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle which reported under the year 933 that he had drowned at sea,<sup>41</sup> while William of Malmesbury at the farthest extreme offered a fantastic account (apparently based on material from popular songs) of Edwin's complicity in a plot at Winchester led by a certain Alfred to depose King Æthelstan because of his low birth. Refusing to believe his brother's denial on oath of his involvement, Æthelstan drove Edwin into exile. 'Even his cruelty took a form without parallel; for he compelled his brother, attended by a single squire, to go on board a boat without oars or oarsmen and, what is more, rotten with age.' Far out to sea and battered by winds, Edwin fell overboard and drowned. His squire brought his body back to Kent and the King, appalled, undertook a seven-year penance and executed the informant who had condemned his brother, a royal cupbearer.<sup>42</sup> We could treat much of William's account with some scepticism, but more interesting is the

<sup>40</sup> Eduard Hlawitschka, 'Die verwandtschaftlichen Verbindungen zwischen dem hochburgundischen und dem niederburgundischen Königshaus: Zugleich ein Beitrag zur Geschichte Burgunds in der 1. Hälfte des 10. Jahrhunderts', in *Grundwissenschaften und Geschichte Festschrift für Peter Acht*, ed. by Waldemar Schögl and Peter Herde (Kallmünz: Lassleben, 1976), pp. 28–57 (at pp. 50–57). Leyser, 'The Ottonians', pp. 84–85.

<sup>41</sup> *ASC*, s.a. 933 (E).

<sup>42</sup> Malmesbury, *GRA*, I, 226–27 (Bk II, sec. 139).

independent version in the house-history of the Flemish abbey of Saint-Bertin, completed in 962 by Folcuin the deacon.<sup>43</sup>

In the year of the Incarnate Word 933, when the same King Eadwine, driven by some disturbance in his kingdom, embarked on a ship, wishing to cross to this side of the sea, a storm arose and the ship was wrecked and he was overwhelmed in the midst of the waves. And when his body was washed ashore, Count Adelolf, since he was his kinsman, received it with honour and bore it to the monastery of Saint-Bertin for burial.<sup>44</sup>

This narrative brings us right back into the heart of the West Saxon royal family's network of European connection, for Count Adelolf is of course the son of Baldwin II of Flanders and Ælfthryth, daughter of Alfred, and who was thus aunt to the ætheling Edwin.

### Conclusion

As other papers in this volume have argued, we can identify a network of Anglo-Saxon princesses across western Europe in the early tenth century, each on arrival an immigrant, a rootless exile, each of whom proved able to exert substantial influence on local and arguably much wider political affairs.<sup>45</sup> Eadgifu, wife of Charles the Simple, helped to arrange the marriage of her sister Eadhild to Hugh of the Franks; Louis, brother of Rudolf of Burgundy, and his English wife were influential figures in that region when Rudolf died young, leaving only a child, Conrad, as heir. The English connections of the comital family of Flanders were not forgotten, either. Adelolf led the embassy to Æthelstan on behalf of Hugh of the Franks and arranged for the burial of his cousin, Edwin; Arnulf assisted the exiled Louis of France (son of Eadgifu and Charles the Simple, reared as Æthelstan's foster-son) to regain his throne in 936, when he landed at the Flemish port of Boulogne; and in 939 Æthelstan sent a fleet to Arnulf to help Louis again in a struggle with some rebellious magnates.<sup>46</sup> All these royal, ducal, and comital houses had connections with one another, of course, not just with the West Saxon family (see Table 2). Louis IV married his Aunt Edith's sister-in-law, Gerberga; subsequently he became brother-in-law to his uncle-by-marriage, Hugh, when the latter remarried on the

<sup>43</sup> *Folcuini diaconi gesta abbatum St Bertini Sithiensium*, ed. by Oswald Holder-Egger, MGH, SS, 13 (Hannover: Hahn, 1881), p. 629 (chap. 107) (trans. by Sarah Foot).

<sup>44</sup> Translation from *EHD*, no. 26.

<sup>45</sup> See Simon Maclean and Andreas Bihrer in this volume.

<sup>46</sup> *Flodoard* (Lauer), p. 73 (*s.a.* 939).



death of Louis's other aunt, Eadchild, and took as his second wife Otto of Saxony's other sister, Hadwig.

Did the West Saxon kings Edward and Æthelstan enter into these marital alliances with the intention of acquiring influence on a European stage, or were the wider consequences of these liaisons unexpected? This paper began with the marriages contracted in the second half of the ninth century in order to focus attention on how different were the arrangements made for Æthelstan's siblings in comparison with earlier practice. Thinking as the King's biographer, I wonder if he married his sisters abroad to distance them from him and reduce the suffocatingly female atmosphere that had characterized the royal court in his childhood. Alternatively, we should not forget that Edward the Elder and Æthelstan, both eldest sons succeeding to kingship in adulthood, had nonetheless faced competition for the West Saxon throne. They might deliberately have looked beyond the plausible English suitors from within the ranks of the ealdormen of Wessex and Mercia in order that the girls' royal blood might not give inheritance rights to potential rivals in future struggles for the crown. That same argument might be advanced further if we thought about the male members of this generation, including Æthelstan himself, whom we might expect to have been encompassed in this putative dynastic strategy.

Although so energetic in contracting marriages for his half sisters, Æthelstan never apparently sought a wife of his own, nor is there any reliable evidence that he had any children.<sup>47</sup> At this range it is impossible to speculate about why he remained single, even if he were not apparently so aggressively chaste as to be remembered as a virgin-saint after his death. Religion would offer an obvious explanation here. Chastity was an ideal promoted in many texts of the period and could represent an active and positive life-choice, made for genuine spiritual reasons. Without the evidence of an Asser no light can be cast on Æthelstan's adolescent fears and sexual anxieties, yet there is enough evidence from his book- and relic-collecting to suggest that matters spiritual and eternal concerned him deeply. We should further not forget that at least three, perhaps four, of his sisters spent their lives in the cloister.<sup>48</sup> Alternatively, or perhaps additionally, one might wonder if the size and gender balance of his birth family could have been relevant. It is not necessary to

<sup>47</sup> The reference in the *Liber Eliensis*, Bk III, chap. 50, ed. by E. O. Blake, Camden Third Series, 92 (London: Royal Historical Society, 1962), p. 292 to an 'Æðida, filia regis Ædelstani', is probably an error for sister.

<sup>48</sup> See above: Æthelhild, Eadflæd, and Eadburgh all chose the religious life rather than marriage; Æthelstan's full sister may have joined a religious community after the death of her husband, Sihtric of York.

start speculating about Æthelstan's possible sexuality in order to wonder whether he had decided deliberately not to add to the number of potential heirs to the West Saxon inheritance, adopting celibacy as a deliberate dynastic policy, perhaps one with spiritual overtones. Edward had produced five male heirs who grew to adulthood. Although Æthelstan's next two youngest brothers (Ælfweard and Edwin) had, as we saw, died as young men, the two youngest, Edmund and Eadred, the sons of Edward's third wife, would each rule after Æthelstan in his turn. William of Malmesbury argued that the King showed remarkable affection towards his younger brothers; one version of his text attributes to his respect for them the King's decision never to marry.<sup>49</sup> Rather than siring sons of his own, Æthelstan enjoyed fostering to maturity the sons of other European leaders suffering local political difficulties, not just Louis son of Charles the Simple, but Alain, heir to the Breton throne, and Hákon, son of Harald of Norway, to both of whom Æthelstan acted as godfather.<sup>50</sup> Perhaps it was the experience of his own contested accession (and his childish memory of his father's problems after King Alfred's death) that caused Æthelstan to show such concern both for ensuring that the succession to his own title should be made uncontentionally, but also that disinherited royal heirs should be given every assistance to regain their birthright.

Whether strategic or fortuitous, we cannot deny the significance of the arrangements made to provide for the futures of Æthelstan and his siblings. The foreign marriages served to make Æthelstan prominent in Europe as his name and those of several of his women-folk were commemorated in German confraternity-books; his sisters became the mothers of kings and princes, West Saxon genes mingling with those of the leading European families of their day. William of Malmesbury was by no means the only commentator to remark on the fame that accrued to this man and his family as a direct consequence of these alliances. If it were strategy to limit the number of male heirs in Wessex, that also worked (at least once Edwin had died). Edmund fought amicably with Æthelstan at the Battle of Brunanburh and succeeded him unchallenged, even if he had subsequently to fight external powers to regain the full extent of his brother's sovereignty so that he might pass that onto their youngest brother, Eadred. Legacies, marriages, emigration, and death: not mere plot devices, these were real eventualities for which a dynastically

<sup>49</sup> Malmesbury, *GRA*, I, 228–29 (Bk II, sec. 140).

<sup>50</sup> *Flodoard* (Lauer), p. 3 (*s.a.* 919). Gareth Williams, 'Hákon Aðalsteins fóstri: Aspects of Anglo-Saxon Kingship in Tenth-Century Norway', in *The North Sea World in the Middle Ages: Studies in the Cultural History of North-Western Europe*, ed. by Thomas R. Liszka and Lorna E. M. Walker (Dublin: Four Courts, 2001), pp. 108–26 (p. 113).

self-conscious family such as the West Saxon royal house might, and in these four generations manifestly did, actively plan. Æthelstan may have encouraged his charter-scribe to introduce several of his land grants with a lament about the 'wanton fortune of this deceiving world', but he proved remarkably adept at out-witting the fickleness of fate and securing for his own siblings and their immediate descendants considerable earthly security, as well as a confident hope in future enjoyment of the 'pleasant fields of indescribable joy where are the angelic instruments of hymn-singing jubilation'.<sup>51</sup>

Christ Church, University of Oxford

<sup>51</sup> Sawyer, no. 425; this poem beginning 'Fortuna fallentis saeculi procax' is found in a number of the King's charters attributed to a charter scribe known as 'Æthelstan A'. Compare nos 407, 426, 428, 434–36, and 458.



## MONASTIC REFORM AND ROYAL IDEOLOGY IN THE LATE TENTH CENTURY: ÆLFTHRYTH AND EDGAR IN CONTINENTAL PERSPECTIVE

Simon MacLean

Once upon a time, the story of tenth-century monastic reform was told as a tale of upheaval and revolution. The vivid denunciations of monastic decrepitude and strident demands for radical change that dominated ecclesiastical discourse in Lotharingia from the 930s and England from the 960s were taken by historians to be more or less authoritative, and consequently used to underpin modern narratives of tenth-century decline and rebirth. More recent research seems to have seriously shaken scholarly trust in the reformers' version of their own age and has qualified acceptance of the success with which strict Benedictine observance was imposed. The cyclical nature of reform is now very evident, while sophisticated charter-based studies have revealed the extent to which radical rhetoric masked underlying continuities in the patronage, tenurial arrangements, and social functions of monasteries.<sup>1</sup> Yet even if the mendacity of some contemporary narratives has been thus exposed, we still need to remember that the febrile ideological climate they created was very real and that the high status of the reformers' patrons (kings, bishops, and dukes) ensured that reform ideas influenced actual political relationships. Flurries of argument about office and observance prompted redefinitions of the roles of bishops, abbots, and not least, rulers, some of whom wholeheartedly embraced the idea of monastic reform and adopted it as a platform

<sup>1</sup> See above all John Nightingale, *Monasteries and Patrons in the Gorze Reform: Lotharingia, c.850–1000* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2001). For an excellent introduction, see Joachim Wollasch, 'Monasticism: The First Wave of Reform', in *NCMH*, III, 95–129 (pp.98 and 114–20), 163–85.

for their own postures of power. The efforts of kings and queens to adapt to this changing ideological environment form the central theme of this article.

The ruler best-known today for his patronage of reformers is the English king Edgar (959–75), the significance of whose metaphorical donning of monastic clothing was worked out brilliantly by Robert Deshman.<sup>2</sup> Deshman showed how Edgar, in collaboration with his chief adviser Bishop Æthelwold of Winchester, had himself represented in a wide range of texts and images simultaneously as a type of Christ and a type of abbot. As part of this programme Christ and St Benedict were assimilated and deployed as the idealized models for all forms of earthly power, meaning that bishops and kings became, metaphorically and sometimes literally, abbots. This was inspired, on Deshman's reading, by Æthelwold's reading of texts surviving from the reign of the ninth-century Frankish emperor Louis the Pious (814–40), another famous patron of reform who, as Thomas Noble has demonstrated, also used the monastic ideal as a model for rulership.<sup>3</sup> The present article is concerned with the implications of this form of thinking for the representation of queens, in particular Edgar's wife Ælfthryth.<sup>4</sup> The way that Ælfthryth's power was articulated in monastic terms, pitching her as a kind of regal mega-abbess, has been noted by several scholars.<sup>5</sup> My aim here is to place her in a wider European context by comparing her queenly persona with that of one of her Continental contemporaries (Queen Gerberga of West Francia), and thereby to cast some light on well-known developments in Anglo-Saxon queenship from a neglected angle. After presenting the main evidence for the representation of Ælfthryth's power in abbatial terms the article makes a case for seeing Gerberga as a Continental analogue. I will then compare the contexts in which Ælfthryth and Gerberga operated, analysing each in the light of the other, before concluding by

<sup>2</sup> Robert Deshman, 'Benedictus monarcha et monachus: Early Medieval Ruler Theology and the Anglo-Saxon Reform', *FmaS*, 22 (1988), 204–40. More generally on the reign, see A. Williams, 'Edgar (943/4–975)', in *ODNB*.

<sup>3</sup> Thomas F. X. Noble, 'The Monastic Ideal as a Model for Empire: The Case of Louis the Pious', *Revb*, 86 (1976), 235–50; Noble, 'Louis the Pious and his Piety Reconsidered', *RbPH*, 58 (1980), 297–316.

<sup>4</sup> Pauline Stafford, 'Ælfthryth', in *ODNB*.

<sup>5</sup> See, for example, Stephanie Hollis, *Anglo-Saxon Women and the Church: Sharing a Common Fate* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1992), pp. 177–78 and 208–09; Pauline Stafford, *Queen Emma and Queen Edith: Queenship and Women's Power in Eleventh-Century England* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1997), pp. 162–66; Barbara Yorke, *Nunneries and the Anglo-Saxon Royal Houses* (London: Continuum, 2003), pp. 84–85.

asking whether the ideological similarities identified point to any direct Continental influence on English ideas.

In the words of Pauline Stafford, the reign of Ælfthryth, daughter of the south-western ealdorman Ordgar and wife of Edgar since 964, 'heralded a new dawn in the history of English queens'.<sup>6</sup> Ælfthryth's status as a watershed in the formalization of the notoriously fluid position of West Saxon king's wife resides in the fact that she was the first to be consistently titled queen and the first queen to play a major role during her husband's reign.<sup>7</sup> She is also known to have been both crowned and consecrated, and her multiple appearances in the charters of Edgar and, later, their son Æthelred II 'the Unready' (978–1016) underlines the extent of her influence.<sup>8</sup> Here, though, we are interested not in the degree of her power so much as in the way it was represented. Ælfthryth's regality was expressed like that of a 'paramount abbess', and thus as a mirror of her husband's.<sup>9</sup> The body of evidence for this queenly depiction is well known, though rarely commented on in detail. Most famously, the *Regularis concordia* (the reformist manifesto drafted by Æthelwold on the basis of a synod held in Winchester, c. 970) characterizes Edgar and Ælfthryth as supreme monastic patrons, with the King having responsibility for the kingdom's monks and the Queen for its nuns.<sup>10</sup> These arrangements seem to be confirmed by Æthelwold's account of the monastic reform that formed the preface to his Old English translation of the Benedictine Rule, which states that

<sup>6</sup> Stafford, *Queen Emma*, p. 164. On her natal family, see C. P. Lewis, 'Ordgar (d. 971)', in *ODNB*; Christopher Holdsworth, 'Tavistock Abbey in its Late Tenth Century Context', *Transactions of the Devonshire Association*, 135 (2003), 31–58.

<sup>7</sup> Pauline Stafford, 'The King's Wife in Wessex, 800–1066', *Past and Present*, 91 (1981), 3–27; repr. in her *Gender, Family and the Legitimation of Power: England from the Ninth to Early Twelfth Century* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006), no. IX.

<sup>8</sup> Simon D. Keynes, *The Diplomas of King Æthelred 'The Unready' (978–1016): A Study in their Use as Historical Evidence* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980), p. 176; Stafford, *Queen Emma*, pp. 200–04; Ryan Lavelle, *Aethelred II: King of the English, 978–1016* (Stroud: Tempus, 2002), pp. 82–87.

<sup>9</sup> Hollis, *Anglo-Saxon Women*, p. 177.

<sup>10</sup> *Regularis concordia*, c. 3, ed. by Thomas Symons and Sigrid Spath in *Consuetudinum saeculi X/XI/XII monumenta non-Cluniacensia*, ed. by Kassius Hallinger, *Corpus consuetudinum monasticarum*, 7.3 (Siegburg: Schmitt, 1984), pp. 61–147. For an older edition with English translation, see T. Symons, *The Monastic Agreement of the Monks and Nuns of the English Nation* (London: Nelson, 1953).

Edgar 'established nuns and entrusted them to his consort, Ælfthryth, that she might help them in every necessity'.<sup>11</sup>

Æthelwold's personal investment in these political ideas is underlined by the traces they left in the de luxe *Benedictional* he owned and, presumably, designed. This manuscript contains the earliest surviving Western depiction of the coronation of the Virgin Mary as queen of heaven (Figure 30), a novelty which has plausibly been associated with the coronation and consecration of Ælfthryth (alongside Edgar) in 973.<sup>12</sup> The *Benedictional*'s pronounced interest in Mary also points us towards the dominant interests of the monastic reformers, whose many foundations of churches dedicated to the Virgin made her the movement's 'hall-mark'.<sup>13</sup> With these connections in mind it is interesting that the *Benedictional*'s regal Mary is depicted surrounded by followers in a way that simultaneously characterizes her as a type of queen and an abbess surrounded by her flock.<sup>14</sup> This matrix of ideas surrounding Ælfthryth becomes even clearer when we recall that the *ordo* most likely used for the consecration of 973 derived from a Frankish ritual which drew the queen's inauguration rites from the prayers used for blessing abbesses, and whose imagery of heretics trampled under queenly feet recalls the reformers' view of themselves as cleansers and casters out of filth.<sup>15</sup>

It is significant, finally, that our dossier also contains a narrative source written away from court and therefore independently of the ideologues surrounding Edgar and Æthelwold. Byrhtferth's *Life of St Oswald*, composed at Ramsey in East Anglia in the period 997–1002, tells us that after the coronation of 973, Ælfthryth 'entertained the abbots and abbesses at a feast'. 'Clad in a fine robe', the hagiographer

<sup>11</sup> *Councils and Synods*, p. 150.

<sup>12</sup> Robert Deshman, *The Benedictional of Æthelwold* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995), pp. 193–95 and 204–07; Mary Clayton, *The Cult of the Virgin Mary in Anglo-Saxon England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), pp. 159–65. The peculiarity of this very late coronation/consecration has been much discussed: see for example Janet L. Nelson, 'Inauguration Rituals', in Nelson, *PREME*, pp. 283–307 (at pp. 297–303).

<sup>13</sup> Clayton, *Cult of the Virgin*, p. 135.

<sup>14</sup> Deshman, *Benedictional*, p. 205.

<sup>15</sup> Janet L. Nelson, 'The Second English *Ordo*', in Nelson, *PREME*, pp. 361–74; Nelson, 'Early Medieval Rites of Queen-Making and the Shaping of Medieval Queenship', in *Queens and Queenship in Medieval Europe*, ed. by Anne J. Duggan (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1997), pp. 301–15; the latter repr. in Nelson, *Rulers and Ruling Families in Early Medieval Europe: Alfred, Charles the Bald and Others* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999), XV. See also Stafford, *Queen Emma*, pp. 166–67.





Figure 30. *Benedictional of Æthelwold*: Death and Coronation of the Virgin. London, British Library, MS Additional 49598, fol. 102'. Reproduced with permission.

continues, 'she was raised high above the other matrons, as befitted her royal dignity'.<sup>16</sup> Here, Byrhtferth not only associates the Queen with abbots and abbesses explicitly, but also appears to imply that even as Ælfthryth was different to these 'other' monastic leaders she was in some sense one of them. Regardless of debates surrounding this text's historical accuracy, the passage suggests that Byrhtferth shared a contemporary perception that the Queen's regality was to be described in Benedictine hues, expressing her status as a type of abbess or supreme monastic patron.<sup>17</sup>

All this evidence for royal image-making corresponds with some of what we know about the ways in which Ælfthryth actually exercised her status. She appears in the witness-lists of several charters in a rather unusual position, detached from the King and after the bishops (Figure 31): the best explanation may lie in the fact that this placed her at the head of the abbots.<sup>18</sup> While such evidence is notoriously difficult to interpret, we have here at least a hint about the staging of the Queen's role at formal court-occasions. Ælfthryth also seems to have controlled a veritable network of nunneries. Of Wessex's six major pre-Conquest royal nunneries, she founded two, Wherwell and Amesbury.<sup>19</sup> A Wherwell charter of 1002 issued shortly after the Queen's death reflects the community's attempt to negotiate its relationship with her successor and suggests that she controlled a specified part of the house's landed endowment in the manner of a Carolingian-style lay abbess.<sup>20</sup> The nature of her influence at houses like Barking, Romsey, and Shaftesbury is somewhat hazier in the historical record, but it is very suggestive that the nunneries most closely associated with her also appear to have had close connections to each

<sup>16</sup> *Vita Oswaldi*, pp. 399–475 (p. 438); the translations are from H. G. Richardson and G. O. Sayles, *The Governance of Medieval England from the Conquest to Magna Carta* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1963), p. 401.

<sup>17</sup> On the text's accuracy and dating, see Michael Lapidge, 'Byrhtferth and Oswald', in *Oswald LI*, pp. 64–83.

<sup>18</sup> Keynes, *Diplomas*, p. 174 (n. 82); Stafford, *Queen Emma*, p. 200 (n. 22).

<sup>19</sup> Julia Crick, 'The Wealth, Patronage and Connections of Women's Houses in Late Anglo-Saxon England', *Revb*, 109 (1999), 154–85; Sarah Foot, *Veiled Women*, vol. II: *Female Religious Communities in England, 871–1066* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000), pp. 21–25 and 215–19. See also Marc A. Meyer, 'Women and the Tenth Century English Monastic Reform', *Revb*, 87 (1977), 34–61; Meyer, 'Patronage of the West Saxon Royal Nunneries in Late Anglo-Saxon England', *Revb*, 91 (1981), 332–58. Æthelwold may have collaborated in the foundation of Wherwell: Barbara Yorke, 'Æthelwold and the Politics of the Tenth Century', in *Bishop Æthelwold: His Career and Influence*, ed. by Barbara Yorke (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1988), pp. 65–88 (p. 82).

<sup>20</sup> Sawyer, no. 904; Stafford, *Queen Emma*, p. 138; Foot, *Veiled Women*, II, 215–19.

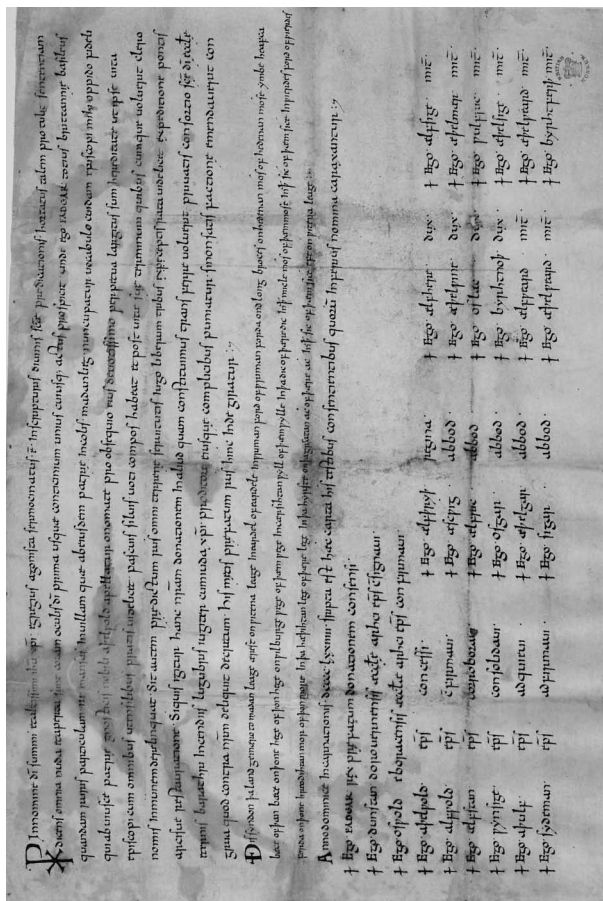


Figure 31. King Edgar to Æthelwold, bishop; grant of 3 hides (*mansae*) at Madeley, Staffs (Sawyer, no. 801, AD 975 (? for 974)). London, British Library, Harley Charter 43 C.6. Reproduced with permission.

other: Amesbury and Wherwell, for example, seem to have shared an abbess within a few years of their foundations.<sup>21</sup> These arrangements bring to mind Continental analogues such as the ‘monastic empire’ of the late ninth-century Carolingian empress Richgard.<sup>22</sup> A final example, Ælfthryth’s involvement in Æthelwold’s re-foundation of the male monastery of Ely and the promotion there of the cult of an earlier Anglo-Saxon queen-abbess, Æthelthryth, casts light on the Queen’s persona from a different angle. Her reputation having been immortalized by Bede, Æthelthryth was a highly regarded saint in later tenth-century culture, and her prominence in Æthelwold’s *Benedictional* could, it has been plausibly argued, hint at a programmatic attempt to stress a parallel between the queen-abbesses past and present.<sup>23</sup> In Ælfthryth’s use of queenly estates to bolster the endowment of Ely we may, therefore, glimpse the ghost of the Queen’s own fostering of this parallel.<sup>24</sup>

The relationship between these activities and the Queen’s political persona should not be seen as quasi-constitutional. This was not simply a matter of pressing rights formally granted by the *Regularis concordia*.<sup>25</sup> After all, Anglo-Saxon queens and other royal women had long had close links to monastic institutions, and Ælfthryth’s novelty in this respect resides more in the insistency with which her persona was constructed rather than in any fundamental break with the past.<sup>26</sup> We are looking here not at the Queen’s acquisition of a series of rights so much as a carefully orchestrated redefinition of royal power that was in turn invoked in an attempt to legitimize potentially controversial political actions. This was a political

<sup>21</sup> Crick, ‘Wealth’, pp. 171–78; Yorke, *Nunneries*, pp. 78 and 84–85.

<sup>22</sup> Simon MacLean, ‘Queenship, Nunneries and Royal Widowhood in Carolingian Europe’, *PP*, 178 (2003), 3–38 (pp. 20–26).

<sup>23</sup> Susan Ridyard, *The Royal Saints of Anglo-Saxon England: A Study of West Saxon and East Anglian Cults* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), pp. 176–210; Deshman, *Benedictional*, pp. 206–07; Mechtild Gretsch, *Ælfric and the Cult of Saints in Late Anglo-Saxon England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), pp. 198–203.

<sup>24</sup> On the estates, see Stafford, *Queen Emma*, pp. 133–34. Catherine E. Karkov, *The Ruler Portraits of Anglo-Saxon England* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2004), p. 114, is sceptical about the association on the grounds that a saintly queen would not have been a suitable model for a secular ruler, but this undervalues the fluidity of the political ideas in question.

<sup>25</sup> Cf. Crick, ‘Wealth’, p. 175; Hollis, *Anglo-Saxon Women*, pp. 208–09; Yorke, *Nunneries*, p. 175.

<sup>26</sup> See esp. Yorke, *Nunneries*. In the recent past Queen Eadgifu had also been an important patron of the reformers: see for example S. E. Kelly, *Charters of Abingdon Abbey Part I* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), p. xci. I am grateful to Katy Cubitt for this reference and for discussion of this point.

posture designed to win leverage in a world where arguments about monastic reform were gaining authority, and where definitions of office and power (particularly female power) were being debated and redefined.<sup>27</sup>

Although we have touched on a range of sources, most of them are closely connected in one way or another with Æthelwold, the Queen's great ally: the evidence reveals, above all, the views of an inner circle. What, then, might Æthelwold's inspiration have been for creating this particular and consistently expressed definition of queenship? As mentioned above, Deshman argued cogently that Louis the Pious was the model for Æthelwold's version of monastic rulership in the case of Edgar. Even he, however, admitted that the early ninth-century Carolingian texts available to the bishop (which included fragments of capitularies, excerpts from church councils and probably a copy of Smaragdus's treatise on rulership) did not explicitly present Louis as a 'monastic emperor'.<sup>28</sup> Æthelwold is not known to have been a connoisseur of the biographical texts upon which modern appreciations of Louis's political persona have been primarily founded.<sup>29</sup> The Anglo-Saxon reformers were undeniably admirers of their Carolingian predecessors, and Deshman's case should certainly not be dismissed. Yet these figures also had wide-ranging political connections at home and abroad, so we should consider the possibility that more contemporary influences also played a part in their thinking. In the hope of casting a different kind of light on late tenth-century political ideologies, I shall now turn to a contemporary Continental ruler whose authority was modelled in strikingly similar terms to that of Edgar and Ælfthryth.

The ruler in question is Queen Gerberga of West Francia, whose considerable contemporary importance is not reflected by the sparing attention she has commanded from modern historians.<sup>30</sup> Born c. 913 to the first Ottonian king, Henry I,

<sup>27</sup> See esp. Pauline Stafford, 'Queens, Nunneries and Reforming Churchmen: Gender, Religious Status and Reform in Tenth- and Eleventh-Century England', *PP*, 163 (1999), 3–35; repr. in her *Gender, Family and the Legitimation of Power*, no. XI.

<sup>28</sup> Deshman, 'Benedictus monarcha', pp. 228–36 and 239. On Smaragdus, see now Jasmijn Bovendeert, 'Royal or Monastic Identity? Smaragdus' *Via Regia* and *Diadema monachorum* Reconsidered', in *Texts and Identities in the Early Middle Ages*, ed. by Richard Corradini and others (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2006), pp. 239–51.

<sup>29</sup> See the works cited above at note 3.

<sup>30</sup> W. Glocker, *Die Verwandten der Ottonen und ihre Bedeutung in der Politik: Studien zur Familienpolitik und zur Genealogie des sächsischen Kaiserhauses* (Cologne: Böhlau, 1989), pp. 28–45; Joachim Ehlers, 'Carolingiens, Robertiens, Ottoniens: politique familiale du relations franco-allemandes', in *Le Roi de France et son royaume autour de l'an mil*, ed. by Michel Parisse

she was married to Giselbert, *dux* of Lotharingia, in 928. Giselbert died in 939 in rebellion against Gerberga's brother, Otto I (936–73), whereupon she married Louis IV of West Francia (936–54), the teenage Carolingian who had been raised at Æthelstan's court in Wessex. From 954 Gerberga acted as a kind of regent for her son, King Lothar (born 941). Until her death in 969 she remained phenomenally powerful, uniquely placed to broker relationships between the courts of her natal family and those of her husband and son.

That said, she seems not to have played a major role at Louis IV's court until the very end of the 940s, before which time she was apparently eclipsed by the influence of her powerful mother-in-law Eadgifu, a daughter of King Edward the Elder of Wessex (899–924). When she does emerge from Eadgifu's shadow, we usually see her (metaphorically speaking) wearing monastic clothing. In 949 she appears for the first time as a petitioner in royal charters, reflecting a new level of influence at her husband's court that persisted until the end of his reign: the ability to broker the distribution of royal patronage lay at the heart of early medieval politics, so references in Frankish charters to third-party interventions are very significant. Interestingly, almost all of these documents are privileges effecting or authorizing reforms of particular monasteries.<sup>31</sup> Although reformist rhetoric had been abroad in Lotharingia (part of the East Frankish or German kingdom) since the 930s, these charters represent our earliest clear evidence for royal patronage of the tenth-century reform in West Francia. Gerberga's influence in this sphere did not collapse during her widowhood: in the 950s and 960s, her son Lothar did not issue a single privilege for a monastery that did not name her as petitioner.<sup>32</sup> One charter even refers to her using the unusual title 'lover of churches' (*ecclesiarum amatrix*).<sup>33</sup>

(Paris: Picard, 1992), pp. 39–45; Régine Le Jan, 'La Reine Gerberge, entre carolingiens et ottoniens', in her *Femmes, pouvoir et société dans le haut moyen âge* (Paris: Picard, 2001), pp. 30–38; Régine Le Jan, 'D'une cour à l'autre: les voyages des reines de France au X<sup>e</sup> siècle', in her *Femmes, pouvoir et société*, pp. 39–52; Alain Dierkens and Michel Margue, 'Memoria ou damnatio memoriae? L'Image de Giselbert, duc de Lotharingie (†939)', in *Retour aux sources: Textes, études et documents d'histoire médiévale offerts à Michel Parisse*, ed. by Sylvain Gouguenheim and others (Paris: Picard, 2004), pp. 869–90.

<sup>31</sup> *Recueil des actes de Louis IV, roi de France (936–954)*, ed. by Philippe Lauer (Paris: Klincksieck, 1914), nos 32, 33, 38, 47, and 53.

<sup>32</sup> Pauline Stafford, *Queens, Concubines and Dowagers: The King's Wife in the Early Middle Ages* (London: Batsford Academic and Educational, 1983), p. 123.

<sup>33</sup> *Recueil des actes de Lothaire et de Louis V, rois de France (954–987)*, ed. by Louis Halphen and Ferdinand Lot (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1908), no. 14. For full discussion of Eadgifu and Gerberga at the court of Louis IV, see Simon MacLean, 'Making a Difference in Tenth-Century

Texts written for Gerberga portray the same image. In fact, definitions of her authority implicit in virtually every single source written for or about her in West Francia from the period after 949 are suffused with the imagery of reformed monastic leadership. The *Life of Clothild*, a hagiography of the first Frankish queen written for Gerberga early in her widowhood, remodels its sixth-century subject as an archetypal founder of monasteries.<sup>34</sup> Gerberga's epitaph (she was buried at Saint-Rémi in Reims) goes out of its way to stress her fondness for 'the monastic life'.<sup>35</sup> Last and by no means least we have the *Letter on the Origin and Time of the Antichrist* written to Gerberga by the monk Adso in the period 949–54.<sup>36</sup> Both author and recipient were members of an inner circle of reformist monks and patrons, and the letter makes several nods to the ideologies of mid-tenth-century monasticism.<sup>37</sup> Adso addresses Gerberga, in the same breath as he metaphorically prostrates himself before her queenliness, as 'mother of monks and leader of holy virgins' (*monachorum mater et sanctarum virginum dux*).<sup>38</sup> These terms, and the way Adso uses them, suggest a conflation of Gerberga's identities as queen and as supreme patron of the West Frankish Benedictine reform. 'Mother of monks' (*mater monachorum*) is particularly interesting, in that it has no obvious

Politics: King Athelstan's Sisters and Frankish Queenship', in *Frankland: The Franks and the World of Early Medieval Europe, Essays in Honour of Dame Jinty Nelson*, ed. by Paul Fouracre and D. Ganz (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2008), pp. 167–90; Simon MacLean, 'Reform, Queenship and the End of the World in Tenth-Century France: Adso's *Letter on the Origin and Time of the Antichrist* Reconsidered', *RbPH*, 86 (2008), 645–75.

<sup>34</sup> *Vita S. Chrotildis*, ed. by Bruno Krusch, MGH, SS rer. Merov., 2 (Hannover: Hahn, 1888), pp. 341–48; Karl Ferdinand Werner, 'Der Autor der *Vita Sanctae Chrothildis*: Ein Beitrag zur Idee der "Heiligen Königin" und der "römischen Reiches" im X. Jahrhundert', *Mittellateinisches Jahrbuch*, 24/25 (1989–90), 517–51. The authorship of the text has been contested, as discussed in MacLean, 'Reform'.

<sup>35</sup> *Die Ottonenzeit*, ed. by Karl Strecker, MGH, Poet. Lat., 5. 1–2 (Leipzig: Hiersemann, 1937), pp. 286–87.

<sup>36</sup> Adso, *De ortu et tempore Antichristi: necnon et tractatus qui ab eo dependunt*, ed. by Daniel Verhelst, CCCM, 45 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1976).

<sup>37</sup> For further analysis, see MacLean, 'Reform'.

<sup>38</sup> Adso, *De ortu*, ed. by Verhelst, p. 20; Carsten Woll, 'Regina amatrix ecclesiarum et mater monachorum: Zu kirchenpolitischem Engagement von Königinnen im Reich der späten westfränkischen Karolinger und früheren Kapetinger', in *Regionen Europas – Europa der Regionen: Festschrift für Kurt-Ulrich Jäschke zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. by P. Thorau, S. Pentz, and R. Fuchs (Cologne: Böhlau, 2003), pp. 45–64, provides general context but, despite the title, has little to say about Gerberga or her persona.

precedents. We must presume that Adso had in mind here the title ‘father of monks’ (*pater monachorum*), adapted to his female addressee. ‘Father of monks’ was a label frequently attached to St Benedict, author of the Rule, and, by extension, to abbots. The term was quite widely used in Carolingian sources and was also appropriated by the Edgarian reformers.<sup>39</sup> It was certainly current in the circle of Æthelwold, who pressed it into service as part of his remodelling of notions of royal authority. For example, the Arundel Psalter, a manuscript made in early eleventh-century Canterbury but based on a prototype from Æthelwold’s Winchester, labels a depiction of the crowned (royal) Benedict as ‘father of monks’ (*pater monachorum*) (Figure 32).<sup>40</sup> Byrhtferth’s *Life of St Oswald* uses the term for King Edgar himself.<sup>41</sup>

All this evidence suggests close parallels between the ways in which monastic ideologues modelled the royal authority of Gerberga on the one hand, and Edgar and Ælfthryth on the other, by presenting them as supreme patrons of monastic reform and therefore pseudo-abbots or abbesses. While the association of royal power and monastic patronage was not new in West Francia any more than it was in England, the decision to define queenship in these terms rather than deploying more traditional definitions appealing to familial roles or biblical archetypes is striking in each case, and must reflect conscious image-building. We therefore need to ask why such arguments were seen as appropriate and useful in constructing representations of royal power. Here, the monastic reform itself obviously has to be taken into account, since both Ælfthryth and Gerberga had their royal personas modelled during the first flowering of reformist ideology in their respective kingdoms. As already mentioned, the logic of this ideology prompted a rethinking of definitions of ecclesiastical and lay power in which bishops and kings were recast as abbots, and abbots were represented as being like kings. Yet that cannot be the whole story, since the new rhetorical environment did not close down all other options: monastic patrons in the East Frankish kingdoms of the Ottonians, for example, did not generally reconfigure their authority in this way. Reform created the conditions that encouraged such redefinitions, but did not necessarily impose them: we still have to account for the adoption of this pose in terms of more specific West Frankish and English circumstances.

<sup>39</sup> It was, for example, deployed in Smaragdus’s commentary on the Benedictine Rule: see John Higgitt, ‘Glastonbury, Dunstan, Monasticism and Manuscripts’, *Art History*, 2 (1979), 275–90 (p. 284).

<sup>40</sup> Deshman, ‘*Benedictus monarcha*’, pp. 211–19 and 227.

<sup>41</sup> *Vita Oswaldi*, p. 443; Deshman, ‘*Benedictus monarcha*’, p. 227.





Figure 32. The Arundel Psalter, Christ Church Canterbury (1012x23), image of St Benedict and monks. London, British Library, MS Arundel 155, fol. 133.

Reproduced with permission.

One such circumstance was the nature of political morality at early medieval courts. Put simply, talking about queenship in the terms set out above helped to pre-empt allegations of sexual scandal. Such allegations were particularly potent when models of queenship based on familial roles collided with ideas about royal legitimacy that depended on increasingly restrictive definitions of legitimate marriage. This had been a big issue in Carolingian politics since at least the mid-ninth century, when the attempts of Lothar II (855–69) to divorce his wife led to political and personal disaster, but apparently not in the Anglo-Saxon world until the later tenth.<sup>42</sup> Ælfthryth and Edgar were potentially vulnerable because both had been married before, and because the King seems in 964 to have dispensed with his previous consort Wulfthryth in order to marry his new queen very much as had Lothar II a century earlier. Whether or not we accept the tradition recorded by Gaimar that Archbishop Dunstan of Canterbury subsequently castigated the royal couple for adultery, there seems little doubt that the sexual propriety of the royal household was becoming a more significant political issue during Edgar's reign.<sup>43</sup> Witness for example the palace coup that led to the forcible divorce of King Eadwig in 957, which by the time the *Life of Dunstan* was written c. 1000 had developed into a salacious story about a threesome involving the King, his fiancée, and his future mother-in-law which was used to parody the nuptial imagery of the royal coronation *ordo* and thus to undermine the legitimacy of the King's authority.<sup>44</sup> The consistent stress in charters of the late 960s on Ælfthryth's marital legitimacy, including the careful drafting by Æthelwold of the first dower charter known in English history, makes sense in such an atmosphere as a politically pre-emptive strategy.<sup>45</sup> The growing effectiveness of such allegations of sexual misconduct at this time may again be attributable to the favourable ideological conditions provided by reform. At heart, though, they would have been politically motivated: discussions about Ælfthryth's queenliness took shape amidst tension over the

<sup>42</sup> On Lothar, see esp. Stuart Airlie, 'Private Bodies and the Body Politic in the Divorce Case of Lothar II', *PP*, 161 (1998), 3–38.

<sup>43</sup> Geffrei Gaimar, *l'estoire des Engleis*, ed. by A. Bell (Oxford: Blackwell, 1960), lines 3939–43; Yorke, *Nunneries*, p. 168. Stafford, 'Queens, Nunneries and Reforming Churchmen' contextualizes Ælfthryth's posthumous reputation.

<sup>44</sup> 'B', *Vita Dunstani*, c. 21, in *Dunstan Memorials*, pp. 3–52; Nicholas P. Brooks, 'The Career of St. Dunstan', in *Dunstan LTC*, pp. 1–23 (at pp. 14–15); Hollis, *Anglo-Saxon Women*, p. 177.

<sup>45</sup> Stafford, *Queen Emma*, pp. 59–60, 71–72, and 127–28. The evidence that Ælfthryth's consecration aroused some opposition probably indicates the surfacing of similar arguments: Stafford, *Queen Emma*, p. 164.

succession driven by the competing claims of her sons (Edmund and Æthelred the Unready) against those of Edward the Martyr, Edgar's son by an earlier union.<sup>46</sup>

There is, by contrast, no hint of any scandal surrounding Gerberga's marriage to Louis; but such accusations were part of the mainstream discourse of Carolingian politics and were always potentially if not actually in play. This is why, for instance, the ninth-century East Frankish queen Emma responded to political circumstances that threatened to undermine her position at court by advertising her moral probity and sexual purity.<sup>47</sup> To offset such insecurities, the position of abbess provided a fixed reference point and a 'safe' model of female power on which to build definitions of queenship. This is exactly the model that was used in Francia after the divorce of Lothar II, when the imagery of queenly and abbatial office were subtly merged, and monastic proprietorship provided queens with a space for the manipulation of resources and the exercise of power untainted by the whiff of household scandal.<sup>48</sup> This form of thinking is encapsulated in the mid-ninth-century *Life of Wala* by Paschasius Radbertus which contrasts the wicked influence of the courtly and carnal Empress Judith, one of the text's villains, with the pious and queenly Irmingarde, whose power was expressed through control of a nunnery.<sup>49</sup> Gerberga's queenly identity could be interpreted as the culmination of this trend.

A further point of comparison lies in the utility of this rhetoric for the construction of group identities. Both Gerberga and Ælfthryth were leaders of identifiable political factions whose prominence helped underwrite their influence at court. Moreover, both women were outsiders (Gerberga was German; Ælfthryth hailed from outwith the West Saxon heartlands and was not, unlike many earlier Anglo-Saxon queens, royal by birth) and thus had a particular need to build alliances to acquire leverage. Gerberga's entourage, to judge by the charter evidence, was built round a group of Lotharingian monastic reformers who appeared at Louis IV's court for the first time in 949 (coinciding with her own increased influence) and whose association with her went back to the period of her first

<sup>46</sup> Yorke, *Nunneries*, pp. 82–85 and 193.

<sup>47</sup> Eric J. Goldberg, 'Regina nitens sanctissima Hemma: Queen Emma (827–876), Bishop Witgar of Augsburg, and the Witgar-Belt', in *Representations of Power in Medieval Germany, 800–1500*, ed. by Björn Weiler and Simon MacLean, International Medieval Research, 16 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2006), pp. 57–95 (pp. 79–87).

<sup>48</sup> Nelson, 'Early Medieval Rites'; MacLean, 'Queenship, Nunneries and Royal Widowhood'.

<sup>49</sup> Paschasius, *Epitaphium Arsenii*, Bk II, chaps 9, 11, 12, 16, 18, and 24 in *PL*, CXX, cols 1559D–1650B.

marriage to Giselbert, the Lotharingian *dux* alongside whom she had been a major patron of reform during the 930s. Their self-identification as a 'monastic' party emerged partly to distinguish them from the court group centred on the Queen's English mother-in-law and partly to align them with the influence of her brother Otto, whose alliance with Louis in 948 catalysed Gerberga's rise to prominence.<sup>50</sup> Ælfthryth, similarly, can be seen as leader (along with Æthelwold) of an interest group which coalesced around the claims to the throne of Æthelred the Unready. The opposing party that favoured the claims of Edward the Martyr seemingly focused on Dunstan, whose family was, as Barbara Yorke has argued, often at odds with Æthelwold's in the major crises of tenth-century politics.<sup>51</sup> Dunstan, although another leading figure in the reformist ranks, is much less visible in the sources than Æthelwold as a founder or reformer of monasteries, and his *Vita* only mentions the Benedictine Rule once.<sup>52</sup> This strengthens the case for seeing Æthelwold's insistence on the Queen's monastic identity as a fragment of a factional identity posed in opposition to that of Dunstan and Edward. Here I am not proposing to revive the pro- and anti-monastic groupings of historiographical tradition.<sup>53</sup> Rather, we should imagine political factions who chose (or did not choose) monastic discourses to shape their own identity and claims to legitimacy.

With these points in mind we should stress that the political postures we have identified in both cases must be seen as part of contemporary debates about queenship, not static representations of an agreed royal ideology. In texts not directly associated with her circle of friends, Gerberga is described in alternative terms: in the biographies of her brother Archbishop Bruno of Cologne and of her mother, Matilda, for example, she is usually defined in traditional familial terms (for instance 'royal sister').<sup>54</sup> Likewise, Ælfthryth was often enough referred to, even in

<sup>50</sup> For references and further discussion, see MacLean, 'Reform'.

<sup>51</sup> Yorke, 'Æthelwold', pp. 86–88. On the relationship between kin and politics in this period, see also Scott Ashley, 'The Lay Intellectual in Anglo-Saxon England: Ealdorman Æthelweard and the Politics of History', in *Lay Intellectuals in the Carolingian World*, ed. by Patrick Wormald and Janet L. Nelson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), pp. 218–45.

<sup>52</sup> Catherine Cubitt, 'The Tenth-Century Benedictine Reform in England', *EME*, 6 (1997), 77–94 (p. 93).

<sup>53</sup> D.J.V. Fisher, 'The Anti-Monastic Reaction in the Reign of Edward the Martyr', *Cambridge Historical Journal*, 10 (1952), 254–70.

<sup>54</sup> *Vita Mathildis posterior*, ed. by Bernd Schütte in *Die Lebensbeschreibungen der Königin Mathilde*, MGH, SS rer. Germ., 66 (Hannover: Hahn, 1994), p. 188 (c. 21); *Vita Mathildis antiquior*, ed. by Schütte in *Lebensbeschreibungen*, p. 133 (c. 11); Ruotger, *Vita Brunonis*, ed. by Irene

Æthelwoldian circles, with titles such as ‘king’s wife’.<sup>55</sup> After Edgar’s death, in fact, the use of titles for Ælfthryth seems to have become even more pointed. Charters drawn up at Æthelwold’s Winchester after 979 consistently give her the title ‘queen’ (*regina*) and place her at the head of the abbots in witness-lists, while documents from other centres tend to give her titles like ‘mother of the king’.<sup>56</sup> That such programmatic definitions of Ælfthryth’s status belong to a period when the original source of that status — her husband — had gone suggests that a concerted effort to avoid marginalization was needed. This effort was only temporarily successful, in that Ælfthryth’s career does appear to have flickered out after the death of Æthelwold in 984 and Æthelred’s coming of age.<sup>57</sup> With this in mind, one wonders whether some of the other expressions of queenly power we have discussed might not also make most sense as products of Ælfthryth’s widowhood. In particular, if the royal imagery of the *Benedictional of Æthelwold* (which cannot be dated more precisely than to between 971 and 984) is taken to represent a reference to the coronation of 973, might not that commemoration make more sense as the act of a political group in the process of decline rather than, as Deshman argued, something conceived to coincide with the event itself?<sup>58</sup> Whichever view we take on this matter, the general point remains that the definitions of queenship we have been discussing were not universally accepted, nor did they completely efface other ways of thinking about queenly power. After all, the *Regularis concordia* itself describes Ælfthryth as the king’s wife as well as the supreme patron of nunneries.<sup>59</sup>

From what has been said so far, we would be justified in deducing that the similarities we have identified between our rulers’ public personas evolved independently of each other, fostered by similar ideological environments and triggered by comparable political circumstances. Given the manifold cross-Channel contacts of the period, though, we are also obliged to go a step further and wonder whether Æthelwold might have had in mind Gerberga as well as (or even instead of) Louis the Pious when he set about developing his monastic-inflected political ideologies.

Ott in *Ruotgers Lebensbeschreibung des Erzbischofs Bruno von Köln*, MGH, SS rer. Germ., n.s., 10 (Weimar: Böhlau, 1951), p. 44 (c. 42).

<sup>55</sup> See, for example, Sawyer, nos 739, 742, 745, and 806; and Stafford, *Queen Emma*, pp. 62–63.

<sup>56</sup> Stafford, *Queen Emma*, p. 204.

<sup>57</sup> Keynes, *Diplomas*, pp. 174–76.

<sup>58</sup> Note that Æthelwold’s preface to the Old English Rule cannot be definitely dated to Edgar’s lifetime either.

<sup>59</sup> *Regularis concordia*, ed. by Symons and Spath, cc. 3 and 10.

That he would have known about Louis IV's widow can hardly be doubted. We might even hypothesize that he had read Adso's letter to the Queen, 'mother of monks', since that text was enormously popular and is known to have circulated in late tenth-century England.<sup>60</sup>

We shall finish, however, by identifying a more direct possible link between the circle of the great West Frankish Queen and her counterparts in Wessex. For all that she was a key figure in the distribution of patronage in West Francia and frequently visited the court of her brother Otto I in the East Frankish or German Kingdom, Gerberga only appears in one of his charters. This, issued at Maastricht in January 966, records the Emperor's confirmation of a grant previously made by Gerberga to Abbot Womar of Saint Peter's in Gent (953–80), who likewise we meet here for the only time in a document related to Otto.<sup>61</sup> The circumstances that created the relationship between Queen and Abbot were formed by the death of Count Arnulf of Flanders in March 965 and the consequent minority of his grandson Arnulf II. The minority was anticipated and had been the subject of advance negotiation between Arnulf and King Lothar in the preceding period. Consequently, upon the Count's death Lothar marched into Flanders in order to guarantee young Arnulf's succession, as he did so taking possession of a series of previously promised territories and installing as regent his mother Gerberga.<sup>62</sup> Her gift to Womar must be interpreted as part of an attempt to establish her authority in the region. The grant was made for the soul of Arnulf I (referred to as 'her *fidelis*'), and Saint Peter's was effectively the main comital dynastic monastery: Gerberga and Womar should be seen, then, as collaborators in the establishment of Arnulf II's regime.

Joining the dots in the other direction, it is interesting to note that Womar was also a friend of Æthelwold's. The Abbot is commemorated in the *Liber Vitae* of the New Minster among those who 'devoted themselves particularly' to the church in Winchester, and his death is mentioned in the 'C' manuscript of the Anglo-Saxon

<sup>60</sup> Wormald, *MEL*, pp. 452–53.

<sup>61</sup> *Die Urkunden Konrad I., Heinrich I. und Otto I.*, ed. by Theodor Sickel, MGH, Dip. reg. imp., 1 (Hannover: Hahn, 1879–84), no. 317. The sketchy facts of Womar's career are discussed by L. Vanderkindere, 'L'Abbé Womar de Saint-Pierre de Gand', *Bulletin de la commission royale d'histoire de Belgique*, 5th ser., 8 (1898), 296–304; *Les Annales de Saint-Pierre de Gand et de Saint-Amand*, ed. by Philip Grierson (Brussels: Commission Royale d'Histoire, 1937), pp. xvi, xx–xxi, and 21 (who shows that Womar died in 980, not 981 as often asserted).

<sup>62</sup> Jean Dunbabin, 'The Reign of Arnulf II, Count of Flanders, and its Aftermath', *Francia*, 16 (1989), 53–65 (at pp. 55–56); *Recueil des actes de Lothaire*, ed. by Halphen and Lot, nos 25–26.

Chronicle, that is to say the version associated with Æthelwold's monastery of Abingdon.<sup>63</sup> On the basis of all this it is almost certain that Womar visited Winchester sometime in the later 960s and entered into confraternity with the community at New Minster. It is surely Womar who lurks behind Æthelwold's reference in the *Regularis concordia* to the influence on his thinking of monks from Gent.<sup>64</sup> The Abbot of Gent, in other words, was politically close to both Gerberga and Æthelwold in exactly the period when the latter was producing the foundational ideological texts of the English Benedictine reform, including those that sought to redefine the roles of kings and queens.<sup>65</sup>

Such connections are necessarily difficult to pin down, but go with the grain of the matrix of cross-Channel influences that historians have identified from the relatively scattered source-base of the tenth century.<sup>66</sup> But we should not, particularly in a volume commemorating the work of Wilhelm Levison, fall into the trap of thinking that such influence was all one-way, from the sophisticated imperial world of the Franks and Saxons to the aspirational 'post-Carolingian' Anglo-Saxons.<sup>67</sup> Even if Womar did influence political thinking at Winchester, we should also keep in mind that Gerberga was not the only powerful woman on the Continent: two others, her mother- and sister-in-law, were English, and her own husband had spent most of his life until the age of sixteen at the court of his uncle

<sup>63</sup> *The Liber Vitae of the New Minster and Hyde Abbey Winchester*, ed. by Simon D. Keynes, EEMF, 26 (Copenhagen: Rosenkilde and Bagger, 1996), p. 88 and fol. 18'; *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: A Collaborative Edition*, vol. v: *MS. C*, ed. by Katherine O'Brien O'Keeffe (Cambridge: Brewer, 2001), s.a. 981. On the preservation of Abingdon material in C's entries for 977–85, see also Pauline Stafford, *Unification and Conquest: A Political and Social History of England in the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries* (London: Arnold, 1989), p. 8.

<sup>64</sup> *Regularis concordia*, ed. by Symons and Spath, c. 5; Michael Lapidge, 'Æthelwold as Scholar and Teacher', in Michael Lapidge, *A-LL*, pp. 183–211 (at pp. 192–93); originally published in *Bishop Æthelwold*, ed. by Yorke. The monastic customs outlined in the text in fact derived in large part from those of Fleury: for discussion, see *Consuetudinum saeculi X/XI/XII monumenta non-Cluniacensia: Introductiones*, ed. by K. Hallinger, *Corpus Consuetudinum Monasticarum*, 7.1 (Siegburg: Schmitt, 1984), pp. 331–93.

<sup>65</sup> For contemporary connections between Gent and Wessex, see Steven Vanderputten, 'Canterbury and Flanders in the Late Tenth Century', *ASE*, 35 (2006), 219–44.

<sup>66</sup> See, for example, and in addition to the present volume, Ortenberg, *ECC*; Simon MacLean, 'Britain, Ireland and Europe, c. 900–1100', in *A Companion to the Early Middle Ages: Britain and Ireland, c. 500–1100*, ed. by Pauline Stafford (London: Blackwell, 2009), pp. 358–75.

<sup>67</sup> Robert Deshman, 'Christus Rex et Magi Reges: Kingship and Christology in Ottonian and Anglo-Saxon Art', *FmaS*, 10 (1976), 367–405.

Æthelstan in Wessex. Nor, in our stress on the similarities between Frankish and English queenship, should we forget the important differences. One, clearly, related to gender: where Gerberga was characterized as a leader of monks, Ælfthryth was seemingly associated more emphatically with nunneries than with male houses. Obviously, the circumstantial and structural differences between tenth-century Frankish and English politics should not be forgotten. All these complications remind us that political ideas could not simply be uprooted from one culture and superimposed on another, and it has not been my intention to imply that matters were so straightforward. Contemporary Francia and Flanders were not exclusive purveyors of these ideologies to the rulers of Wessex: such influence as they may have had was due to the receptive environment created by the pre-existing interest of Æthelwold and others in elements of the Carolingian and English pasts. The political postures we have been considering drew their logic from complex dialogues between England and the Continent, and between the present and the past.

Above all, though, we should appreciate the remarkable power that lay behind these projections of royal status. For these queens, pseudo-monastic political identity was not a cover for passivity or reclusivity any more than it had been for Louis the Pious. Rulers did not literally become regular abbots and abbesses. Even if we discount her posthumous reputation for having orchestrated the murder of her stepson, Ælfthryth's aggressive takeover of houses like Barking are illustrative of a forceful political presence.<sup>68</sup> Gerberga, meanwhile, accompanied her husband and son on military campaigns and held cities against their enemies when they were absent.<sup>69</sup> The way in which its discourses brought to light and reshaped the formidable status of its secular patrons both male and female is one of the most notable features of the tenth-century monastic reform on both sides of the Channel.<sup>70</sup>

University of St Andrews

<sup>68</sup> Crick, 'Wealth', pp. 173–75.

<sup>69</sup> Stafford, *Queens, Concubines and Dowagers*, pp. 117–19.

<sup>70</sup> See above all Stafford, 'Queens, Nunneries and Reforming Churchmen'.



## COMPARATIVE APPROACHES TO ANGLO-SAXON AND OTTONIAN CORONATIONS

David A. Warner

A comparative approach to historical research offers a number of benefits. As one recent study puts it: 'Historians undertake comparisons because they want to question national explanations, build typologies, stress historical diversity, encourage skepticism vis-à-vis global explanatory models, or contextualize and enrich research traditions of one society by exploring and contrasting them with research traditions of different societies.'<sup>1</sup> But a comparative approach also involves challenges. Not the least of these is the necessity of interacting with different scholarly communities which may have employed differing methodologies, terminologies, or types of evidence and posed different questions.<sup>2</sup> The benefits and challenges of comparative approaches to history are worth keeping in mind when contemplating a comparative study of Germany and England in the tenth century.<sup>3</sup> At first glance, the two would seem to have much

<sup>1</sup> Stephen Berger, 'Comparative History', in *Writing History: Theory and Practice*, ed. by Stephen Berger, Heiko Feldner, and Kevin Passmore (London: Arnold, 2003), pp. 161–79 (at p. 164).

<sup>2</sup> With particular regard to the study of the Middle Ages, see the relevant discussion in Otto Gerhard Oexle, 'The Middle Ages through Modern Eyes: A Historical Problem', *TRHS*, 6th ser., 9 (1999), 121–42 (at p. 141).

<sup>3</sup> Any attempt at a comparative study of Anglo-Saxon England and Ottonian Germany will owe an obvious debt to the work of Karl Leyser and Timothy Reuter. See, especially, Karl Leyser, 'The Ottonians and Wessex', in Leyser, *CPME*, pp. 73–104; and Timothy Reuter, 'The Making of England and Germany, 850–1050: Points of Comparison and Difference', in Reuter, *MPMM*, pp. 284–99.

in common.<sup>4</sup> Each had a dominant region that produced its kings — Wessex and Saxony, respectively. Each was ruled by a royal dynasty that produced expansive, seemingly successful monarchs as well as monarchs, such as Æthelred and Otto III, whose relative degree of success or failure is a matter of one's point of view.<sup>5</sup> Both the Saxon dynasty of the Ottonians and the Anglo-Saxon dynasty of Wessex were disposed towards imperial imagery.<sup>6</sup> They exchanged manuscripts, relics, and personnel.<sup>7</sup> The two dynasties were also related by marriage. In 929, at an obvious highpoint of Anglo-German diplomacy, the German king, Henry I, married his son Otto to Edith, sister of King Æthelstan.<sup>8</sup>

Common features and connections notwithstanding, it would appear that the scholarly communities most concerned with the histories of Anglo-Saxon England and, respectively, of Ottonian Germany have tended to favour rather different approaches to their subject matter. In distinguishing English and German medieval scholarship, for example, Timothy Reuter argued that the English variety was less open to source criticism, to 'the studies of style and vocabulary, conceptual frameworks, or intellectual and political horizons' typically produced by the German scholarly community.<sup>9</sup> How generally this characterization may be applied is not a question I intend to pursue. It does appear, however, that it is applicable to scholarship relating to the much-studied topic of royal inauguration rituals.<sup>10</sup> I would suggest that this situation presents an opportunity to pursue one of the goals that

<sup>4</sup> Indeed, it has been argued that England and Germany presented more similarities in the tenth century than at any other time in their respective histories. See Leyser, 'The Ottonians and Wessex', p. 73.

<sup>5</sup> On monarchs and political conditions in England, see Christopher Brooke, *The Saxon and Norman Kings*, 3rd edn (Oxford: Blackwell, 2001), pp. 110–23. For a revisionist view of Æthelred, see Simon Keynes, 'A Tale of Two Kings: Alfred the Great and Æthelred the Unready', *TRHS*, 5th ser., 36 (1986), 195–217. On kings and politics in Ottonian Germany, see Gerd Althoff, *Die Ottonen: Königsherrschaft ohne Staat*, 2nd edn (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2000).

<sup>6</sup> See e.g. Robert Deshman, 'Christus rex et magi reges: Kingship and Christology in Ottonian and Anglo-Saxon Art', *FmaS*, 10 (1976), 367–405.

<sup>7</sup> Ortenberg, *ECC*, pp. 57–94.

<sup>8</sup> See Leyser, 'The Ottonians and Wessex', pp. 76–78, 80.

<sup>9</sup> See Timothy Reuter, 'Medieval Mentalities and Medieval Politics', in Reuter, *MPMM*, pp. 3–18 (at pp. 9–12, 15–17).

<sup>10</sup> Although it seems to have become rather moribund lately, the study of royal inaugural rites has had a long history, stretching back more than a century. See Janos M. Bak, 'Coronation Studies – Past, Present, and Future', in *Coronations: Medieval and Early Modern Monarchic Ritual*, ed. by Janos M. Bak (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), pp. 1–15 (p. 5).

I have already mentioned, namely, to 'contextualize and enrich research traditions of one society by exploring and contrasting them with research traditions of different societies'.<sup>11</sup> I propose to pursue this goal by examining two iconic moments in the history of Ottonian and Anglo-Saxon kingship: Otto I's coronation at Aachen, in 936, and Edgar's coronation at Bath, in 973.

Otto I (936–73) and Edgar (959–75) loomed large in the minds of their contemporaries. Otto could be compared with Charlemagne, and his reign could be viewed as an age of gold.<sup>12</sup> Edgar's reputation appears to have been no less lustrous. In its entry for 959, the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle praised him, among other things, for having brought peace and security to his people, for his devotion to God's law, and for his wise counsel.<sup>13</sup> Wulfstan, biographer of St Æthelwold, made frequent and favourable note of the King's support for monastic reform, an aspect of the King's reign that has also impressed modern scholars.<sup>14</sup> Even before their coronations, both Otto and Edgar could, in some sense, claim the royal title. Otto's father, Henry I (919–36), had designated him as successor to the throne in 929, a decision apparently linked with Otto's betrothal to the Anglo-Saxon princess, Edith (d. 946).<sup>15</sup> For the monks at Reichenau, Otto's claim to the throne seemed sufficiently firm that they referred to him as 'king' in a contemporary entry in their confraternity book.<sup>16</sup> Edgar's claim was even stronger. He was thirty years old and had

<sup>11</sup> See above at note 1.

<sup>12</sup> Thietmar of Merseburg, *Chronicon*, in *Thietmar* (Holtzmann), p. 93 (Bk II, chap. 45).

<sup>13</sup> *ASC* (Swanton), p. 114 (s.a. 959).

<sup>14</sup> E.g. Wulfstan of Winchester, *The Life of St Æthelwold*, ed. and trans. by Michael Lapidge and Michael Winterbottom, OMT (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), p. 42 (c. 27). For modern assessments of Edgar's interest in monastic reform, see, most recently, John Blair, *The Church in Anglo-Saxon England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), pp. 350–54; Catherine Cubitt, 'The Tenth-Century Benedictine Reform in England', *EME*, 6 (1997), 77–94 (p. 79); and Simon Keynes, 'Edgar, *rex admirabilis*', in *Edgar, King of the English, 959–975: New Interpretations*, ed. by Donald Scragg, Publication of the Manchester Centre for Anglo-Saxon Studies, 8 (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2008), pp. 3–59 (pp. 40–48).

<sup>15</sup> For the place of Otto's designation as successor in Henry I's Hausordnung, see Althoff, *Die Ottonen*, pp. 56–59.

<sup>16</sup> *Die Vebrüderungsbuch der Abtei Reichenau*, ed. by Johanne Autenrieth, Dieter Geuenich, and Karl Schmid, MGH, Lib. Mem. Nec., n.s., 1 (Hannover: Hahn, 1979), fol. 63. Through a series of arguments, too complex to relate here, this entry has been placed in close proximity with Henry I's Hausordnung of 929. The fundamental statement of the case is by Karl Schmid, 'Neue Quellen zu Verständnis des Adels im 10. Jahrhundert', in *Königswahl und Thronfolge in ottonisch-frühdeutscher Zeit*, ed. by Eduard Hlawitschka, Wege der Forschung, 178 (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche

already reigned for fourteen years before entering the church at Bath in 973 for his coronation. Although this apparently delayed coronation continues to perplex modern scholars, it seems to have made a suitably grand impression on Edgar's contemporaries.<sup>17</sup> In the Winchester manuscript of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, a poem celebrates the event, noting its coincidence with the feast of Pentecost and the multitude of monks, priests, and learned men in attendance.<sup>18</sup>

However one might wish to judge their relative importance within the larger contexts of Anglo-Saxon or Ottonian history, the coronations of both Otto I and Edgar present a comparable problem in methodology, centered in each case on the interpretation of a unique literary source. The course of Otto's coronation is chiefly known through the detailed account included by Widukind of Corvey (c. 942–c. 973) in his *Deeds of the Saxons*.<sup>19</sup> This work, Widukind's chief claim to fame, went through several stages of composition, but covers events extending to the death of Otto I in 973.<sup>20</sup> Edgar's coronation is known through the equally detailed account that Byrhtferth of Ramsey (c. 970–c. 1020) included in his biography of Oswald, bishop of Worcester and archbishop of York, a work thought

Buchgesellschaft, 1971), pp. 389–416 (at pp. 402–05); and Eduard Hlawitschka, 'Die Thronfolge Ottos des Grossen', in *Königswahl*, ed. by Hlawitschka, pp. 417–508 (at pp. 438, 449).

<sup>17</sup> It has been suggested, for example, that the event may have been postponed until Edgar's thirtieth year to suggest parallels with the beginning of Jesus's earthly ministry and to draw analogies between royal and priestly power. See Eric John, 'Orbis Britanniae and the Anglo-Saxon Kings', in his *Orbis Britanniae and Other Studies* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1966), pp. 1–63 (p. 57). As an alternative explanation, it has been proposed that the events of 973 represented a second, imperial coronation reflective of the hegemony that Edgar exercised within *Britannia*. See Janet L. Nelson, 'Inauguration Rituals', in Nelson, *PREME*, pp. 283–307 (at pp. 296–303). For a recent overview of the debate, see Keynes 'Edgar, *rex admirabilis*', pp. 48–58.

<sup>18</sup> *ASC* (Swanton), p. 118 (*s.a.* 973). On the date (nearly contemporary with the event itself) and association of the poem with reform circles, see Mercedes Salvador-Bello, 'The Edgar Panegyrics in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle', in *Edgar, King of the English, 959–975*, ed. by Scragg, pp. 252–72 (pp. 253–63).

<sup>19</sup> *Widukind* (Lohmann-Hirsch), pp. 63–67 (Bk II, chaps 1–2).

<sup>20</sup> One version of the text was dedicated to the Ottonian princess, Abbess Mathilda of Quedlinburg, and includes additional material apparently intended for her edification. The precise relationship between the various versions of Widukind's text continues to be a matter of debate; see, most recently, Johannes Laudage, 'Widukind von Corvey', in *Von Fakten und Fiktionen: Mittelalterliche Geschichtsdarstellungen und ihre kritische Aufarbeitung*, ed. by Johannes Laudage, Europäische Geschichtsdarstellungen, 1 (Cologne: Böhlau, 2003), pp. 193–224 (pp. 216–23).

to have been compiled between 997 and 1002.<sup>21</sup> Aside from the fact that each deals with a coronation, there are attractive reasons for considering these two accounts in tandem. The authors were near contemporaries, for one thing, and had similar backgrounds.<sup>22</sup> Both were monks, who resided in communities noted for their wealth, influence, and learning.<sup>23</sup> Each was learned by the standards of their era, and they shared a concern with monastic reform, Byrhtferth as an enthusiastic supporter, Widukind as a sceptic, if not necessarily an opponent.<sup>24</sup>

When we move from considering the circumstances in which Widukind and Byrhtferth compiled these coronation accounts to considering how modern scholars have interpreted them, the similarities begin to decline. Both accounts are so full of detail that modern historians have been tempted to take them as straightforward factual accounts. But doubts regarding their reliability persist, chiefly because each was compiled decades after the event, so there had been plenty of time for memories to dim or undergo revision. Insofar as the account of Otto I's coronation is concerned, such doubts have indeed generated wide-ranging debate regarding Widukind's sources and agenda. In contrast, treatment of Byrhtferth's account seems to have remained narrowly focused on the question of accuracy. What I hope to suggest is that some of the debates that have swirled around Widukind's text, especially those concerned with source-criticism, may well have relevance for Byrhtferth's text. Before proceeding with the specifics of this topic, however, we need to establish where the study of ritual and of coronations currently stands. And, given the intent of this volume to honour the memory of Wilhelm Levison (1876–1947), his *England and the Continent* can serve as a springboard.<sup>25</sup>

<sup>21</sup> *Vita Oswaldi*, pp. 399–475 (at pp. 436–38). On the date of compilation, see Michael Lapidge, 'Byrhtferth and Oswald', in *Oswald LI*, pp. 64–83 (p. 65).

<sup>22</sup> Of the numerous overviews and commentaries on Widukind's career, see esp. Karl Leyser, 'Three Historians', in Leyser, *CPME*, pp. 19–28 (p. 27). On Byrhtferth's life and career, see Michael Lapidge, 'Byrhtferth', in *BEASE*, pp. 78–79.

<sup>23</sup> On Corvey, a royal monastery founded in the ninth century, see John W. Bernhardt, *Itinerant Kingship and Royal Monasteries in Early Medieval Germany, c. 936–1075* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), pp. 195–203. On Ramsey, see John Blair, 'Ramsey', in *BEASE*, pp. 385–86; Julia Barrow, 'The Community of Worcester, 961–c.1100', in *Oswald LI*, pp. 84–99 (pp. 93–95).

<sup>24</sup> On Byrhtferth's interest in reform, see e.g., Lapidge, 'Byrhtferth and Oswald', p. 66. Widukind expresses his concerns regarding monastic reform at p. 98 (Bk II, chap. 37).

<sup>25</sup> Levison, *ECEC*. On Levison's life and career, see, in general, Felice Lifshitz, 'Wilhelm Levison 1876–1947', in *Encyclopedia of Historians and Historical Writing*, ed. by Kelly Boyd, 2 vols (London: Fitzroy Dearborn, 1999), I, 747–48.

Ironically, ritual does not occupy a prominent place in Levison's work, royal unction being the only rite that seems to have attracted his interest. But Levison's comments on this relatively limited topic are worth considering because they typify the kind of scholarship which his generation devoted to ritual. For Levison, royal unction provided a clear case of interaction between England and the Continent and, most probably, of the influence of Continental political practice on Anglo-Saxon kingship.<sup>26</sup> After playing a key role in the 'coup d'état' that placed the first Carolingian king on the throne, so Levison argued, the rite of unction was then transmitted to England, where it figured in royal inauguration rites of the later eighth century. He concluded, quoting Percy Ernst Schramm, 'from this time onwards it was essential to the medieval king that he should not only receive the insignia of office but should also be anointed at the hands of the clergy'.<sup>27</sup> The reference to Schramm was entirely appropriate since Levison's relatively brief treatment of royal unction rested on assumptions with which Schramm and other scholars of his generation would probably have agreed.

Like Schramm, Levison assumed, implicitly, that the goals of medieval politics corresponded to those of its modern counterpart, at least insofar as each aimed to consolidate power in the hands of a single executive.<sup>28</sup> Royal inauguration rituals contributed to this process of consolidation by emphasizing politically useful ideas, such as the divine origin of rulership. Levison had little doubt, for example, that royal unction strengthened the position of the Carolingian Pippin III by counter-acting and concealing his 'deficiency of blood-right'.<sup>29</sup> Aside from their essentially teleological view of the history of political institutions, Levison and his contemporaries tended to share assumptions regarding the character of their evidence. In particular, they tended to assume that accounts of medieval rituals provided access to a reality distinct from the agendas and strategies of their authors. Limitations and distortions notwithstanding, such accounts could be analysed and synthesized until they yielded a reasonably reliable picture of what had really happened.<sup>30</sup> As often as not, this picture simply privileged one medieval interpretation over another. One might argue, for example, that Levison's comments regarding the

<sup>26</sup> Levison, *ECEC*, pp. 115–19.

<sup>27</sup> Levison, *ECEC*, p. 116.

<sup>28</sup> See Levison's comments regarding Childeric III, the 'sham king' replaced by the first Carolingian. Levison, *ECEC*, p. 115.

<sup>29</sup> Levison, *ECEC*, p. 117.

<sup>30</sup> See e.g. comments on methodology in Lifshitz, 'Wilhelm Levison', p. 717.

anointment of Pippin accepted as fact the 'process of historical myth-making' evident in pro-Carolingian sources such as Einhard's biography of Charlemagne or the 'constructed past' of the Royal Frankish Annals.<sup>31</sup>

Insofar as the study of Ottonian rituals is concerned, the assumptions that underlay Levison's work have not altogether dissipated, but current scholarship tends to treat the texts upon which that study has typically been based with greater scepticism and with a greater sensitivity to authorial strategies and motivations.<sup>32</sup> Current scholarship, typified by the work of Gerd Althoff, also tends to consider royal inaugural rites as part of a more expansive range of rituals and demonstrative behaviours relating to kings.<sup>33</sup> In shifting the focus of attention beyond the 'classical forms of royal self-dramatisation' to rites of submission, ritualized expressions of anger, and other demonstrative behaviours, current Ottonian scholarship has also interpreted the terms 'royal', 'ritual', and 'political' in a more expansive manner than has hitherto been characteristic of its Anglo-Saxon counterpart. As Julia Barrow has noted, the study of this more expansively defined range of rituals and behaviours has been confined, geographically, to 'the Carolingian empire and its successor states, Germany, Italy and France [...]. Anglo-Saxon England does not feature'.<sup>34</sup> With this contrast in mind, let us move to our first witness, Widukind of Corvey and his *Deeds of the Saxons*.

<sup>31</sup> The quoted phrase and reference to Einhard is from Roger Collins, *Charlemagne* (London: Macmillan, 1998), p. 3. On the pro-Carolingian past constructed in the Royal Frankish Annals, see Rosamond McKitterick, 'Constructing the Past in the Early Middle Ages: The Case of the Royal Frankish Annals', *TRHS*, 6th ser., 7 (1997), 101–29 (pp. 115, 128).

<sup>32</sup> Indeed, one might argue, debate regarding whether or to what degree accounts of Ottonian (and other) rituals can be separated from the agendas and strategies of the authors who compiled them may well have produced something like an epistemological crisis. See the recent, opposing contributions to this debate by Geoffrey Koziol, 'The Dangers of Polemic: Is Ritual still an Interesting Topic of Historical Study', *EME*, 11 (2002), 367–88; and Philippe Buc, 'The Monster and the Critics: A Ritual Reply', *EME*, 15 (2007), 441–52 (esp. pp. 448–49).

<sup>33</sup> Gerd Althoff, *Die Macht der Rituale: Symbolik und Herrschaft im Mittelalter* (Darmstadt: Primus Verlag, 2003).

<sup>34</sup> Julia Barrow, 'Demonstrative Behaviour and Political Communication in Later Anglo-Saxon England', *ASE*, 36 (2007), 127–50 (pp. 127–29). The quoted phrase is from Timothy Reuter, 'Regemque, quem in Francia pene perdidit, in patria magnifice recepit: Ottonian Ruler Representation in Synchronic and Diachronic Comparison', in Reuter, *MPMM*, pp. 127–46 (p. 129).

### *Widukind of Corvey*

Widukind's testimony is crucial for the history of Ottonian coronations, as we have already mentioned, because of his detailed and unique account of Otto I's coronation in 936.<sup>35</sup> After Henry I died, so Widukind informs us, the entire people of the Franks and Saxons elected as their prince his son, Otto, whom Henry had already designated as king. The palace at Aachen was named as the place of general election. When everyone had gathered there, the dukes, the leading men among the counts, and a crowd of the most pre-eminent *milites* assembled in the portico (*in sexto*) of the church. Here, they installed Otto on a throne and did homage to him, promising both loyalty and aid against his enemies. The result, so Widukind concluded, was that they made him king according to their own custom. Thereafter, Otto entered the church where he was met by the Archbishop of Mainz and a crowd of clergy and laymen who, at the Archbishop's invitation, indicated their agreement to Otto's elevation by raising their right hands and wishing him good luck. Thereafter, the Archbishop proceeded to give him various symbols of rulership, anoint and crown him, and install him upon yet another throne. Widukind adds other noteworthy details, for example, that Otto was dressed like a Frank, in a tight-fitting tunic. He also notes that the coronation was followed by a banquet, in the palace, where Otto sat at a marble table, along with the bishops and people, and was served by the dukes of the realm.

The level of detail in Widukind's account is impressive, so impressive that some historians have been tempted to treat it as a more or less reliable piece of reportage.<sup>36</sup> Others, chiefly noting the chronological distance between the event and Widukind's recording of it, have expressed doubts. It has been suggested, for example, that Widukind was drawing on memories of the more recent coronation of Otto II (961) or, alternatively, that he intended for his account of Otto I's coronation to be read in conjunction with his account of the succession of King Henry I, in 919, an occasion on which the, apparently conscious, rejection of any

<sup>35</sup> See above at note 19.

<sup>36</sup> See e.g., Ernst Karpf, *Herrscherlegitimation und Reichsbegriff in der ottonischen Geschichtsschreibung des 10. Jahrhunderts*, Historische Forschungen, 10 (Stuttgart: F. Steiner, 1985), p. 162; Hartmut Hoffmann, 'Ottonische Fragen', *DA*, 51 (1995), 53–82 (pp. 60–69). Of necessity, the following survey is both brief and highly selective. For a more complete overview of the vast body of literature relevant to Widukind and the Saxon History, including his account of Otto's coronation, see Laudage, 'Widukind von Corvey'.



ecclesiastical rite provided a stark contrast to the events of 936.<sup>37</sup> Helmut Beumann, whose study of Widukind's text represents the generally accepted starting-point for any work on the topic, argued that the liturgical character of the coronation report was so contrary to what he saw as Widukind's secular orientation that it must have been lifted from some other source.<sup>38</sup> A more recent critic has suggested that he fabricated all or part of it out of whole cloth.<sup>39</sup> That opinion regarding the trustworthiness of Widukind's account diverges so widely may suggest the difficulty inherent in any attempt to access a past event mediated through the testimony of a single text. In the absence of a reliable point of reference against which accuracy itself can be measured, any attempt to gage the accuracy of a specific historical account will yield results that are, at best, provisional.

On the assumption that Widukind is unlikely to have witnessed Otto's coronation, attempts to determine the source of his information have sometimes focused on a contemporary liturgical document, the *Ordo of Mainz*.<sup>40</sup> Although the text of

<sup>37</sup> On the possibility that Widukind may have been recalling the events of 961 when he crafted his account of Otto I's coronation, see Hagen Keller, 'Widukinds Bericht über die Aachener Wahl und Krönung Ottos I', *FmaS*, 29 (1995), 390–453 (p. 417). According to Widukind, Henry I's succession included a designation and transmission of royal insignia, but when Archbishop Heriger of Mainz offered Henry 'anointment along with a diadem', he responded that 'it was enough for [him] to be called and designated king in the presence of [his] magnates' (Widukind (Lohmann-Hirsch), p. 39 (Bk I, chap. 26)). It has been suggested that the contrast between Henry's and Otto I's inaugurations reflects Widukind's desire to emphasize the importance of Otto I's reign as the fulfillment of his predecessor's. See Johannes Fried, 'Die Königserhebung Heinrichs I. Erinnerung, Mündlichkeit und Traditionsbildung im 10. Jahrhundert', in *Mittelalterforschung nach der Wende*, 1989, ed. by Michael Borgolte, *Historische Zeitschrift*, Beiheft, 20 (Munich: R. Oldenbourg, 1995), pp. 267–318 (p. 308); Joachim Ott, 'Kronen und Krönungen in frühottonischer Zeit', in *Ottonische Neuanfänge*, ed. by Bernd Schneidmüller and Stefan Weinfurter (Mainz: von Zabern, 2001), pp. 171–88 (pp. 174–75).

<sup>38</sup> Helmut Beumann, *Widukind von Korvei: Untersuchungen zur Geschichtsschreibung und Ideengeschichte des 10. Jahrhunderts*, *Abhandlungen über corveyer Geschichtsschreibung*, 3 (Weimar: Herman Böhlau, 1950), p. 206.

<sup>39</sup> Carlrichard Brühl, *Deutschland-Frankreich: Die Geburt zweier Völker*, 2nd edn (Cologne: Böhlau, 1995), pp. 463–70.

<sup>40</sup> Or. 72, in *Le Pontifical Romano-Germanique du dixième siècle*, ed. by Cyril Vogel and Reinhard Elze, 3 vols, *Studi e Testi*, 226, 227, and 269 (Vatican City: BAV, 1963), I, 246–61. The *Ordo of Mainz* appears in the Romano-German Pontifical, a collection of liturgical materials pertaining to the office of bishop, generally believed to have been compiled at Mainz, between 950 and 962. On this and the following, see Eric Palazzo, *History of Liturgical Books: From the Beginning to the Thirteenth Century*, trans. by M. Beaumont (Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 1993), pp. 195–212.

the *ordo* gives no indication that it was intended for a specific monarch, it describes a rite that resembles Widukind's in the amount of detail and even in some specific elements. The reader is taken from the moment at which the bishops escort the candidate to the church, to the finale, when he takes his place on the royal throne. Along the way, a variety of objects are bestowed, each symbolizing one or another of the king's tasks and obligations. The bestowal of the sword, for example, is accompanied by a prayer explaining that it should be used to suppress wicked people and defend widows and orphans.<sup>41</sup> The ring is a symbol of creedal orthodoxy and a reminder that the king should foster and preserve both Christendom and the Christian faith.<sup>42</sup> The rite of unction provides the high point. Prior to its administration, the rite's recipient is identified as the '*princeps designatus*' or simply as 'him' or 'that person'.<sup>43</sup> Afterwards, he is referred to as *rex*.

Although there are some obvious similarities between the rites described by the *Ordo* and Widukind's account of the events at Aachen, there are also some obvious discrepancies. The most glaring, perhaps, is the differing treatment of the unction rite, which Widukind appears to see as affirmative rather than constitutive.<sup>44</sup> The distinction may be significant. The *Ordo of Mainz* expresses an ideal of rulership based on a kind of partnership between the king and the episcopate, but it also cautions that the office of the priest is that much weightier, being closer to the sacred altar.<sup>45</sup> The apparently lesser importance attributed to royal unction in Widukind's account has prompted suggestions that he may have wished to express a subtle but conscious opposition to claims of ecclesiastical superiority on the part

<sup>41</sup> Or. 72, c. 19, in *Le Pontifical Romano-Germanique*, ed. by Vogel and Elze, p. 255.

<sup>42</sup> Or. 72, c. 20, in *Le Pontifical Romano-Germanique*, ed. by Vogel and Elze, p. 256.

<sup>43</sup> Or. 72, c. 13, in *Le Pontifical Romano-Germanique*, ed. by Vogel and Elze, pp. 252–53.

<sup>44</sup> Johannes Laudage, *Otto der Grosse (912–973): Eine Biographie* (Regensburg: Friedrich Pustet, 2001), p. 100.

<sup>45</sup> Together, so it is implied, anointed kings and anointed bishops rule over an *ecclesia* encompassing all of society and each of its members. On the basis of this idea in the writings of Pope Gelasius I (492–96), see Janet L. Nelson, 'Kingship and Empire', in *The Cambridge History of Medieval Political Thought*, ed. by James H. Burns (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), pp. 211–51 (p. 243). In contrast to what Gelasius intended, Ottonian expressions of dualism tended to assume the absorption of the monarch's sphere into that of the Church. See David A. Warner, 'Thietmar of Merseburg: The Image of the Ottonian Bishop', in *The Year 1000: Religious and Social Response to the Turning of the First Millennium*, ed. by Michael Frassetto (New York: Palgrave, 2002), pp. 85–110 (p. 90). The limits that the *ordo* places on the king are expressed in the prayer associated with the bestowal of the crown, 'Accipe coronam regni' (c. 22 (p. 257)), and in the prayer for the enthronement, 'Sta et retine' (c. 25 (p. 258)).

of the Ottonian clergy.<sup>46</sup> According to one recent assessment, Widukind interpreted unction and coronation as rites that bestowed God's grace on the king and presented him with an ethical challenge, but avoided the impression that 'legitimate access to the throne' was dependent upon them.<sup>47</sup> Be that as it may, in the end, efforts to identify the *Ordo of Mainz* as Widukind's source have foundered on the absence of any direct and verifiable connection between the two texts.

That the *Ordo* might provide a point of reference against which to measure the accuracy of Widukind's account would seem an equally questionable proposition. As sets of directions for liturgical king-making, *ordines* have been treated as particularly informative sources for the history of medieval rulership and continue to figure among the historian's stock-in-trade.<sup>48</sup> But they have their limitations. In particular, though it has been argued that the pontifical in which the *Ordo of Mainz* resides had the status of an official document, the *ordo* itself, like all *ordines*, was programmatic not descriptive; it expressed what the compiler believed or hoped would happen at a coronation, not what actually did happen.<sup>49</sup> In more recent scholarship, interest in the question of whether the testimony of the *Ordo of Mainz* supports or undermines Widukind's account of Otto's coronation, or whether Widukind exploited or reacted to the *ordo* appears to have subsided. Meanwhile, growing recognition that the past recounted in the *Deeds of the Saxons* was consciously constructed rather than empirically observed has encouraged a scholarly viewpoint focused more closely on Widukind's authorial agendas and strategies.

Widukind's editorial comments, scattered throughout the text, suggest that he was conscious of his role in constructing his narrative.<sup>50</sup> He was also forthright

<sup>46</sup> See, for example, Sverre Bagge, *Kings, Politics, and the Right Order of the World in German Historiography c.950–1150*, Studies in the History of Christian Thought, 103 (Leiden: Brill, 2002), pp. 23–94 (pp. 36–38).

<sup>47</sup> Bagge, *Kings, Politics*, p. 36.

<sup>48</sup> See R. Jackson's comments in *Ordines coronationis Franciae: Texts and Ordines for the Coronation of Frankish and French Kings and Queens in the Middle Ages*, ed. by R. Jackson, vol. 1 (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1995), pp. 2 and 32–38; and Nelson, 'Ritual and Reality in Early Medieval *Ordines*', in Nelson, *PREME*, pp. 329–30, 338.

<sup>49</sup> See for example, Bak, 'Coronation Studies', p. 7. The evidence for the official status of the Romano-German pontifical is exclusively circumstantial, resting, for example, on the fact that Otto's illegitimate son William was Archbishop of Mainz during the time period in which the pontifical is believed to have been compiled. See Palazzo, *History of Liturgical Books*, p. 205; and Laudage, *Otto der Grosse*, pp. 98–99.

<sup>50</sup> For examples of Widukind's editorial comments, see *Widukind* (Lohmann-Hirsch), p. 1 (Bk I, prologue); p. 4 (Bk I, chap. 2); p. 63 (Bk III, chap. 63).

regarding his intentions: to record the deeds of the leading men and to fulfill his obligations to his lineage and people.<sup>51</sup> Modern readers have added other agendas. Widukind has been characterized, in various combinations, as the voice of the Saxon *gens*, an advocate for the Ottonian dynasty, and promoter of his own monastery of Corvey.<sup>52</sup> It has been argued that his work rests on an underlying theme of crisis and triumph and that it aimed to establish God's concern with the welfare of the Ottonian dynasty.<sup>53</sup> His silences regarding otherwise significant events such as Otto's imperial coronation (962) and the foundation of the archbishopric of Magdeburg have been interpreted as implicit expressions of opposition to the policies in question.<sup>54</sup> Rather than describing the past as it actually happened, much if not necessarily all of the more recent literature acknowledges that Widukind was advocating that version of the past that he wanted readers to know, and that the *Deeds of the Saxons* must, therefore, be treated critically in terms of its agendas and strategies.<sup>55</sup> More specifically, rather than treating Widukind's account of Otto's coronation as a piece of reportage, current scholarship tends to place it within the network of rhetorical strategies and agendas that form the rest of Widukind's text. Now, we may consider the possibility that such conclusions may have relevance for the coronation narrative of Widukind's Anglo-Saxon counterpart, Byrhtferth.

### *Byrhtferth*

Byrhtferth's account of Edgar's coronation is nothing if not rich in detail.<sup>56</sup> Emphasis is placed on the representative character of the event, which was attended

<sup>51</sup> On the somewhat opaque meaning of Widukind's use of the terms *genus* and *gens*, see Beumann, *Widukind*, p. 13.

<sup>52</sup> See, e.g. Bagge, *Kings, Politics*, p. 93.

<sup>53</sup> Lothar Bornscheur, *Miseriae regum: Untersuchungen zum Krisen- und Todesgedanken in herrschaftstheologischen Vorstellungen der ottonisch-sachsischen Zeit*, *Arbeiten zur Frühmittelalterforschung*, 4 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1968), 16–41; Ludger Körntgen, *Königsherrschaft und Gottes Gnade: Zu Kontext und function sakraler Vorstellungen in Historiographie und Bildzeugnissen der Ottonisch-frühsalischen Zeit*, *Orbis Mediaevalis*, 2 (Berlin: Akademie, 2001), pp. 88–91.

<sup>54</sup> Laudage, 'Widukind von Corvey', p. 212; Bagge, *Kings, Politics*, p. 39.

<sup>55</sup> Gerd Althoff, 'Widukind von Corvey: Kronzeuge und Herausforderung', *FmaS*, 27 (1993), 253–72 (pp. 255–57); Laudage, 'Widukind von Corvey', pp. 205–08.

<sup>56</sup> *Vita Oswaldi*, pp. 436–38.

by both ecclesiastical and secular dignitaries. In hierarchical order, Byrhtferth notes the presence of archbishops, priests, abbots, abbesses, dukes, counts, judges, and all who might be called worthy. It is also indicated that Edgar was a crowned and elected king when the bishops led him into the church at Bath. After prostrating himself before the altar, Edgar swears an oath to preserve the peace of Church and people, to defend the realm from evildoers, and to practice equity and justice in all his judgments. Uncction follows, along with the bestowal of a ring, sword, crown, sceptre, and wand. Although these are clearly objects with symbolic significance for rulership, Byrhtferth gives no indication of their meaning or intended use. The coronation concludes with a Mass and is followed by a banquet. Byrhtferth notes that the Queen, who was also present, dined separately with the abbots and abbesses.

Throughout the account, Byrhtferth emphasizes the contribution of Archbishops Dunstan and Oswald as celebrants and intercessors. Dunstan initiates the *Tē Deum*, as the King lies prostrate at the altar, for example, and administers the oath. Byrhtferth notes that the prelate broke down in tears when he recognized how undeserving the people were for such a humble and wise king. Oswald joins Dunstan in reading prayers over the King, and at the banquet, both prelates sit with the King on a raised platform. In comparison to Widukind's relatively prosaic narrative, Byrhtferth's text is rich in rhetorical flourishes. Rather than simply stating that the nobility and clergy came to Bath, for example, Byrhtferth declares that they were summoned by a decree of the emperor, which went forth from East to West, and from the North to the sea, perhaps suggesting that he considered this an imperial or hegemonial coronation.<sup>57</sup> In an allusion to the image of the suffering Christ and, perhaps, a suggestion of the King's sacral status, Byrhtferth notes that the nobility and clergy did not come to Bath to suspend Edgar on the cross as the Jews had done to Jesus, but rather that the bishops might bless, anoint, and consecrate him.<sup>58</sup> He also notes that they had not come to exile Edgar or take counsel to kill him.

In attempting to assess the credibility of Byrhtferth's coronation narrative, recourse has commonly been had to the so-called *Second English Ordo*.<sup>59</sup> Like its

<sup>57</sup> See, for example, Nelson, 'Ritual and Reality', p. 303; John, 'Orbis Britanniae and the Anglo-Saxon Kings', p. 53.

<sup>58</sup> With regard to the popularity of this image and its relevance for contemporary thoughts on kingship, see Eric John, *Reassessing Anglo-Saxon England* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1996), pp. 134–35.

<sup>59</sup> That debate regarding Byrhtferth's account still tends to focus on the issue of credibility is suggested by Lapidge, 'Byrhtferth and Oswald', p. 72.

Ottonian counterpart, the *Ordo of Mainz*, the *Second English Ordo* provides a detailed recounting of how a king should be inaugurated.<sup>60</sup> The king is led from the assembly of the nobility (*de conventu seniorum*) to the church, where he prostrates himself before the altar and swears an oath to preserve the peace, on behalf of the Church and people, to forbid theft and every degree of wickedness, and to exercise equity and mercy in all his judgements. He is then anointed and presented with objects symbolic of the different attributes of rulership, including a crown. In contrast to Byrhtferth's account, the significance of each object is explained in an accompanying prayer. Despite some relatively minor differences, the *Second English Ordo* and Byrhtferth's account of Edgar's coronation so closely resemble one another that it has been tempting to assume that the *ordo* served as Byrhtferth's source.<sup>61</sup> Since only Byrhtferth places the coronation within a specific historical context, the result can be a kind of circular reasoning in which Byrhtferth's account is presumed to be accurate because it so closely resembles the *ordo* and the *ordo* is presumed to have been used for Edgar because it so closely resembles Byrhtferth's description.<sup>62</sup>

Rather than continue down the epistemological dead end represented by the question of Byrhtferth's relationship with the coronation *ordo* or pursue the equally unpromising question of Byrhtferth's accuracy, it might be more productive to follow the lead of current Ottonian scholarship and focus on the question of how the account of Edgar's coronation fits into the overall structure of Byrhtferth's work. In fact, Byrhtferth's biography of Oswald is a complex text comprising themes that interlock with and overlap one another. One theme revolves around the task of establishing Oswald's personal virtue, a common element in hagiographic literature. A basic narrative moves from a promising infancy, through the trial endured through membership of a lax monastic community, to recovery in the

<sup>60</sup> 'The Second English Coronation Order', in *English Coronation Records*, ed. by Leopold G. Wickham Legg (Westminster: Archibald Constable, 1901), pp. 15–29. The *ordo's* date of composition is subject to debate, but it is usually placed towards the beginning of the tenth century. It is preserved in a wide range of English pontificals dating from the tenth and early eleventh centuries. On questions of dating etc., see, in general, George Garnett, 'Coronation', in *BEASE*, pp. 122–23.

<sup>61</sup> Lapidge, 'Byrhtferth and Oswald', p. 78. See also Nelson, 'The Second English Ordo', in Nelson, *PREME*, p. 372; Antonia Gransden, *Historical Writing in England, c.550–1307*, 2 vols (London: Routledge, 1974), I, 85. The popularity of this opinion is longstanding. See, for example, P. L. Ward, 'The Coronation Ceremony in Mediaeval England', *Speculum*, 14 (1939), 160–78 (p. 166); Percy E. Schramm, *A History of the English Coronation* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1937), p. 22.

<sup>62</sup> See e.g., the literature cited in the previous note.

stricter atmosphere at the abbey of Fleury.<sup>63</sup> An exemplary career as bishop, patron of monks, and man of God concludes with a good death, sealed with a miracle.<sup>64</sup> Interlocking with and supporting this theme are narratives relating to Oswald's powerful friends and patrons. Family members such as Archbishop Oda of Canterbury, leading men such as the Ealdorman Æthelwine and, most notably, King Edgar figure on the list of those who not only help Oswald but, implicitly, testify to his power and influence. Another theme focuses on the foundation and early history of Ramsey Abbey, a narrative punctuated by descriptions of the community's establishment and by testimony to its collective piety.<sup>65</sup> Looming behind and interwoven with these themes is the larger theme of Byrhtferth's support for Benedictine monasticism and for monastic reform.

Insofar as strategies are concerned, one of the chief tools employed by Byrhtferth is the anecdote. Typically, a general point introduced in the narrative is then followed by a story that reinforces or elaborates on it. Anecdotes that support the theme of Oswald's virtue with marvels or more prosaic evidence of piety are perhaps the most obvious examples. But the technique is employed throughout, in various situations and for personages other than Oswald. Thus, accounts of powerful friends and patrons provide opportunities to formulate catalogues of appropriate virtues. Byrhtferth's extended commentary on the life and career of Archbishop Oda, Oswald's relative and patron, incorporates the virtues of an exemplary bishop who pursues good works and performs the occasional miracle, but does not hesitate to castigate a wayward king.<sup>66</sup> When King Eadwig strays into adultery, it is Oda who sends the King's mistress into exile and successfully urges the King himself to return to the path of righteousness.<sup>67</sup> Similarly, Byrhtferth's account of the life of the ealdorman Æthelwine, provides a model of a pious layman who undergoes a conversion after receiving Oswald's blessing and thereafter leads a devout life as founder and supporter of Ramsey Abbey, an advocate of monastic reform, a defender of monks.<sup>68</sup>

<sup>63</sup> *Vita Oswaldi*, pp. 401, 410–17.

<sup>64</sup> Oswald's death is described at *Vita Oswaldi*, pp. 469–73.

<sup>65</sup> See e.g. *Vita Oswaldi*, pp. 429–30.

<sup>66</sup> *Vita Oswaldi*, pp. 401–07.

<sup>67</sup> *Vita Oswaldi*, p. 401.

<sup>68</sup> *Vita Oswaldi*, pp. 428–29, 438, 445, 467, 474. That Aethelwine and his family also provide models of honour and other aristocratic virtues is emphasized by John Gillingham, 'Thegns and Knights in Eleventh-Century England: Who Was then the Gentleman?', *TRHS*, 6th ser., 5 (1995), 129–53 (pp. 146–47, 153).

Leaving aside the question of whether or not they were accurate, it seems clear that Byrhtferth's comments regarding Oda and Æthelwine served as a vehicle through which he could express his own ideals regarding the behaviour of bishops and nobles. He applied a similar approach to King Edgar, whose catalogue of virtues provides insights into Byrhtferth's vision of kingship. Edgar disposes of Church offices as a royal prerogative but balances this with due regard for the rights of God and the formalities of election. Thus, after describing how Edgar appointed Oswald to the bishopric of Worcester, Byrhtferth adds that the prelate was then duly elected, presumably through the appropriate canonical process.<sup>69</sup> Edgar exhibits military prowess in defence of the realm and cares for the Church. His reign provides a point of reference for the rise, flourishing, and crisis of monastic reform. His death is followed by an anti-monastic reaction in which abbots and monks are expelled from their communities, to be replaced by triumphant clerics and their wives.<sup>70</sup> Byrhtferth also takes note of Edgar's relations with Emperor Otto I. The King sent marvellous presents to Otto and received even more marvellous gifts in return, thereby confirming a pact of the firmest peace.<sup>71</sup> Byrhtferth notes that Edgar was also honoured with gifts by other kings and, since his anger was like that of a lion, that neighbouring kings and princes feared him.<sup>72</sup>

Like accounts of exemplary characters, accounts of rituals or of ritualized behaviour may also be viewed as a strategy. Such accounts appear throughout Byrhtferth's text. Thus, Byrhtferth notes that Oda and his companion were 'received gloriously' after returning from a trip to Rome, a reference that would have conjured up an elaborate, if not specific, ceremony of reception in the mind of a medieval reader.<sup>73</sup> In another passage, Bishop Ælfsin stands on Oda's grave and beats it with a stick, providing a pretext for a supernatural vision and an act of divine vengeance.<sup>74</sup> In each case, the result is to reinforce the impression of Oda's personal virtue, a theme emphasized elsewhere in the text. Byrhtferth lavishes particular attention on the annual reception of Æthelwine and Oswald at Ramsey,

<sup>69</sup> *Vita Oswaldi*, p. 420.

<sup>70</sup> *Vita Oswaldi*, p. 443. See D. J. V. Fisher, 'The Anti-Monastic Reaction in the Reign of Edward the Martyr', *Cambridge Historical Journal*, 10 (1950–52), 254–70 (pp. 257–60).

<sup>71</sup> *Vita Oswaldi*, p. 435.

<sup>72</sup> *Vita Oswaldi*, p. 435.

<sup>73</sup> 'Venientes ad presentiam regis, gloriose ab eo suscepti sunt'; *Vita Oswaldi*, p. 403 (sec. 5; p. 22).

<sup>74</sup> *Vita Oswaldi*, p. 408.



emphasizing the bond between the monastery and its benefactors.<sup>75</sup> Similarly, the description of a feast day at Ramsey provides an opportunity to emphasize Oswald's role as benefactor and also to emphasize the abbey's *libertas* and its pact with the local aristocracy.<sup>76</sup> Insofar as King Edgar is concerned, rituals are used as a pretext for rendering praise and for emphasizing, implicitly, what good kings ought to do. Byrhtferth describes an occasion on which the sight of a group of clerics, processing by rank to Vespers inspires the grateful King to order the foundation of more than forty monasteries.<sup>77</sup>

In posing the final and most obvious question of what all of this might suggest for Byrhtferth's account of King Edgar's coronation we might consider the opinion of a student of modern English rituals who has stated that such occasions 'cannot be interpreted merely in terms of their internal structure, independent *de tout sujet, de tout objet, et de toute contexte*'.<sup>78</sup> It is with the last of these three elements that this essay has chiefly been concerned. In general, I hope this essay suggests the value of considering Byrhtferth's account in the context of his literary work, not apart from his themes and strategies, but rather as 'part and parcel' with them. However accurately or inaccurately his account reflects what happened on that day in Bath, the description found its way into the biography of St Oswald because it suited Byrhtferth's purposes. The prominence of reformed monasticism and monastic reformers in Byrhtferth's text and the historical connection between reform and the Anglo-Saxon monarchy might suggest what one of these purposes may have been.<sup>79</sup> To the extent that the description of Edgar's coronation highlights the first king 'prepared to identify whole-heartedly with reform' and also emphasizes that king's alliance with major proponents of reform, one might argue that it also fits within a syllogism that is fundamental to Byrhtferth's entire text: good kings

<sup>75</sup> *Vita Oswaldi*, p. 447.

<sup>76</sup> *Vita Oswaldi*, p. 466. The entire event plays out as dialogue between Oswald and Æthelwine, the latter indicating his desire that the abbey should be free while Oswald approves and supports him.

<sup>77</sup> *Vita Oswaldi*, p. 426.

<sup>78</sup> David Cannadine, 'The Context, Performance and Meaning of Ritual: The British Monarchy and the "Invention of Tradition", c.1820–1877', in *The Invention of Tradition*, ed. by Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), pp. 101–64 (p. 104).

<sup>79</sup> In general, see Blair, *The Church in Anglo-Saxon England*, pp. 346–54; Cubitt, 'Tenth-Century Benedictine Reform'.

support the Church, reformed monks are key to the Church's spiritual mission, therefore good kings support reformed monks.<sup>80</sup>

The idea that Byrhtferth's account of Edgar's coronation should be placed against the background of 'one of the most significant episodes in Anglo-Saxon history' is scarcely earth-shattering.<sup>81</sup> Nor should the prospect that the coronation narrative might reflect or be connected with other themes in Byrhtferth's text necessarily strike the reader as all that startling. But considering it within the context of Byrhtferth's authorial agendas and strategies might do a moderately good job of shaking things up. In particular, by shifting our attention from the elusive goal of historical truth, it might suggest different, ultimately more productive, ways of approaching this much-studied account. As I have suggested in the introduction to this essay, such an approach has long been common in the study of ritual within the context of the Carolingian successor states, including that of the Ottonians. From this perspective, therefore, this essay may also suggest that a comparative approach to the study of ritual is unquestionably worth pursuing.

Rhode Island School of Design

<sup>80</sup> The reference to Edgar is quoted from Blair, *The Church in Anglo-Saxon England*, p. 350.

<sup>81</sup> The quoted phrase is from Cubitt, 'Tenth-Century Benedictine Reform', p. 77.

## TENTH-CENTURY KINGSHIP COMPARATIVELY

Janet L. Nelson

In the final paragraph of *England and the Continent*, Wilhelm Levison defined the historian's task by quoting 'a philosopher': 'humanas actiones non ridere, non lugere neque detestari, sed intellegere' ('not to laugh at human actions, not to deplore nor to hate them, but to understand them'). The philosopher was Spinoza. My paper attempts to understand human actions involved in tenth-century kingship. I focus comparisons around the single case of a king who reigned for fifty-six years (not quite as long as Queen Victoria's sixty-four years, but exceptionally long by early medieval standards), Conrad, king of Burgundy (937–93). Why should Conrad's reign help in thinking about kingship comparatively? After all, as the late Tim Reuter pointed out, few European rulers who reigned so long as Conrad have left so little trace in the record.<sup>1</sup> My answer is that, whatever the results, it is always useful to consider phenomena that unsettle the assumptions from which we start. Other things being equal, a long reign, son succeeding father, and followed by a son's succession should be, should it not, a positive indicator of regnal strength or resourcefulness? If that was not so in this case, then how do we explain the *non*-effects of the creation, and the survival across the long tenth century, of Conrad's kingdom? Does the fact that that kingdom survived at all then become something to be explained? Why is reign-length apparently inversely correlated, in this case, with impact in terms of documentation?

What kinds of documentation might accurately reflect the contemporary impact of a ruler's action and agency — his capacity to make plans and implement them — in the tenth century? Tim Reuter's point was made precisely to illustrate

<sup>1</sup> Timothy Reuter, 'Introduction', in *NCMH*, III, 1–24 (p. 3). For a survey of Burgundy in the long tenth century, see Constance B. Bouchard, 'Burgundy and Provence, 879–1032', in *NCMH*, III, 328–45, with brief comment on Conrad's reign at pp. 30–32.

the *vagaries* of the historical record: to contrast, for instance, the beguiling availability in Germany of very substantial and elaborately constructed narratives, offering lush storylines during the long tenth century,<sup>2</sup> with the dearth of such narratives elsewhere. Historians of Anglo-Saxon England well know the consequences of such dearth in the tenth century, when the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, juicy for Alfred ‘the Great’, became so often bone-dry, before swelling into juiciness again in the eleventh century. The Chronicle’s shortcomings go far to explaining why the achievements of Edward and Æthelstan have been so hard to appraise,<sup>3</sup> and the greatness of Edgar ‘the peaceable’, whose ‘competence as a ruler’ seemed indicated by a reign ‘singularly devoid of recorded incident’,<sup>4</sup> has so often been constructed, as it were, against the grain on the basis of monastic narratives produced to celebrate Benedictine reformers.<sup>5</sup> The Italian kings of the first half of the tenth century have suffered the indignity of character-assassination by association, at the hands of Liudprand of Cremona, a wordy propagandist for the dynasty that supplanted them in the second half of the century.<sup>6</sup> Modern historians of tenth-century West

<sup>2</sup> See esp. *Widukind* (Lohmann-Hirsch); Hrotsvitha, *Gesta Ottonis*; Liudprand of Cremona, *Omnia opera*, ed. by P. Chiesa, CCCM, 156 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1998); *The Complete Works of Liudprand of Cremona*, English trans. by Paolo Squatriti (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 2007); *Thietmar* (Holtzmann), English trans. *Thietmar* (Warner); Odilo of Cluny, *Die Lebensbeschreibung der Kaiserin Adelheid*, ed. by H. Paulhart, Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung, Ergänzungsband 20.2 (Graz-Cologne: Böhlau Nachfolger, 1962); for comments on these works and their context, see Hermann Keller, ‘Die Quellen’, and H. Keller and Gerd Althoff, ‘Die “ottonische” Historiographie’, in *Die Zeit der späten Karolinger und der Ottonen: Krisen und Konsolidierung 888–1024*, ed. by H. Keller and Gerd Althoff, *Gebhardt Handbuch der deutschen Geschichte*, 3, 10th rev. edn (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 2008), pp. 31–41 and 380–87.

<sup>3</sup> James Campbell, ‘What Is Not Known about the Reign of Edward the Elder’, in *Edward the Elder, 899–924*, ed. by N. Higham and D. Hill (London: Routledge, 2001), pp. 12–24; Michael Wood, ‘“Stand Firm against the Monsters”: Kingship and Learning in the Empire of King Æthelstan’, in *Lay Intellectuals in the Carolingian World*, ed. by Patrick Wormald and Janet L. Nelson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), pp. 192–217.

<sup>4</sup> Frank Merry Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, 3rd edn (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971), p. 368.

<sup>5</sup> Julia Barrow, ‘The Chronology of the Benedictine Reform’, in *Edgar, King of the English, 957–75: New Interpretations*, ed. by Donald Scragg (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2008), pp. 211–23.

<sup>6</sup> Philippe Buc, ‘Italian Hussies and German Matrons: Liutprand of Cremona on Dynastic Legitimacy’, *FmaS*, 29 (1995), 207–25.

Francia have struggled to reconstruct any kind of regnal story from the writings of Flodoard and Richer.<sup>7</sup>

Given such variations in the difficulties of making history out of the tenth century, why not make a virtue of necessity in the case of Conrad of Burgundy? At least for him, there is no narrative to lure us onto the rocks, nothing to deconstruct. There are bits and pieces. No historian of Conrad 'the Peaceable' can possibly be tempted to be anything but tentative, let alone fall prey to national myth; nor could they ever mistake a sham king for a strong king. On the principle that there is no such a thing as a hopeless case, I start from the commonsensical assumptions that longevity of life and of kingly tenure may have its own impact; that sheer survival counts; that unpromising political entities can solidify, given time; that seniority and experience are at a premium when peacemakers are needed, especially if those peacemakers are themselves ineligible to compete for the power in question — and hence that an elderly father-in-law, or uncle, or great-uncle, may be a welcome figure on a contested scene.

The geography of Conrad's kingdom provides a starting point: more northerly contemporary writers, such as Flodoard, sometimes called it transjurane Burgundy (meaning Upper Burgundy across-the-Jura-mountains, to distinguish it from the French duchy termed Lower Burgundy), or Cisalpine Gaul; Richer, towards the end of the tenth century, called it a Genevan kingdom, an Alpine kingdom, an Alemannic kingdom.<sup>8</sup> Its core was in what are now the Swiss cantons of Vaud and Valais, but it also included Besançon, which Richer called the Genevans' metropolis.<sup>9</sup> Outside the kingdom, the kings held lands in a private capacity, for instance inherited family properties in Alsace, which gave them bargaining counters and the wherewithal for extraterritorial monastic patronage.<sup>10</sup> From the kingdom's origins, the monastery of St-Maurice was a central point, perhaps the central point. Here,

<sup>7</sup> Flodoard (Lauer), trans. *Flodoard* (Fanning-Bachrach); *Richer* (Hoffmann). On Flodoard, see Michel Sot, *Un historien et son église au X<sup>e</sup> siècle: Flodoard de Reims* (Paris: Fayard, 1993); on Richer, see Jason Glenn, *Politics and History in the Tenth Century: The Work and World of Richer of Reims* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

<sup>8</sup> *Flodoard* (Lauer), s.a. 937, 940, 951 (pp. 68, 78, 132); *Flodoard* (Fanning-Bachrach), pp. 30, 34, 56; *Richer* (Hoffmann), Bk II, 53, 54, 98, pp. 136–37, 168 (Richer apparently had little idea where Besançon was: Geneva was in the ecclesiastical province of Vienne).

<sup>9</sup> *Richer* (Hoffmann), Bk III, 86, p. 217 (with the editor's n. 1, suggesting this letter of King Lothar to Conrad may be a fake — though for the in-law relationship between these men, see below, p. 302).

<sup>10</sup> See below, p. 299.

in January 888, Rudolf, son of (count) Conrad, already lay abbot of St-Maurice and count in the Jura region, 'having won over certain magnates and some bishops, put a crown on his own head and ordered himself to be called king'.<sup>11</sup> As contemporaries noticed, Rudolf was a self-made kind of king, the first king of a Burgundian kingdom which was, as Regino of Prüm put it, new-made from the guts of a particular region.<sup>12</sup> Though he was kin to Carolingians in East and West Francia, Rudolf was not himself a Carolingian born. Long after Rudolf's ambitions to re-create the entire *regnum Lotharii*, the Carolingian Middle Kingdom, had failed, that parvenu, self-made, Burgundian kingdom lasted.

How did that happen? Rudolf (I) passed the initial test of endurance: his reign lasted twenty-four years (888–912). The marriage of his son Rudolf II (912–37) into the Swabian ducal house brought him support and prestige in that neighbouring territory. Rudolf's brother Louis married one of the several half-sisters of the West Saxon king Æthelstan, apparently in 930, when Otto I, heir-designate to the East Frankish kingdom, married another of these sisters.<sup>13</sup> The royally named Louis perhaps had his own aspirations in following this trend for, at the time of the marriage, only a child, Conrad, Rudolf II's son, stood between Louis and heirship-apparent. Ottonian patronage was surely involved too, as suggested by the choice of the name Henry (that of Otto's father) for the only known offspring of Louis's marriage.<sup>14</sup> In these wide-spun affinal networks were multiple possibilities. In the

<sup>11</sup> Regino of Prüm, *Chronicon*, ed. by Friedrich Kurze, MGH, SS rer. Germ., 50 (Hannover: Hahn, 1890), s.a. 888, p. 130; *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: A Collaborative Edition*, vol. III: *MS A*, ed. by J. Batley (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 1981), s.a. 887, recte 888, p. 53; according to the *Annales Vedastini* (*Annals of St-Vaast*), ed. by Bernhard von Simson, MGH, SS rer. Germ., 12 (Hannover: Hahn, 1909), s.a. 888, pp. 64–65, a blessing by Bishop Arnulf of Toul followed. For the context, see now Simon MacLean, *Kingship and Politics in the Late Ninth Century: Charles the Fat and the End of the Carolingian Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003).

<sup>12</sup> Regino, *Chronicon*, ed. by Kurze, s.a. 888, p. 129.

<sup>13</sup> Eduard Hlawitschka, 'Die verwandtschaftlichen Verbindungen zwischen dem hochburgundischen und dem niederburgundischen Königshaus: zugleich ein Beitrag zur Geschichte Burgunds in der 1. Hälfte des 10. Jahrhunderts', repr. in his *Stirps regia: Forschungen zum Königtum und Führungsschichten im frühen Mittelalter. Ausgewählte Aufsätze* (Frankfurt a.M.: Peter Lang, 1988), pp. 269–98 (pp. 289–94). See further, Simon MacLean, 'Making a Difference in Tenth-Century Politics: Athelstan's Sisters and Frankish Queenship', in *Frankland: The Franks and the World of the Early Middle Ages. Essays in Honour of Dame Jinty Nelson*, ed. by Paul Fouracre and David Ganz (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2008), pp. 167–90 (pp. 173, 179); and Sarah Foot, in the present volume.

<sup>14</sup> Hlawitschka, 'Die verwandtschaftlichen Verbindungen', pp. 275–77, 292–98, and Eduard Hlawitschka, 'Die Königsherrschaft der burgundischen Rudolfinger', *Historisches Jahrbuch*, 100

meantime the Burgundian king and his brother could flatter themselves that they had moved into the kingliest circles.

In terms of symbolic capital, the Rudolfing kingdom had form: it possessed the unique resources of St-Maurice, home to the relics of the wonder-working Burgundian saint-king Sigismund, as well as the relics of an entire legion of Roman Christian soldier-martyrs.<sup>15</sup> It included other important churches, amongst them the metropolitan see of Besançon and its suffragan Basel, plus the three sees of Geneva, Lausanne, and Sion, as well as St-Maurice itself and other monasteries, and these compensated for deficiency of fisc lands. It included at least one royal palace, Orbe (Vaud). Geographically, its mountainous defences proved vital in the earliest years of the kingdom's foundation,<sup>16</sup> while the northern approach to the Mons Iovis pass across from Burgundy into Italy presented Rudolf II (912–37) with interesting possibilities in the 920s.<sup>17</sup> Even though, after initial successes, Rudolf had to admit defeat when his rival Hugh of Provence gained the upper hand in Italy, in withdrawing, Rudolf seems to have retrieved some property and another exceptionally valuable relic, the Holy Lance.<sup>18</sup> This he handed over, perhaps in 926, for friendship with the German king Henry I, evidently abandoning his ambitions in Italy, and receiving the important stronghold of Basel in return, thus firming up his northerly frontier with the Empire.<sup>19</sup> Rudolf died on 11 July 937, bequeathing

(1980), 444–56, repr. in his *Stirps regia*, pp. 299–311 (p. 306); K. Leyser, 'The Ottonians and Wessex', in Leyser, *CPME*, pp. 73–104 (p. 84). The exact date of this Henry's birth is unknown, but cf. below, p. 301.

<sup>15</sup> Barbara H. Rosenwein, *Negotiating Space: Power, Restraint and Privileges of Immunity in Early Medieval Europe* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1999), pp. 63–64, 76; B. H. Rosenwein, 'Perennial Prayer at Agaune', in *Monks and Nuns, Saints and Outcasts: Religion in Medieval Society. Studies in Honor of Lester K. Little*, ed. by S. Farmer and B. H. Rosenwein (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2000), pp. 37–56. For 'symbolic capital', see Pierre Bourdieu, *The Logic of Practice*, trans. by R. Nice (Cambridge: Polity, 1990), pp. 110, 112–21, and P. Bourdieu, *Practical Reason* trans. by L. Wacquant and S. Farage (Cambridge: Polity, 1998), chap. 3, where the concept is specifically linked to the historic state and to rituals of royalty.

<sup>16</sup> Rudolf I fled there when driven out of his central territory: Regino, *Chronicon*, ed. by Kurze, s.a. 888, 894, pp. 130, 142.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. below, note 19.

<sup>18</sup> *Rudolfina Dip.*, no. 130 (p. 307) (of Rudolf III, dated 1000); see Timothy Reuter, *Germany in the Early Middle Ages, c.800–1056* (London: Longman, 1991), p. 271. On the importance of the MGH edition of the Burgundian kings' charters, see Hlawitschka, 'Die Königsherrschaft'.

<sup>19</sup> Gerd Althoff, *Amicitiae und Pacta: Bündnis, Einung, Politik und Gebetsgedenken im beginnenden 10. Jahrhundert* (Hannover: Hahn, 1992), pp. 26–27, takes seriously the story of

his kingdom of Burgundy to Conrad, his 'young son' (*filii parvus*) then probably aged nine.<sup>20</sup> It was one of those 'situations of decision' that Hagen Keller has recently highlighted as characteristic of this period.<sup>21</sup> 'Decision' implies agency, and recent work by Keller and others has loosened, even supplanted, the structural paradigms bequeathed by older generations of constitutional historians, in favour of stories more human, and often more humane. The agents who shape history according to this new historiography are not only captains and kings: they are people with claims to various kinds of power; they are not activated solely by self-interest or material interests, but by shared values and consciousness of obligations, especially those of kinship; they negotiate, often using well-recognized symbolic objects and forms of action; they include women. Against this backdrop, the Burgundian conjuncture in the summer of 937 can be re-envisioned.

In the September following Rudolf's death,<sup>22</sup> Otto and his wife Edith, Rudolf's sister-in-law, claimed a bequest from him of the relics of one of St Maurice's legion, Innocentius, and they deployed this acquisition when staging the dedication to Maurice and his companions of their new monastery at Magdeburg on 22 September.<sup>23</sup> Within weeks, Hugh of Provence appeared in Burgundy, where he married Rudolf's widow Bertha, and on 12 December betrothed Adelaide, the daughter of Rudolf and Bertha (hence Conrad's sister), to his own son Lothar, before returning to Italy and urgent commitments.<sup>24</sup> In mid-938, the new East Frankish king Otto

Liutprand, *Antapodosis*, IV, 25, ed. by Paulo Chiesa (Turnhout: Brepols, 1998) p. 119, that Rudolf was given the Lance by an Italian count, symbolizing the offer of the kingdom; in handing it over to Henry, Rudolf abandoned any claims to Italy (against the view of Percy E. Schramm, *Kaiser, Könige, und Päpste: Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Geschichte des Mittelalter*, 4 vols (Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 1968–71), II, 275, that Henry I received the Lance in 935, in a tripartite rapprochement between himself, Rudolf, and the West Frankish king Raoul).

<sup>20</sup> Flodoard (Lauer), *s.a.* 937 (p. 68; with n. 3, the editor's guess at Conrad's age), trans. Flodoard (Fanning-Bachrach), p. 30. Conrad apparently came of age in 942: see below at p. 299.

<sup>21</sup> H. Keller, 'Entscheidungssituationen und Lernprozesse in den "Anfangen der deutschen Geschichte"', *FmaS*, 33 (1999), 20–48.

<sup>22</sup> Or perhaps in an arrangement with Rudolf shortly before his death: the chronology is unclear.

<sup>23</sup> *Conradi I., Heinrici I. et Ottonis I. Diplomata*, ed. by Theodor Sickel, MGH, Dip. reg. imp., 1 (Hannover: Hahn, 1884), nos 14 and 15 (pp. 101–02, 102–03). H. Keller, 'Das "Erbe" Ottos des Großen', *FmaS*, 41 (2007), 43–74, at nn. 23–27. The role of Edith as co-recipient of the relic is stressed by Hlawitschka, 'Die verwandtschaftliche Verbindungen', pp. 297–98.

<sup>24</sup> Diplomas of Hugh and Lothar, cited in 'Historisch-diplomatisch Einleitung' in *Rudolfina Dip.*, p. 13.



now took Conrad out of Burgundy, Flodoard says, 'by a trick',<sup>25</sup> and to his own court, where he remained for some four years. That the Burgundian kingdom survived intact should be attributed not, or not only, to Otto's benevolence but to the active networking of young Conrad's aunt Edgiva with her sisters Edith, Otto's wife, and Eadgifu, the mother of Louis IV.<sup>26</sup> But to regard Conrad as a hostage, and Otto as a serious threat to his future, would be to miss the point: much as Æthelstan had intended when in 923 he offered a place in his household to his nephew, the future Louis IV of West Francia, son of yet another of these Anglo-Saxon sisters, Eadgifu, so Otto and Edith intended to cement relationships of protective friendship and even affection with a kinsman of the younger generation. Like Æthelstan, who gave Louis houseroom for over twelve years, Otto was ready to play a long game. Meanwhile Edgiva and her husband seemed to have ruled Burgundy in a *de facto* regency for their absent nephew. The West Frankish king Louis IV ventured into Alsace, seizing the chance to extract grants of some Rudolfing inherited lands there.<sup>27</sup> The carve-up was of influence not of Burgundian territory.<sup>28</sup> When Conrad came of age in 942, Otto sent him home, as Æthelstan had sent Louis IV home in 936, rightfully to assume his father's throne.

In the rest of this paper, to explore how Conrad survived and reigned for a further half-century, I shall exploit the evidence of charters, especially those of Conrad himself. Their modern editors have noted that the chances of Burgundian charters' survival are relatively poor because the Rudolfing kingdom did not survive into the central Middle Ages and Rudolfing charters were therefore less likely to be considered worth keeping. Under those circumstances, the survival-rate of Conrad's charters is surprisingly high: rather under one per year for his fifty-six-year reign (compared with approximately two per year for Henry I of Germany's seventeen-year reign, Lothar of West Francia's thirty-two-year reign, and Æthelstan's fifteen-year reign, though twelve per year for Otto I's thirty-seven years). Conrad's charters are difficult to categorize in terms of conventional diplomatic: there are twenty-seven diplomata, that is, documents that purport to be royal acts, though several thus classed did not emanate from a chancery but from beneficiaries; as well as half a dozen *deperdita* (now-lost documents clearly referred to in other, surviving, ones), there are twelve 'consents', that is, diplomatically speaking

<sup>25</sup> *Flodoard* (Lauer), *s.a.* 940 (p. 78), trans. *Flodoard* (Fanning-Bachrach), p. 34. See further Hlawitschka, 'Die verwandtschaftliche Verbindungen', pp. 291–92.

<sup>26</sup> MacLean, 'Making a Difference', pp. 179–80.

<sup>27</sup> Althoff, *Amicitiae und Pacta*, pp. 226–28.

<sup>28</sup> This account draws heavily on MacLean, 'Making a Difference', with minor tweaking.

'private' documents, mostly produced by churchmen recording transactions like exchanges, or precarial grants, involving third parties, to which the King attached his agreement (in one case his 'order and consent').<sup>29</sup> The editors comment that 'the picture is at once complicated and simplified', and that Conrad sometimes used scribes from his own private monasteries, so that St-André-le Bas at Vienne housed an 'adjunct-chancery' (*Nebenkanzlei*), while St-Maurice was a 'special chancery' (*Sonderkanzlei*), especially during Conrad's later years.<sup>30</sup> Such 'mixed forms' are in fact to be found elsewhere too — not least in tenth-century England and West Francia. It seems clear that modern experts should not be too seriously deterred by the fact that documents do not always conform to categories devised by themselves. Consents, in particular, represent an adaptation of documentary practice to circumstance, reflecting rather nicely the overlaps between 'public' and 'private', and between kingship and lordship, especially lordship over churches. Charters that turn out to have been beneficiary-produced are indeed 'evidence for the enduring currency of royal authority' even if 'the participation of the royal chancery in their production is questionable'.<sup>31</sup>

Some moments of decision deserve a closer look. The first is Conrad's establishing of his regime in 942. He was publicly acknowledged as king in documents produced at Vienne, on the Rhone in the former kingdom of Provence,<sup>32</sup> suggesting local endorsement of his intent to make something of his claims to that kingdom. On 3 July, he was 'ordering and consenting to' grants of benefices made by the provost and brethren of St-Maurice to the Count of Mâcon and his sons.<sup>33</sup>

<sup>29</sup> *Rudolfina Dip.*, no. 65 (pp. 208–09) (Conrad, dated 28 March 943).

<sup>30</sup> Schieffer and Mayer, 'Historisch-diplomatisch Einleitung', in *Rudolfina Dip.*, pp. 51–72 (citations at pp. 52, 66–67).

<sup>31</sup> Schieffer and Mayer, 'Historisch-diplomatisch Einleitung', in *Rudolfina Dip.*, pp. 51–72 (p. 51): the editors are exercised by Conrad's charter, *Rudolfina Dip.*, no. 46 (pp. 170–72), for the archbishopric of Vienne, dated 972, apparently copied from a genuine model issued by Lothar I and confirmed by two of his successors (*reges priores*), produced by a *primus cancellarius Eidoardus* who was 'not a royal notary', but apparently 'an Anglo-Saxon' (Edward!). For other Anglo-Saxons on the Continent in the tenth century, Æthelstan's sisters apart, see Leyser, 'The Ottonians and Wessex', esp. pp. 94–104.

<sup>32</sup> Hlawitschka, 'Die verwandschaftlichen Verbindungen', pp. 289–90, with nn. 88–90. There is no mention of any episcopal consecration (contrast 888, above at note 12), although Rudolf III's charter, *Rudolfina Dip.*, no. 102 (pp. 258–60; dated 1011), for the episcopal church of Lausanne, says that both his father and he himself 'achieved royal election and benediction' (*regale electionem et benedictionem adepti sumus*) at Lausanne.

<sup>33</sup> *Rudolfina Dip.*, no. 64 (pp. 206–08; dated 942), no. 65 (pp. 208–09; dated 943).

In March 943, at the request of Duke Hugh the Black of Lower Burgundy (that is, the duchy of Burgundy, in the kingdom of France), he made grants of land in the Lyonnais to the monastery of Cluny.<sup>34</sup> In June, Conrad staged a demonstration of his authority in the more northerly part of his kingdom (the exact location is unknown), where, with the Archbishops of Lyons and Vienne, the Bishops of Lausanne and Valence, the Count of Mâcon, and 'all the royal vassals, greater and lesser' present and consenting, and also with Conrad's cousin 'Henry son of Louis' (and Edgiva) in a prestigious position on the list of witnesses, he formally gave judgement in traditional Carolingian style.<sup>35</sup> It was a good start.

After Hugh of Provence's death in 947, it was possible for Conrad to extend his activity into the Rhone valley region and for his power there to grow more effective in the course of the 950s and 960s. Conrad was involved in the election of a new Bishop of Orange in 963/64, 'at the persuasion of Count Boso [of Provence]'; and he was at Vienne and Lyons confirming respective archiepiscopal rights in 972 and 973.<sup>36</sup> In 978, he had brought about the election of his bastard son Burchard, provost of St-Maurice, as Archbishop of Lyons.<sup>37</sup> When the Bishop of Cavaillon founded a monastery in the Vaucluse in 979, he did so 'with the counsel of my lord King Conrad and of the famous marquis Guilhem [of Provence]' (*cum consilio senioris mei Chuonradi regis atque incliti marchionis Vulelmi*).<sup>38</sup> Conrad could not have appeared in Provence, and been taken seriously by the local magnates, had he not led a hefty retinue. It is unclear quite when the famous nest of Saracens at La Garde-Freinet (near Toulon) was dislodged, and who was responsible. Widukind says Otto I planned this in 968, but it seems to have remained unaccomplished in 972.<sup>39</sup> Provençal tradition would credit the Provençal Guilhem with the Saracens' defeat in 983, but the evidence is late and obscure.<sup>40</sup> The revival of the scriptorium at St-Maurice from the later 970s onwards, especially on the initiative

<sup>34</sup> *Rudolfina Dip.*, nos 27, 28 (pp. 133–34, 134–36; both of 943).

<sup>35</sup> *Rudolfina Dip.*, no. 29 (pp. 136–38; dated 943): a *placitum*.

<sup>36</sup> *Rudolfina Dip.*, no. 67 (pp. 210–11; dated 963–64), no. 46 (pp. 170–71; dated 972), no. 47 (pp. 172–75; dated 973 or ?976).

<sup>37</sup> *Rudolfina Dip.*, no. 74 (pp. 214–15; dated 979 x 993).

<sup>38</sup> *Rudolfina Dip.*, no. 69 (p. 212; dated 979).

<sup>39</sup> *Widukind* (Lohmann-Hirsch), Bk III, chap. 70 (pp. 146–47); *Conradi I., Heinrici I. et Ottonis I. Diplomata*, ed. by Sickel, no. 355 (pp. 487–88; Otto I).

<sup>40</sup> Jean-Pierre Poly, *La Provence et la société féodale (879–1166)* (Paris: Bordas, 1976), p. 58, and J.-P. Poly with E. Bournazel, *La Mutation féodale* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1980), pp. 484–86.

of Archbishop Burchard of Lyons, could suggest that the Saracen threat had been definitely expunged by then.<sup>41</sup> In any event, Conrad seems likely to have had some part in that success.

Equally decisive for Conrad's expanding activities from c. 950 was the sudden death without offspring of Hugh of Provence's son Lothar — who was also Conrad's brother-in-law — in November 950. In 951, Otto married Lothar's widow Adelaide, hence becoming Conrad's brother-in-law himself.<sup>42</sup> The marriage constituted Otto's claim to the kingdom of Italy and may have been regarded as legitimizing the couple's imperial status before they actually achieved it.<sup>43</sup> Relations between Conrad and Adelaide are hard to trace directly in the 950s, though her foundation on her own inherited lands c. 957 of the abbey of Payerne (Vaud), from the outset under the care of Abbot Majolus of Cluny, and Conrad's gift to it soon after of the place 'where our mother's body lies', surely brought the siblings close.<sup>44</sup> Conrad's own second marriage, to Matilda, daughter of Otto's sister Gerberga and Louis IV of West Francia (d. 954), reflected Ottonian interest. But the marriage occurred in 964/65 and made Conrad the brother-in-law of the West Frankish king Lothar. To say that Conrad 'remained wholly within the Ottonian orbit' risks oversimplifying political relations that were more shifting and complex than planetary ones.<sup>45</sup> Matilda, like her mother Gerberga, embodied the intersection between the 'Ottonian' orbit and the West Frankish Carolingian one, and

<sup>41</sup> Schieffer and Mayer, 'Einleitung', in *Rudolfina Dip.*, pp. 67–68.

<sup>42</sup> *Flodoard* (Lauer), s.a. 951 (p. 132): 'uxorem quoque Lotharii regis defuncti, filii Hugonis, sororem Chonradi regis Jurensis sibi conjugem duxit'; trans. *Flodoard* (Fanning-Bachrach), p. 56: 'Otto married [Adelaide], wife of the deceased King Lothair. She was the sister of Conrad, the king of Jura.'

<sup>43</sup> Keller, 'Entscheidungssituationen', pp. 32–33. Imperial coronation followed, in 962.

<sup>44</sup> *Rudolfina Dip.*, no. 35 (pp. 146–50; dated 961), Conrad's gift to Payerne (Peterlingen) has been tampered with, but the editors think its base is genuine. Conrad's *noster* referred immediately to himself and his brother Rudolf, but could of course include Adelaide. For the Abbot of Cluny's role, see Odilo of Cluny, *Epitaphium domine Adelheide auguste* c. 9, ed. by H. Paulhart, *Die Lebensbeschreibung der Kaiserin Adelheid*, p. 36.

<sup>45</sup> Reuter, *Germany in the Early Middle Ages*, p. 266. Cf. Louis Halphen, 'The Kingdom of Burgundy', in *The Cambridge Medieval History*, vol. III (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1922), pp. 134–47 (p. 140): '[Otto] continued to keep Conrad always in his train'; and Bouchard, 'Burgundy and Provence', p. 342, 'Otto continued to keep Conrad firmly in his train'. See further Winfrid Glocker, *Die Verwandten der Ottonen und ihre Bedeutung in der Politik: Studien zur Familienpolitik und zur Genealogie des sächsischen Kaiserhauses* (Cologne: Böhlau, 1989), pp. 23–24, and below, p. 304.

Conrad's new marriage repositioned him between as well as within West and East Frankish *mouvances* (political followings, or power-clusters). Further, intra- and inter-dynastic relations changed as Otto and Adelaide raised their sights. As part of the preparations for their elevation to imperial rank, their son Otto II was raised to kingship in the East Frankish kingdom. This could have created new possibilities for Conrad's influence in the role of Otto's mother's brother.<sup>46</sup> But in the 960s, Conrad was looking towards the Rhone valley and Provence, probably with the support of Otto and Adelaide, an orientation confirmed by his attendance, along with his son and namesake, at the great Easter assembly at Ravenna in 967 presided over by the emperor and the pope.<sup>47</sup>

More light is thrown on Conrad's position vis-à-vis the Ottonians by another of his charters, dated 9 March 968, in which he refers back to a *conventio* (great assembly) 'of the Emperor Otto and of the king his son and of us', with large numbers of the elite in attendance. The occasion has plausibly been identified as the assembly at Verona in October 967 where Otto I issued a rare capitulary, settling legal procedure on judicial duels. Conrad's charter is in fact the declaration of a decision made as a result of advice given at Verona on another legal question: whether a monastery founded *per privilegium* could be given as a benefice 'by the royal hand'. It had been asserted by the son of Count Liutfrid that Conrad's father had done just that in the case of Münstergranfelden (Moutier-Grandval): given it as a benefice to Liutfrid, and now Liutfrid's son claimed it as his own outright property (*proprietas*). The Verona *conventio* judged, says Conrad, 'that we should summon Liutfrid's son to a *placitum* and regain the monastery *per privilegium*, through the judgement of our *fideles* (faithful men)'. This is what Conrad did. Liutfrid's son 'handed the monastery back to us according to law'. 'And', Conrad concluded, 'by this royal instruction (*preceptum*) we now desire to restore that monastery and return to it all that was given it in its original founding.' It is less the legal aspects of the case, interesting as they are, that concern me here, than the quality of the political relationship between Conrad and the Emperor and his son on the one hand, and between Conrad and his *fideles* on the other. Conrad takes counsel, but in so doing he presents himself as one of a trio of virtuous rulers,

<sup>46</sup> Marc Bloch, *Feudal Society*, English trans. by L. Manyon (London: Routledge, 1961), p. 137, notes the significance of the relationship between mother's brother and sister's son. Conrad had sent relics of St Maurice to the Christmas assembly in 960 at Regensburg for onwards transfer to Magdeburg in anticipation of the foundation of the new archiepiscopal see.

<sup>47</sup> *Conradi I., Heinrici I. et Ottonis I. Diplomata*, ed. by Sickel, no. 340 (pp. 464–66), a royal judgement given at Ravenna, settling a major dispute.

prescribing what law is in the old conciliar tradition. Verona showcased Conrad, as well as Otto and his son, for an empire-wide audience. The authoritative terms in which, once back in his own kingdom, Conrad imposed good law and restored Church rights showcased Burgundian kingship for a domestic constituency. Association with the Ottonians had strengthened Conrad's kingship. I would prefer to abandon the language of 'orbit' or 'train', and instead think of Conrad as having autochthonous resources, impinged on, sometimes enhanced, by close encounters with the more powerful rulers who were kin as well as neighbours, with mutual needs as well as interests.<sup>48</sup>

In 971, Conrad's elder daughter Gisela (by his first wife) was married to Duke Henry (II) of Bavaria, 'the Quarrelsome', Otto I's nephew. Rather than suppose the old emperor behind this, attempting to contain Henry within 'the Ottonian orbit', it seems more likely that the very idea of a single Ottonian orbit needs qualifying — given the diversification of family interests as the younger generation grew to maturity. A contrast can be drawn between the implications of Henry's marriage and that of his cousin Otto II the following year: while the Byzantine princess Theophanu brought Otto no influential relations in the West, Gisela brought the cantankerous Henry into association with an extensive, and elastic, network of kin, headed by Conrad. The very day before Otto I's death, Gisela gave birth to a son, the future Emperor Henry II.<sup>49</sup> For the next few years, while Otto II and Theophanu were childless, relations between Otto and Henry were fraught, 'the Ottonian succession' was wide open, and Conrad combined the 'senior' roles of maternal uncle (to Otto) and father-in-law (to Henry). In 978, tensions centring on Henry, and probably too the difficulty of junior and senior empresses coexisting in the same realm, finally caused a breakdown in the hitherto close relationship between Otto II and his mother. Adelaide withdrew to Burgundy and her brother's protection. But if Conrad's politicking had been partly responsible for the rift, he was, by the same token, especially well-equipped to end it, by taking a lead as peace-maker. At Pavia, in December 980, alongside Abbot Odilo of Cluny, at Otto's

<sup>48</sup> Conrad's charter is *Rudolfina Dip.*, no. 44 (pp. 163–66), with the editors' comments at p. 165; for the Verona capitulary, see *Constitutiones et acta publica imperatorum et regum, tomus I, inde ab anno DCCCCXI usque ad annum MCXCVII*, ed. by L. Weiland, MGH, Legum Sectio, 4, *Constitutiones et acta publica imperatorum et regum*, 1 (Hannover: Hahn, 1893), no. 13 (pp. 27–30); and for the legal interest of the Münstergranfelden (Moutier-Grandval) case, see Susan Wood, *The Proprietary Church in the Medieval West* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), pp. 285–86, 313, 586.

<sup>49</sup> Glocker, *Die Verwandten der Ottonen*, pp. 168–69, 303.

request, Conrad acted as an intermediary between son and mother, and the process of reconciliation continued during Christmas at Ravenna and Lent, then Easter, at Rome.<sup>50</sup> Again, in 983, Conrad was called on to act in similarly fraught circumstances, when Henry of Bavaria, ever quarrelsome, had exploited the untimely death of Otto II to make a bid for the East Frankish throne. When Otto's mother, Adelaide, his widow, Theophanu, and his sister Matilda, engineered a peaceful transfer of the realm to the young Otto III, they asked Conrad to combine forces with them, the senior man in the network of leading families and an ideal mediator.<sup>51</sup> He was now in his mid-fifties; his reign still had another ten years to run. In an important sense, his finest hours came towards the latter part of his life.

This was no coincidence: for only then did Conrad have the seniority, and political experience, to act in the high-profile role of an intermediary. His epithet of 'peace-inclined', or 'peaceable', is not contemporary, but no more than the byname 'Edgar the Peaceable [of Wessex]' did it reflect merely 'a reign devoid of recorded incident'.<sup>52</sup> This was a period when the settlement of conflict by chosen individuals assumed a particular importance — not because there was no state, nor even because the state's institutions were limited, but because power was highly devolved, politics unstable, and honour at a premium. Just as aristocrats accepted voluntary gift-giving as an honourable equivalent of taxation, so they accepted the agreed intervention of arbitrators and negotiators as an honourable substitute for compulsory or impersonal conditions. Just as modern states accept United Nations peacekeepers, and modern industrial conflicts may be settled by legally trained and publicly appointed conciliators, so the prickly aristocrats of the tenth century found acceptable arbitrators in holy abbots, royal women, and elders who combined

<sup>50</sup> Odilo of Cluny, *Vita Adelheidis*, c. 3, ed. by Paulhart, p. 32.

<sup>51</sup> *Annales Quedlinburgenses*, ed. by Martina Giese, MGH, SS rer. Germ., 72 (Hannover: Hahn, 2004), s.a. 985, pp. 472–73, where Conrad is expressly mentioned as 'accompanying' (*comitans*) the three *imperiales dominae*, and wielding *interventus* at a critical point; Gerd Althoff, *Otto III* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1996), pp. 48–49.

<sup>52</sup> For Edgar as *pacificus*, see Simon Keynes, 'Edgar, *rex admirabilis*', in *Edgar, King of the English*, ed. by Scragg, pp. 3–59, esp. nn. 5–8, and 12: his reign was defined as peaceful c. 1000, and this gave rise to the byname given by William of Malmesbury and John of Worcester in the twelfth century. The origin of Conrad's byname defeated R. Poupardin, *Le Royaume de Bourgogne (888–1038): études sur les origines du royaume d'Arles*, Bibliothèque de l'École Pratique des Hautes Études, Sciences historiques et philologiques, 163 (Paris: École Pratique des Hautes Études, 1907), p. 67, n. 3. Conrad was never accorded the title *pacificus* by any charter-scribe as, on two occasions, his father and son were. I am grateful to Paul Kershaw for his opinion that Conrad's epithet was probably late medieval.

wisdom and experience with the best of blue-blooded connexions. Trust was the vital ingredient in these arrangements. Conrad's non-contemporary moniker thus has a special aptness. Thanks to German historians, the role has been highlighted in tenth-century Germany.<sup>53</sup> Yet analogues occurred in other kingdoms, in the tenth century and later in the Middle Ages as well. They occur in our own world.

Conrad's authority did not lack ideological basis. Was his kingship sacral? Yes, in the conventional sense that it was believed, as kingship generally was (and is), to be exercised by divine favour; but no, in the sense that it did not depend on thaumaturgic powers.<sup>54</sup> In some of Conrad's charters he was entitled 'king by the grace of God' (*rex Dei gratia*), but more often he was 'king by favour of the divine mercy' (*divina favente clementia rex*). None of his charters, incidentally, ever gave him the epithet *pacificus*, or made any reference to his having been consecrated by clergy. His seal depicted him, Ottonian-style, crowned and holding rod and sceptre.<sup>55</sup> Conrad's devotion to particular saints and churches was conventional. Like so many other tenth-century potentates, he visited Rome — in circumstances which the relevant sources represent as political but which presumably included devotion to St Peter.<sup>56</sup> His father had parted with the Holy Lance, and both he and Conrad sent relics from St-Maurice, when they sought Ottonian alliance. Conrad's kin, especially the women, were devout patrons of reformed monasteries, especially, in the tenth century, Cluny. Conrad himself made some grants to Cluny, and he remade other grants of Rudolfing proprietary churches which had strayed back into the family's hands.<sup>57</sup> His collaboration with Abbot Odilo of Cluny had a firm context. His special objects of devotion, though, were St-Maurice, and St-André-le-Bas where he was buried.

<sup>53</sup> Gerd Althoff, *Spielregeln der Politik im Mittelalter: Kommunikation in Frieden und Fehde* (Darmstadt: Primus, 1997), pp. 21–56; cf. Julia Barrow, 'Playing by the Rules: Conflict-Management in Tenth- and Eleventh-Century Germany', *EME*, 11 (2002), 389–96; also Karl Leyser in his 'Ritual, Ceremony, and Gesture: Ottonian Germany', in Leyser *CPME*, pp. 181–213; Hermann Kamp, *Friedensstifter und Vermittler im Mittelalter* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2001), pp. 129–31.

<sup>54</sup> Cf. Franz-Reiner Erkens, *Herrschaftsakralität im Mittelalter: Von den Anfängen bis zum Investiturstreit* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2006).

<sup>55</sup> Schieffer and Mayer, 'Einleitung', in *Rudolfina Dip.*, pp. 86–88.

<sup>56</sup> See above at note 50.

<sup>57</sup> *Rudolfina Dip.*, nos 27–29 (pp. 133–38), 38 (pp. 152–53), 61–62 (pp. 204–05). See further, Wood, *Proprietary Church*, pp. 324, 586.



Was Conrad a strenuous king? His role as peace-maker does not exclude that; and I have suggested that his expanding power in Provence in the 960s presupposes a military effort. It took a kind of strenuousness to get your son elected to a major archbishopric, as Conrad's bastard Burchard was to Lyons. All these actions derived from character traits which aroused trust in contemporaries. Unlike Otto I, Conrad is not recorded as having had to cope with rebellions, despite the existence of possible competitors in the shapes of an uncle and cousin, and two sons.<sup>58</sup> Family relationships with women worked in Conrad's favour: his aunt, his sister, his wives, his daughters being cases in point.<sup>59</sup> Thietmar depicts Conrad's son and successor Rudolf III as 'mild and effeminate: he grants bishoprics to whomever the leading men propose'.<sup>60</sup> Given the paucity of evidence on Conrad himself, silence in his case cannot be read as implying immunity to a similar charge. But for the record, the only evidence is a charter-consent which shows him agreeing to the election of the Bishop of Orange 'at the persuasion of Count Boso'.<sup>61</sup>

Finally, Conrad's kingdom had a special quality: in its core region, geography promoted a sub-Alpine regional identity. Rulership there, as in other mountain zones, would tend to be light-touch. Its local government would always be very local, embedded in custom. Its topographical coherence benefited from the fact that no major historic regnal divisions cross-cut it, as did Mercia and Wessex in England, or Francia and Aquitaine in France, or the *regna* in Germany. Yet it was not the long tenth century, but the long reign of Conrad, that played a part, perhaps a decisive part, in fostering a regional identity that geography alone could not have created. Time, and Conrad's staying-power, fostered a regnal reality. The kingdom lasted until 1033, when in the absence of a male heir, it fell into the hands of King Conrad II of Germany. Its identity persisted, though, within that much

<sup>58</sup> His son 'Chuono' (Conrad, also nicknamed Kuno) is mentioned in *Rudolfina Dip.*, no. 39 (pp. 153–55; dated 966), and also in *Conradi I., Heinrici I. et Ottonis I. Diplomata*, ed. by Sickel, no. 340 (p. 465).

<sup>59</sup> Of Conrad's daughters by his second marriage, Bertha was married to Count Odo of Blois-Champagne, Gerberga to the Duke of Swabia: Hlawitschka, 'Die Königsherrschaft', p. 307, adding, pp. 308–09, that the deployment of family members through marriage and through assignment of Church offices built 'ein System der Herrschaftsstabilisierung'. Compare the same term used as part of a chapter heading by Althoff, *Amicitiae und Pacta*.

<sup>60</sup> *Thietmar* (Holtzmann), Bk VII, chap. 30 (p. 210); in *Thietmar* (Warner), pp. 19–20, David Warner, quoting this judgement, wisely comments that this was a virtually universal phenomenon in tenth-century Latin Europe. Thietmar well knew it was characteristic of the Ottonian realm.

<sup>61</sup> *Rudolfina Dip.*, no. 67 (pp. 210–11; dated 963–64); for comment see above at p. 301.

wider polity, until further human actions brought new divisions, associations, and political configurations. Conrad's Burgundy has no modern state claiming descent from it, hence its story has escaped teleological or nationalistic deformation. But thanks to historians of many different countries, French, Italian, Swiss, American, German, and British, the evidence has been made available internationally. New scholarly understandings have become possible, including a reappraisal of Conrad's kingship in context and comparatively. In Conrad's rescue from what E. P. Thompson called 'the enormous condescension of posterity', Wilhelm Levison would surely have rejoiced.

Kings College, London

Part III

Law and the Working of Government



## KINGSHIP AND PALACES IN THE OTTONIAN REALM AND IN THE KINGDOM OF ENGLAND

Thomas Zotz

In memoriam Karl J. Leyser (1920–92)

When, in 936, Otto the Great, the Ottonian dynasty's second ruler in the East Frankish-Saxon realm (Map 4), was crowned king in the palace in Aachen, that place established by Charlemagne as the centre and focus of memory of the Carolingian Empire, there were several stages in this fundamental event in the history of medieval kingship. First, the assumption of the throne and the receipt of homage from the temporal powers; then the Church ceremony of the consecration in the 'church of Charlemagne' (*basilica Magni Karoli*); and finally the coronation-feast in the 'palace' (*palatium*) with the bishops and the people.<sup>1</sup> The dukes Gislebert of Lotharingia, Eberhard of Franconia, Hermann of Swabia, and Arnulf of Bavaria were the court officers in attendance. So reports Widukind of Corvey in his *Res gestae Saxonicae* of 967–68.<sup>2</sup> Certain aspects of the chronicler's description have not stood up to critical inquiry in recent years, but the information about the service of the dukes in the royal palace is considered believable; it is in keeping with Otto I's generally observed position towards the grandees of the realm, in that Otto moved away from his father's

<sup>1</sup> For the medieval palaces generally, cf. Thomas Zotz and others, 'Pfalz, Palast', in *LdMA*, VI, cols 1993–2011; for Aachen, cf. Ludwig Falkenstein, 'Pfalz und vicus Aachen', in *Orte der Herrschaft: Mittelalterliche Königspalzen*, ed. by Caspar Ehlers (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 2002), pp. 131–81; for the event in Aachen in 936, see Hagen Keller, 'Widukinds Bericht über die Aachener Wahl und Krönung Ottos I', *FmaS*, 29 (1995), 390–453; Johannes Laudage, *Otto der Große (912–973): Eine Biographie* (Regensburg: Pustet, 2001), pp. 96–104.

<sup>2</sup> *Widukind* (Lohmann-Hirsch), pp. 63–67.



policy focused on 'friendship' (*amicitia*) towards the aristocracy and instead showed hierarchical structures.<sup>3</sup> The palace was a location for the demonstration of the new and from now on compulsory power-relationships within the realm.

If we turn our attention now from the Continent to the British mainland (Map 5), the coronation of King Edgar in Bath at Whitsuntide 973 and the events immediately afterwards deserve our attention.<sup>4</sup> Bath was, like Aachen, a place which had existed from the Roman era and was blessed with warm springs — hence its Latin name, *Aquae sulis*.<sup>5</sup> Edgar, son of King Edmund who died in 946, had assumed royal command of Mercia and Northumbria in 957, after the reign of Edward the Elder's son Eadred. The power of Edgar's older brother Eadwig remained limited to Wessex, since the two northerly parts of the realm had broken their ties with him. After Eadwig's death Edgar became ruler of all England and gave himself the title 'emperor of all Albion' (*basileus totius Albionis*) or 'of all Britain' (*totius Britanniae*).<sup>6</sup> The background to such imperial self-representation seems to have been the visit of the Archbishop of York, Oswald, to Rome in 972, where he engaged in discussion with Pope John XIII about the 'affairs of the realm' (*negotia regni*).<sup>7</sup>

In an event closely associated with Edgar's coronation in Bath, we can see a palace (*palatium*) playing a role in his practice of government. The event in question is described by the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, which tells the story of how, shortly after the coronation, six kings came to Edgar in Chester in northern Mercia and there confirmed their allegiance to him through the giving of hostages.<sup>8</sup> The chronicler John of Worcester (fl. 1095–1140), elaborates the story as follows.<sup>9</sup> Eight lesser kings (*subreguli*) came to Edgar and swore their allegiance to him. On a certain day, Edgar and the lesser kings boarded a ship on the River Dee, the lesser kings at the oars, Edgar at the helm. The journey took them from the palace (in

<sup>3</sup> Gerd Althoff and Hagen Keller, *Heinrich I. und Otto der Große: Neubeginn auf karolingischem Erbe*, Persönlichkeit und Geschichte, 122/123, 2nd edn (Göttingen: Muster-Schmidt, 1994), pp. 66–81, 135–58.

<sup>4</sup> Peter Rex, *Edgar: King of the English, 959–979* (Stroud: Tempus, 2007), pp. 193–96.

<sup>5</sup> Donald A. Bullough, 'Bath', in *LdMA*, I, cols 1549–50.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Harald Kleinschmidt, *Untersuchungen über das englische Königtum im 10. Jahrhundert*, Göttinger Bausteine zur Geschichtswissenschaft, 49 (Göttingen: Muster-Schmidt, 1979), p. 41.

<sup>7</sup> Karl Leyser, 'Die Ottonen und Wessex', *FmaS*, 17 (1983), 73–97 (p. 90).

<sup>8</sup> *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: A Revised Translation*, ed. by Dorothy Whitelock with David C. Douglas and Susie I. Tucker (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1961), pp. 76–77.

<sup>9</sup> *The Chronicle of John of Worcester*, vol. II: *The Annals from 450 to 1066*, ed. by R. R. Darlington, P. McGurk, and Jennifer Bray, OMT (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995), pp. 424–25.





Chester)<sup>10</sup> to the monastery of St John the Baptist beyond the burh of Chester. After Edgar had finished his prayers there, he returned to the palace with the same pomp. There he addressed the nobles waiting for him and spoke of the honour of being served by so many kings, an honour that would be passed on to his successor.

One may well doubt the veracity of the details in this story, but the important point remains that King Edgar was believed to have demonstrated his supremacy spatially in connection with a palace. For all eyes to see, he steered the boat, a common symbol for the state,<sup>11</sup> while the others worked at the oars, worked for the king (and the realm). In the palace in Aachen Otto the Great had similarly bound the dukes (*duces*) into service at court and so expressed his position of dominance symbolically in the public sphere. The palace may thus be seen as an emblematic and representative place for the demonstration of sovereign authority.

The general theme of this volume, 'England and the Continent in the Tenth Century', demands a comparative approach, and that is why I placed the two examples from the East Frankish-Saxon realm<sup>12</sup> and the Kingdom of England<sup>13</sup> at the beginning of this contribution about kingship and palaces. But can one really consider the two realms and the governmental practice of their kings meaningfully side by side, when the difference in size between the two kingdoms is at a ratio of one to four? Of course, various parameters have to be observed, which will be discussed presently, and the Ottonian expansion towards Italy along with the acquisition of the imperial dignity in the second half of the tenth century give Ottonian history a special character.<sup>14</sup> Nevertheless, as we have just seen, King

<sup>10</sup> Maurice W. Barley, 'Chester, Cheshire', in *LdMA*, II, cols 1796–98.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. for the first part of the eleventh century the answer of King Konrad II to the citizens of Pavia who had demolished the royal palace after the death of Emperor Henry II. Wipo, *Gesta Chuonradi imperatoris*, cap. 7, ed. by Harry Breßlau, MGH, SS rer. Germ., 61 (Hannover: Hahn, 1915), pp. 29–30: 'Si rex periit, regnum permansit, sicut navis remanet, cuius gubernator cadit.'

<sup>12</sup> Eckhard Müller-Mertens, 'Verfassung des Reiches, Reichsstruktur und Herrschaftspraxis unter Otto dem Großen', in *Otto der Große, Magdeburg und Europa mit Ottonische Neuanfänge: Katalog der 27. Ausstellung des Europarates und Landesausstellung Sachsen-Anhalt im Kulturhistorischen Museum Magdeburg 27.8.-2.12.01*, ed. by Matthias Puhle (Mainz: von Zabern, 2001), I: *Essays*, pp. 189–98.

<sup>13</sup> Michael Wood, 'The Making of King Aethelstan's Empire: An English Charlemagne?', in *Ideal and Reality in Frankish and Anglo-Saxon Society*, ed. by Patrick Wormald with Donald Bullough and Roger Collins (Oxford: Blackwell, 1983), pp. 250–72; Simon Keynes, 'England, 900–1016', in *NCMH*, III, 456–84; Joachim Ehlers, 'Sachsen und Angelsachsen im 10. Jahrhundert', in *Otto der Große, Magdeburg und Europa*, ed. by Puhle, pp. 489–502.

<sup>14</sup> Hagen Keller, 'Die Kaiserkrönung Ottos des Großen: Voraussetzungen, Ereignisse, Folgen', in *Otto der Große, Magdeburg und Europa*, ed. by Puhle, pp. 461–80.

Edgar acted and reigned in his way imperially, and the late tenth-century epitome of Lantfred's 'History of the Translation of St Swithun' (*Historia translationis sancti Swithuni*) describes Edgar as 'the most glorious emperor of all Albion' (*gloriosissimus totius Albionis insulae imperator*).<sup>15</sup>

In his essay 'The Ottonians and Wessex', which was pioneering in its handling of the question of exchange and mutual influence, Karl Leyser states: 'in late and post-Carolingian Europe there was the space and possibility for more than one *imperium*'.<sup>16</sup> In what follows, I would like, first, to make a few observations on the extent of the realm under Ottonian rule in comparison with the situation on the British mainland, and to consider the dynastic situation in England and the East Frankish-Saxon realm; I should like then to address the theme of palaces and the royal itinerary, while paying attention to the terminology used in the sources. Finally, I shall turn to the theme of royal festivals and royal places of burial, before once again posing the question of whether the two realms under investigation are comparable or not.

So, first, the geographical extent of Ottonian rule. At first glance it would seem that the Ottonians ruled the East Frankish-Saxon realm stretching right from the North Sea to the Alps, and from Lotharingia to Bohemia, although it was broken down into core and peripheral lands.<sup>17</sup> So much is evident, yet things have to be brought more sharply into focus: King Henry I was elected by the Franks and the Saxons, but he had to make arrangements with Duke Burchard of Swabia and Duke Arnulf of Bavaria (whose duchy was perhaps on its way to becoming a kingdom?) and had to concede royal privileges to them.<sup>18</sup> During the course of the tenth century the power of the king did indeed increase, but the southern duchies (which made up about half the realm) remained political entities in their own

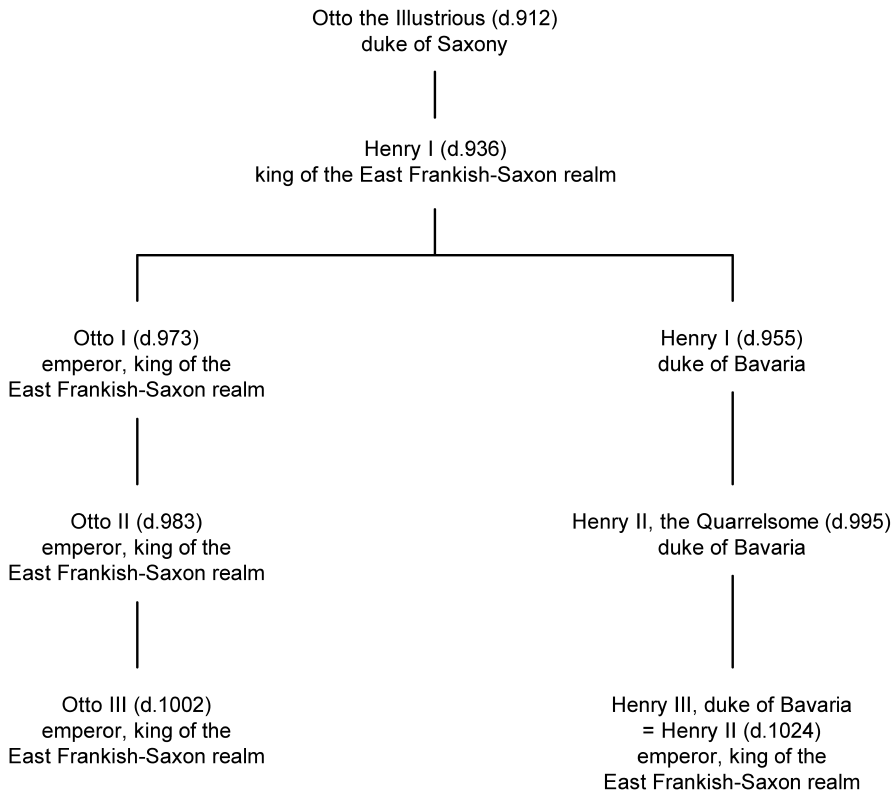
<sup>15</sup> *The Cult of St Swithun*, ed. by Michael Lapidge, Winchester Studies, 4 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), pp. 564–65. Lantfred's original words (pp. 238–39) were 'Eadgaro regnante, basileo insigni atque inuictissimo, prepotente ac clementissimo necnon gloriosissimo sceptrigera ditone et feliciter gentibus imperante compluribus habitu distantibus.'

<sup>16</sup> Leyser, 'Die Ottonen und Wessex', p. 91.

<sup>17</sup> Eckhard Müller-Mertens, *Die Reichsstruktur im Spiegel der Herrschaftspraxis Ottos des Großen: Mit historiographischen Prolegomena zur Frage Feudalstaat auf deutschem Boden, seit wann deutscher Feudalstaat?*, *Forschungen zur mittelalterlichen Geschichte*, 25 (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1980); Hagen Keller, 'Reichsstruktur und Herrschaftsauffassung in ottonisch-frühsalischer Zeit', *FmaS*, 16 (1982), 74–128.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. Wolfgang Giese, *Heinrich I. Begründer der ottonischen Herrschaft* (Darmstadt: Primus Verlag, 2008).

Table 3. Genealogy of the Ottonians and the Henrys of Bavaria.



right. How much influence the king possessed depended heavily upon his personal network. Swabia was bound only for a short time to the Ottonian house: first through Otto the Great's son and designated heir Liudolf who was Duke of Swabia from 949 to 953, and then through Liudolf's son Otto who, as Duke of Swabia from 973 to 982, renewed the personal tie with the East Frankish-Saxon realm for a decade. The Duchy of Bavaria and the lands bordering it, however, fell to Otto's brother Henry in 946, and the 'kingdom of Bavaria' (*regnum Bavariae*) became permanently the realm of the Henrys, that is, the line descended from Henry I out of which King Henry II came in 1002 (Table 3). This special position of Bavaria, which was entirely comparable to a subkingdom of Carolingian complexion, has

long been undervalued.<sup>19</sup> Ottonian history thus ends, strictly speaking, with Otto III, the last descendant of the Ottonian line, in 1002, whereas his successor Henry II (1002–24) is from the line of Henrys. However, scholars usually still assign him to the Ottonian period.

In contrast to the situation in Germany with just four rulers of the Ottonian realm, Henry I, Otto I, Otto II, and Otto III, the period between 919 and 1002 in England saw twice as many kings from the West Saxon dynasty, which had been brought to its first peak by Alfred the Great in the late ninth century (Table 4). Of the eight English kings from Edward the Elder (899–924) to Æthelred II (978–1016), some only ruled England for a few years; two (Edmund and Edward the Martyr) were murdered.<sup>20</sup> In the East Frankish-Saxon realm, incidentally, Henry plotted a similar fate for his brother Otto the Great; had the assassination attempt succeeded, the history of the realm in the tenth century would have taken an altogether different course.<sup>21</sup>

Looking then at the parameters of Ottonian rule I have just outlined, the apparent difference in size between the Ottonian realm and England decreases, although undeniably the Reich was still very extensive and grew through expansion towards Italy in the second half of the tenth century (Map 6). However, the problem of royal and imperial practice of government grew with this expansion. The ‘king’s presence’ (*presentia regis*), characteristic of the exercise of power in the early Middle Ages, was less easily and less frequently realized.<sup>22</sup> If one looks at the itinerary of the Ottonians in the realm north of the Alps, it is striking, as Eckhard Müller-Mertens has demonstrated,<sup>23</sup> that the court moved regularly in a triangle, between the three points of East Saxony, the Rhine-Main area, and the Lower Rhine, or expressed in terms of palaces: in Saxony, the Harz palaces Werla, Quedlinburg, Alstedt, Tilleda, Pöhlde, and Grone as well as on the old eastern border of the realm Magdeburg and Merseburg; in the Rhine-Main area, Frankfurt and

<sup>19</sup> Stefan Weinfurter, *Heinrich II. (1002–1024): Herrscher am Ende der Zeiten* (Regensburg: Pustet, 1999), pp. 14–21; Herwig Wolfram, ‘Bavaria in the Tenth and Early Eleventh Centuries’, in *NCMH*, III, 293–309 (n.13).

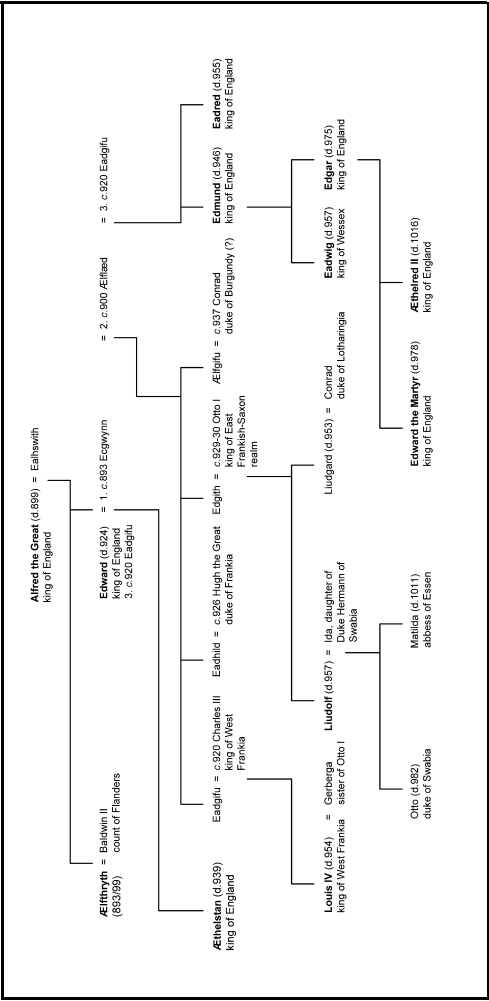
<sup>20</sup> Frank Merry Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, Oxford History of England, 2, 3rd edn (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971), pp. 319–87; Keynes, ‘England, 900–1016’.

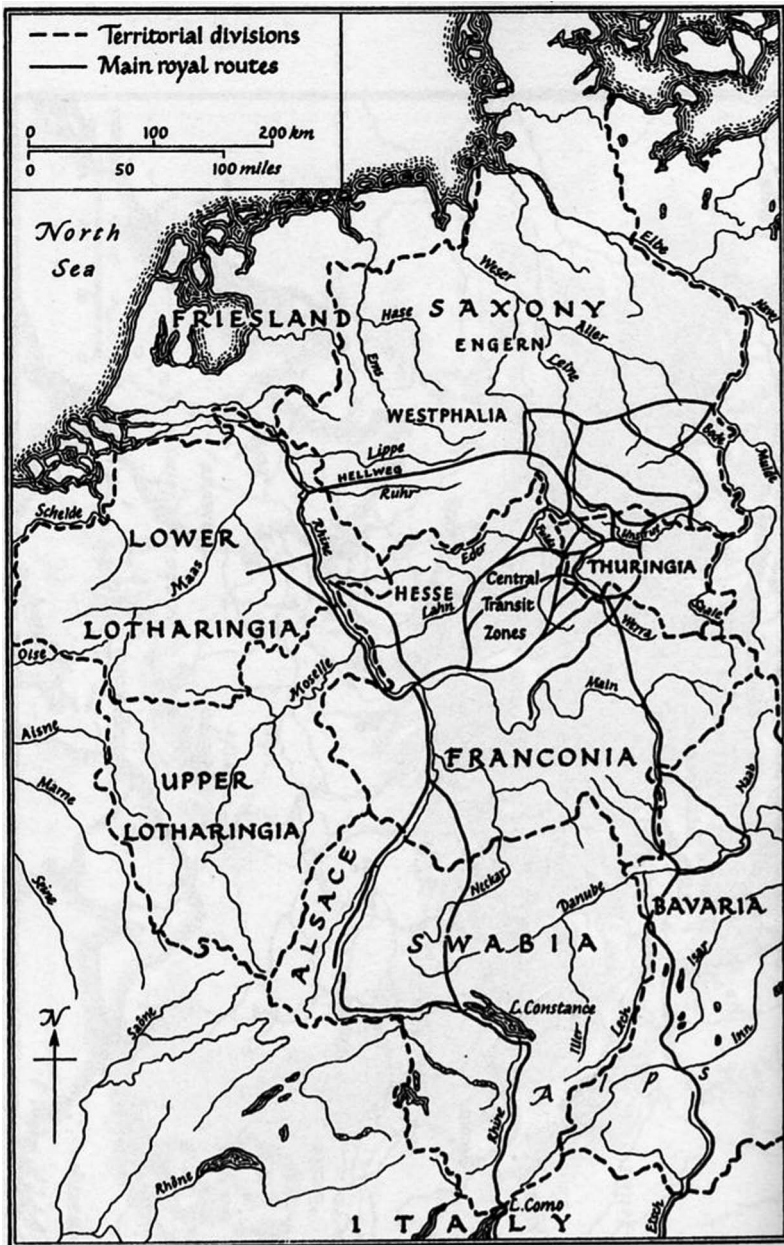
<sup>21</sup> Laudage, *Otto der Große*, p. 119.

<sup>22</sup> Cf. Thomas Zotz, ‘Die Gegenwart des Königs: Zur Herrschaftspraxis Ottos III. und Heinrichs II.’, in *Otto III.–Heinrich II. Eine Wende?*, ed. by Bernd Schneidmüller and Stefan Weinfurter, *Mittelalter-Forschungen*, 1, 2nd edn (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 2000), pp. 349–86.

<sup>23</sup> Müller-Mertens, ‘Verfassung des Reiches’, pp. 148–63, 239–45.

Table 4. The Dynasty of Wessex and its Connections to the Continent.





Map 6. 'Main royal routes and transit zones of kings in Germany, c. 936–1075', from John W. Bernhardt, *Itinerant Kingship and Royal Monasteries in Early Medieval Germany, c. 936–1075* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), p. 318. Reproduced by permission of Cambridge University Press.

Ingelheim; and in the Lower Rhine, Aachen and Cologne.<sup>24</sup> The territory marked out in such a way is equivalent to the area of the English kingdom.

What of the palaces themselves and their appearance? In the Ottonian realm, Aachen and Ingelheim were particularly representative of the inheritance from Charlemagne: in Aachen the palace survives and can still be marvelled at today;<sup>25</sup> in Ingelheim the palace has been discovered by archaeologists.<sup>26</sup> Yet once we have accepted that the remains of the presumed royal palace excavated in Magdeburg are in fact ecclesiastical buildings,<sup>27</sup> the palaces of the Ottonian system appear to have been of a modest size, more normal by the standards of those elsewhere. This may also be observed in the palace at Tilleda in the Harz Mountains, called in the sources a *curtis imperialis*, the only royal palace to have been completely excavated (Map 7).<sup>28</sup> Its secular hall measures around 25 metres by 8 metres, and that is in the order of what may be observed in English palaces of the tenth century, such as that at Cheddar, where the palace has been excavated by Philip Rahtz (Map 8).<sup>29</sup> At this court residence and place of assembly for the king's council (*witenagemot*), the building of a great hall of around 20 metres by 10 metres has been archeologically proven, the measurements being comparable with those of the Ottonian palace at Grone near Göttingen.<sup>30</sup>

<sup>24</sup> Cf. Thomas Zotz, 'Carolingian Tradition and Ottonian-Salian Innovation: Comparative Observations on Palatine Policy in the Empire', in *Kings and Kingship in Medieval Europe*, ed. by Anne J. Duggan, King's College London Medieval Studies, 10 (London: King's College London Centre for Late Antique and Medieval Studies, 1993), pp. 69–100.

<sup>25</sup> Matthias Untermann, 'Opere mirabili constructa: Die Aachener Residenz' Karls des Großen', in *Kunst und Kultur der Karolingerzeit: Karl der Große und Papst Leo III. in Paderborn. Beiträge zum Katalog der Ausstellung Paderborn 799*, ed. by Christoph Stiegemann and Matthias Wemhoff (Mainz: von Zabern, 1999), pp. 152–64.

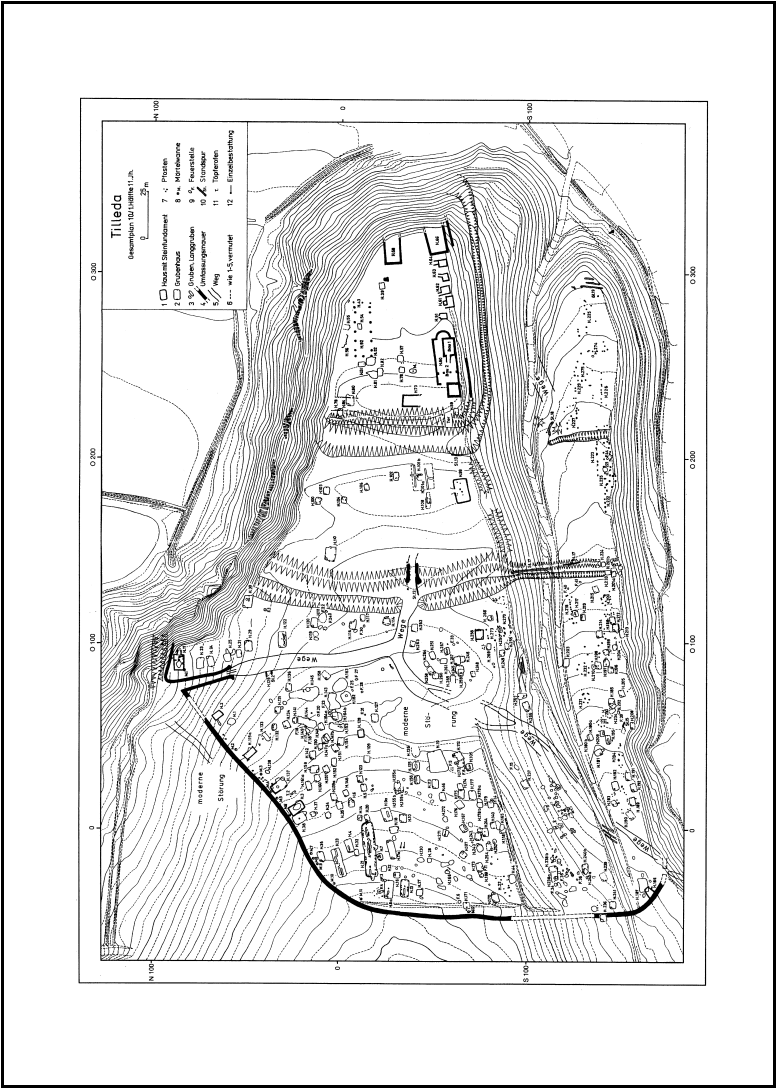
<sup>26</sup> Holger Grewe, 'Die Königspfalz zu Ingelheim am Rhein', in *Kunst und Kultur der Karolingerzeit*, ed. by Stiegemann and Wernhoff, pp. 142–51 (n. 25).

<sup>27</sup> Babette Ludowici, 'Ein neuentdeckter mittelalterlicher Kirchenbau in Magdeburg?', *Archäologisches Korrespondenzblatt*, 32 (2002), 281–93.

<sup>28</sup> Paul Grimm, *Tilleda: Eine Königspfalz am Kyffhäuser*, 2 vols, Schriften zur Ur- und Frühgeschichte, 24, 40 (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1968–90); Michael Gockel, 'Tilleda', in *Die Deutschen Königspfalzen: Repertorium der Pfalzen, Königshöfe und übrigen Aufenthaltsorte der Könige im Deutschen Reich des Mittelalters*, vol. II: *Thüringen*, ed. by C. Ehlers, L. Fenske, and T. Zotz (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 2000), pp. 549–631.

<sup>29</sup> Philip Rahtz, *The Saxon and Medieval Palaces at Cheddar: Excavations, 1960–62*, BAR, British Series, 65 (Oxford: BAR, 1979), p. 54.

<sup>30</sup> Cf. Thomas Zotz, 'Pfalz und Burg Grone', in *Göttingen: Geschichte einer Universitätsstadt*, vol. I: *Von den Anfängen bis zum Ende des Dreißigjährigen Krieges*, ed. by Dietrich Denecke and Helga-Maria Kühn (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1987), pp. 31–50.



Map 7. 'Ground plan of the palace of Tilleda (tenth and first part of the eleventh century)', from *Die Deutschen Königspfalzen: Repertorium der Pfalzen, Königshöfe und übrigen Aufenthaltsorte der Könige im Deutschen Reich des Mittelalters*, vol. II: *Thüringen*, ed. by C. Ehlers, L. Fenske, and T. Zotz (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 2000), after p. 582. Reproduced by permission of Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht.



In a charter of King Eadwig of 956, Cheddar appears as a 'royal palace' (*palatium regium*),<sup>31</sup> and this is a term which was no longer as commonly used in the Ottonian realm as it had been in the Carolingian era: along with Aachen and Ingelheim, the only places to have been so-called were Frankfurt, Magdeburg, Cologne, and Erstein in Alsace.<sup>32</sup> Usually the royal diplomata designate palaces with the terms 'city' (*civitas*, which as a rule applies to a bishopric), 'royal court' (*curtis regalis*), or 'fort' (*castrum*). This is entirely comparable to what we find in England:<sup>33</sup> *civitas* is used for Winchester, Dorchester, and London; 'royal fortress' (*regia urbs*) for Gloucester; 'royal citadel' (*arx regia*) for the royal castle in the episcopal see of Exeter; and 'vill' (*villa*) for Buckingham and Colchester (Maps 9 and 10). The native equivalent terms *cyninges burg* and *cyninges tun* are mentioned only briefly, and here I refer you to Peter Sawyer's important contribution on 'The Royal Tun in Pre-Conquest England'.<sup>34</sup> A noteworthy term has still to be brought into the discussion: *sedes regalis* ('royal seat') used under King Edgar for Cheddar, which we have already mentioned. This term is also to be found in the Ottonian realm, where it is used for places such as Aachen or Quedlinburg. In Wessex and in the Kingdom of England of the tenth century, Winchester attained a special status as a capital city, as a place of royalty, and as a bishopric.<sup>35</sup> Here Edward the Elder completed the plan conceived by Alfred the Great to found a New Minster for men (along with the Old Minster) and a Nunnaminster for women. The research and excavations at Winchester led by Martin Biddle are so well known<sup>36</sup> that I do not need to go into the details here. I would just like to address one point, what is supposed to be the first written evidence for the royal residence in the late tenth century, which was undoubtedly in existence for a long time before that. This evidence is Lantfred's late tenth-century account of St Swithun's translation, in which he wrote that Bishop Æthelwold lived in the 'palace of the king' (*palatium regis*) and stood in 'obedience to the king' (*regis obsequio*). What he meant by *palatium*, however, was 'the court' as a collection of people, and not the palace as a building.<sup>37</sup>

<sup>31</sup> Cf. David Hill, *An Atlas of Anglo-Saxon England* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1981), p. 88.

<sup>32</sup> Thomas Zotz, 'Symbole der Königsmacht und Spiegel gesellschaftlicher Interaktion: Zur Rede vom Palatium in den Urkunden der Ottonen', in *Retour aux sources: textes, études et documents d'histoire médiévale offerts à Michel Parisse* (Paris: Picard, 2004), pp. 363–72 (p. 369).

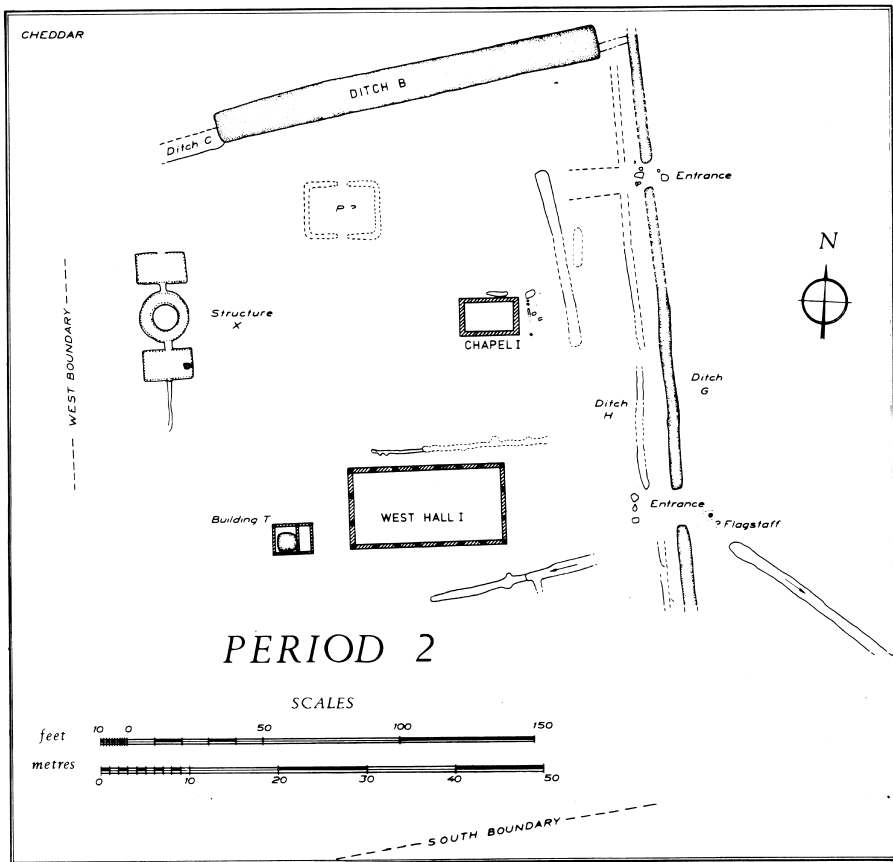
<sup>33</sup> Cf. Hill, *Atlas of Anglo-Saxon England*, pp. 87–90.

<sup>34</sup> Peter Sawyer, 'The Royal Tun in Pre-Conquest England', in *Ideal and Reality*, ed. by Wormald, pp. 273–99.

<sup>35</sup> Julia S. Barrow and Ursula Nilgen, 'Winchester', in *LdMA*, ix, cols 225–29.

<sup>36</sup> *Winchester in the Early Middle Ages*, ed. by Martin Biddle (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976).

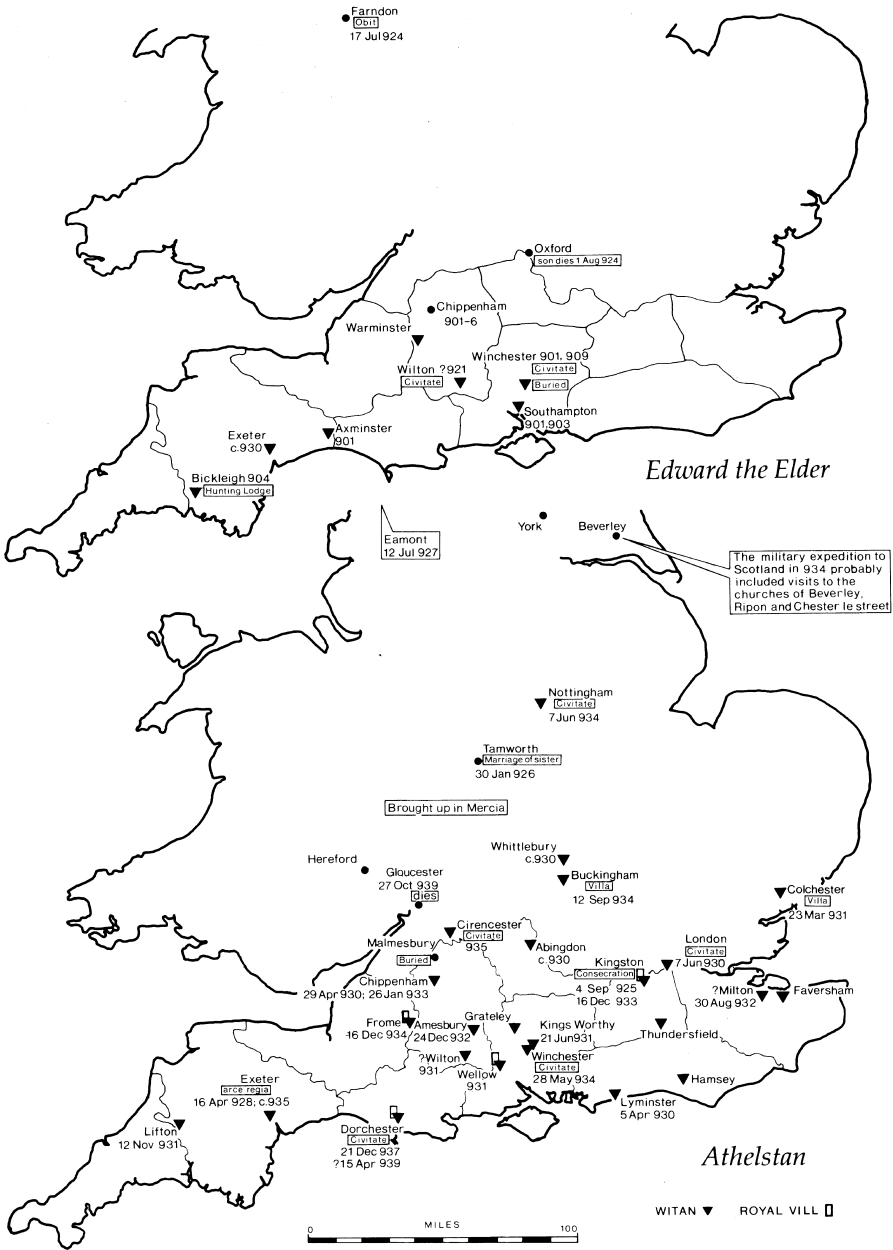
<sup>37</sup> Cf. *Winchester*, ed. by Biddle, p. 289.



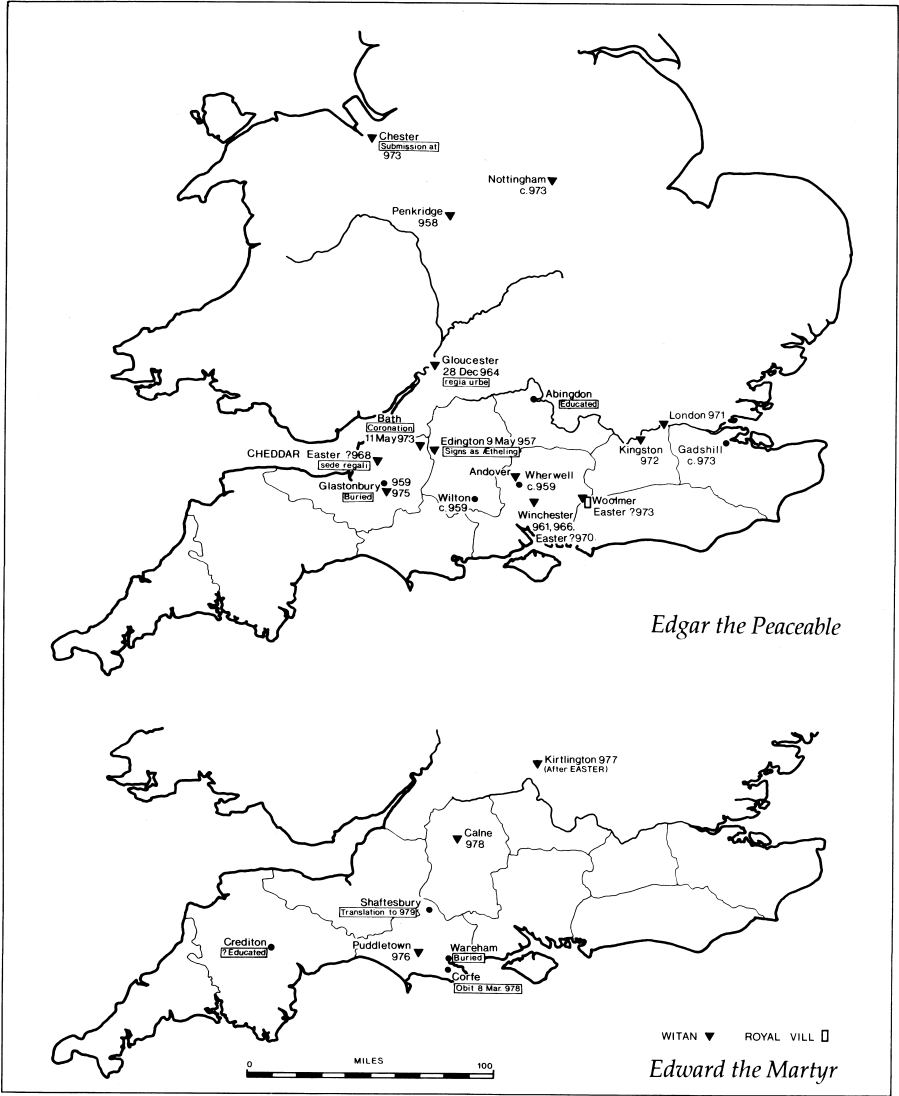
Map 8. 'Ground plan of the Palace of Cheddar', from Philip Rahtz, *The Saxon and Medieval Palaces at Cheddar: Excavations, 1960–62*, BAR, British Series, 65 (Oxford: BAR, 1979), p. 54. Reproduced by permission of Philip Rahtz.

Precisely that character of Winchester as a capital city had the effect of creating a considerable difference in the practice of government of the English kings in comparison with that of the rulers of the Ottonian realm. Pavia, in the Lombard realm, had a similar function to that of Winchester,<sup>38</sup> while in the West Frankish realm it is only with the accession of the Capetian kings, whose power was

<sup>38</sup> Walter Pohl, 'Pavia', in *Reallexikon der germanischen Altertumskunde*, 2nd edn, XXII (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2003), pp. 532–36.



Map 9. 'The itineraries of King Edward the Elder and King Æthelstan', from David Hill, *An Atlas of Anglo-Saxon England* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1981), p. 87. Reproduced by permission of Basil Blackwell Ltd. and Toronto University Press.



concentrated in a smaller area, that Paris became a capital city.<sup>39</sup> A central place in the form of a capital city can evolve more easily in a more limited area.

Let me now turn to the rulers' religious festivals and the royal burial-places in the Ottonian realm and the Kingdom of England. These too will be viewed in a comparative perspective, in order to bring the similarities and differences into relief.

First, the religious festivals. For the Ottonian realm in the tenth century the earlier research by Hans-Walter Kewitz and Carlrichard Brühl was pioneering, while Wolfgang Huschner has recently brought new insights to bear.<sup>40</sup> One can observe that firm traditions became established from the 940s onwards: the royal court celebrated Easter predominantly at Quedlinburg or Ingelheim, Christmas at Pöhlde. The royal itinerary made it necessary occasionally to spend both these main religious festivals at places different from those just mentioned, but it is striking and unmistakable that value was clearly placed on regularity. This parallels the rulers' travels between the three points of Saxony, the Rhine-Main Area, and the Lower Rhine observed by Müller-Mertens, as discussed above.<sup>41</sup>

By comparison, when we look at the religious festivals of the English kings in the tenth century, and here Martin Biddle has given a valuable inventory,<sup>42</sup> then one or two places stand out in terms of the frequency with which festivals were held at them. Dorchester was visited by Æthelstan at Easter and Christmas; London by Edmund at Easter and by Edgar at Whitsuntide. For its part, Winchester is recorded three times as the place where a festival was held: a Whitsuntide visit by Æthelstan and two Easter celebrations of Edgar and Æthelred II (the Unready). One gets the impression that along with a lack of regularity in the itinerary, the

<sup>39</sup> Anne Lombard-Jourdan, *Aux origines de Paris: la Genèse de la rive droite jusqu'en 1223*, 2nd edn (Paris: Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1985); Jean Favier, 'Paris (A)', in *LdMA*, VI, cols 1705–11.

<sup>40</sup> Hans-Walter Kewitz, 'Die Festkrönungen der deutschen Könige', *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte, Kan. Abt.*, 28 (1939), 48–96; Carlrichard Brühl, 'Kronen- und Krönungsbrauch im Mittelalter', *Historische Zeitschrift*, 234 (1982), 1–31; Wolfgang Huschner, 'Kirchenfest und Herrschaftspraxis: Die Regierungszeiten der ersten beiden Kaiser aus liudolfingischem Hause', *Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft*, 41 (1993), 24–55, 117–34.

<sup>41</sup> Müller-Mertens, 'Verfassung des Reiches'.

<sup>42</sup> Martin Biddle, 'Seasonal Festivals and Residence: Winchester, Westminster and Gloucester in the Tenth to Twelfth Centuries', *Anglo-Norman Studies*, 8 (1985), 51–72. Cf. recently Alban Gautier, 'Palais, itinéraires et fêtes alimentaires des rois anglo-saxons aux X<sup>e</sup> et XI<sup>e</sup> siècles', *Food and History*, 4 (2006), 29–44.

festival locations are also less fixed than in the Ottonian realm. Yet Winchester stands out with its function as a capital city and was certainly an appropriate place for liturgical-representative elaboration because of the topography of its sacred buildings.

Finally, let us turn our attention to a comparison of royal burial places in the Ottonian realm and the Kingdom of England. For the Ottonian realm, which has been studied in this regard by Joachim Ehlers, a large degree of variance may be noted: while Conrad I was laid to rest in the imperial abbey of Fulda in the tradition of the Carolingians, Henry I and Otto I found their final resting-places in the monasteries and bishoprics which they themselves had founded, Quedlinburg and Magdeburg respectively.<sup>43</sup> Both were at the same time important Ottonian palace locations. Otto II was interred in Rome in the forecourt (*atrium*) of St Peter's in the Vatican, and Otto III in Aachen. A dynastic burial place, as was established by the Salian dynasty in Speyer,<sup>44</sup> was not developed by the Ottonians.

By comparison, what was the situation in England in the tenth century?<sup>45</sup> Edward the Elder was laid to rest in the New Minster which he had founded in Winchester; Æthelstan in Malmesbury Abbey, which he promoted and sponsored, and whose cofounder he became by these actions. Edmund chose Glastonbury Abbey, where he had made his advisor Dunstan the abbot. Also Edmund's son Edgar, who called Dunstan back from exile, found his final resting-place there. In this way, the burial of father and son in Glastonbury Abbey may be explained as the son wishing to place himself in the tradition of his father. In a similar way, Edmund's older son Eadwig was buried in the New Minster in Winchester, that is, in the monastery established by his grandfather Edward the Elder. Eadwig's aim, or at least that of the people around him who were responsible for his burial, was obviously to place the King in the tradition of his grandfather Edward, and ultimately of his great-grandfather, Alfred the Great. Eadred too, the youngest son of King Edward, was laid to rest in Winchester, albeit in the Old Minster. After his murder, Edward the Martyr was buried first in Wareham, and a year later he was transferred to the nunnery at Shaftesbury. Æthelred II was interred in London in

<sup>43</sup> Joachim Ehlers, 'Magdeburg – Rom – Aachen – Bamberg: Grablege des Königs und Herrschaftsverständnis in ottonischer Zeit', in *Otto III.–Heinrich II.*, ed. by Schneidmüller and Weinfurter, pp. 47–76.

<sup>44</sup> Caspar Ehlers, *Metropolis Germaniae: Studien zur Bedeutung Speyers für das Königtum (751–1250)*, Veröffentlichungen des Max-Planck-Instituts für Geschichte, 125 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1996).

<sup>45</sup> Hill, *Atlas of Anglo-Saxon England*.

St Paul's Cathedral; this points already to the direction that was to be taken by Edward the Confessor to make London the main royal residence, to which end he made a lasting contribution with the establishment of Westminster Abbey. In sum: compared with the Ottonian realm the English kings of the tenth century also had themselves buried in various locations. However, here the *civitas* of Winchester assumes a special importance in this respect also.

Let us now sum up our conclusions on royalty and palaces in the Ottonian realm and in tenth-century England. It has been shown that upon close scrutiny the difference between the two kingdoms in terms of size was not as considerable as it first seems. The Ottonian dynasty concentrated its government in a regular succession of itineration in three neighbouring areas, which were distinguished by a multitude of palaces, some from the Carolingian era, such as Aachen or Frankfurt, some newly built, such as Quedlinburg, Magdeburg, or Merseburg. With regard to the Dukes (*duces*) of Swabia and Bavaria the Ottonians were sovereign over them, but conceded concrete rights and royal estates to them. Above all in Bavaria the line of Henrys who ruled there must be considered as quasi-independent, powerful political figures in the East Frankish-Saxon realm. So, the Ottonians' room for manoeuvre in the cisalpine part of the Reich was narrower than it seemed at first, although it was broadened again by those rulers' Italian and imperial policies.

While the East Frankish-Saxon realm created during the ninth century presented a wide framework in which the Ottonians tried to define their position, the history of English kingship in the tenth century is distinguished by the fact that from Wessex and Mercia, annexed by Alfred the Great, the realm was constantly expanded, through the payment of tributes required from neighbouring kingdoms and through the acquisition of Northumbria under Æthelstan and Eadred, so that the title 'king of all Britain' (*rex totius Britanniae*) came into use. The itineraries of the kings show at the same time a concentration on the area of Wessex. Here the important palaces like Cheddar, Bath, and of course Winchester were located.

In terms of the practice of government, there are hardly any differences that can be established between the two realms; palaces, royal courts, bishoprics, and monasteries were in both countries the stations of the itinerary, described by Karl Leyser as 'the most essential and carefully administered institution' of early medieval kingship.<sup>46</sup> On the other hand, it is to be noted that England was ruled from Wessex, a structure from an earlier time and strengthened by Alfred the Great and

<sup>46</sup> Karl J. Leyser, 'Ottonian Government', *EHR*, 96 (1981), 721–53 (p. 746).

his successful repulsion of the Danes. In the Ottonian realm there was a new development of a key point in Saxony and the maintenance of the realm's traditional lands of Francia. This led to a competitive coexistence, which inhibited the emergence of a central location, a capital city. There were several such places and this remained a structural characteristic of the Reich in the Middle Ages and beyond.

Universität Freiburg im Breisgau



## WRITTEN LAW AND THE COMMUNICATION OF AUTHORITY IN TENTH-CENTURY ENGLAND

David Pratt

Written law offers a source of the utmost importance for our understanding of tenth-century England: it has also been influential in informing some dominant paradigms, not just accounts of later Anglo-Saxon government, but also of society at the grassroots. In both cases law has given glimpses of complex forms of organization, reliant on important and evolving institutions. A Continental dimension has also long been acknowledged for the significance of English legal material. Firstly, one faces a distinctive pattern of survival: in England, there is a notably late continuous tradition of production, beginning at the end of the ninth century, with King Alfred's law-book, then extending through the tenth century, and as late as King Cnut (1016–35). This contrasts with patterns in Carolingian and sub-Carolingian Europe, where the ninth century had been the dominant period of legal production.<sup>1</sup> In West Francia, the capitulary material terminates at the end of the ninth century, whereas in Ottonian Germany one finds only occasional legislative acts, generally associated with large-scale synods.<sup>2</sup> Yet there was much tenth-century copying of earlier Carolingian material.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See esp. Janet L. Nelson, 'Rulers and Government', in *NCMH*, III, 95–129 (pp. 98, 114–20); Timothy Reuter, 'The Making of England and Germany 850–1050: Points of Comparison and Difference', in Reuter, *MPMM*, pp. 284–300 (pp. 291–93).

<sup>2</sup> Jean Dunbabin, *France in the Making, 843–1180*, 2nd edn (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), pp. 8–9 and 33; Janet L. Nelson, *Charles the Bald* (London: Longman, 1992), pp. 261–62; Benjamin Arnold, *Medieval Germany, 500–1300: A Political Interpretation* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1997), pp. 148–51.

<sup>3</sup> Rosamond McKitterick, *The Frankish Church and the Carolingian Reforms, 789–895* (London: Royal Historical Society, 1977), pp. 18–26; Hubert Mordek, 'Karolingische Kapitularien', and

Secondly, Carolingian law-making exerted direct influence on this English legal tradition. Appreciation of such influence has deep roots in the history of legal scholarship, but was taken to a new level in the important work of Patrick Wormald, sadly and frustratingly cut short by his death in 2004.<sup>4</sup> His position must now be reconstructed from his collected papers and volume I of his projected two-volume study: together, these yield an exhilarating picture of the deep impact of Carolingian structures on Alfredian and post-Alfredian law, offering an important window onto continuing intellectual contacts between England and sub-Carolingian Europe.<sup>5</sup> In particular, Wormald's work highlights a wide range of English structures and practices whose emergence may be understood in relation to specific Carolingian precedents, spanning such important areas as treason, peace-keeping, hundred organization, ecclesiastical tithe, and the judicial ordeal.<sup>6</sup>

How are we to understand these European patterns? One should perhaps be alive to some possible paradoxes. Clearly, it would be dangerous to assume any straightforward relationship between a living legislative tradition and the efficiency or proficiency of royal government. That connections could be more complex in the early Middle Ages has been amply demonstrated by the broader debate over the place and function of written law, involving many participants.<sup>7</sup> One consequence

'Fränkische Kapitularien und Kapitulariensammlungen: Eine Einführung', in his *Studien zur fränkischen Herrschergesetzgebung* (Frankfurt a. M.: Peter Lang, 2000), pp. 55–80 (pp. 69–74) and pp. 1–53 (pp. 45–47 and 50–52); see also the chapter by Charles West, in this volume.

<sup>4</sup> Wormald, *MEL*; there is yet hope that volume II may be published in some form. Cf. esp. William Stubbs, *The Constitutional History of England*, 5th edn, 3 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1891–98), I, 104–06, 112–16, 165–66, 223–27; Frederick Pollock and Frederic W. Maitland, *The History of English Law before the Time of Edward I*, 2nd edn, 2 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1898), I, 19–20, 44, 51, and II, 513–15; Julius Goebel, *Felony and Misdemeanor: A Study in the History of Criminal Law* (New York: Commonwealth Fund, 1937), pp. 336–440.

<sup>5</sup> For especially useful summaries, see Patrick Wormald, 'Frederic William Maitland and the Earliest English Law' and 'Engla Lond: The Making of an Allegiance', both in his *Legal Culture in the Early Medieval West* (London: Hambledon, 1999), pp. 45–69 and pp. 359–82 respectively; cf. his unpublished paper, 'Anglicarum legum conditor: King Alfred as Law-maker', a planned early section for the projected second volume of Wormald, *MEL*.

<sup>6</sup> For the latter two institutions, see Wormald, *MEL*, pp. 306, 344, and 373–74; cf. John Blair, *The Church in Anglo-Saxon Society* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), pp. 433–51.

<sup>7</sup> Patrick Wormald, 'Lex Scripta and Verbum Regis: Legislation and Germanic Kingship from Euric to Cnut', in his *Legal Culture*, pp. 1–43; Simon Keynes, 'Royal Government and the Written Word in Late Anglo-Saxon England', and Janet L. Nelson, 'Literacy in Carolingian Government', both in *The Uses of Literacy in Early Mediaeval Europe*, ed. by Rosamond McKitterick (Cambridge:

of such rethinking has been the effective abandonment of any narrowly technocratic view, replaced by awareness of the variety of ways in which written law could be meaningfully exploited. For example, much capitulary-material may make most sense when read as a form of rhetorical instrument, rather than a strictly normative statement, thus also eliding the often-made distinction between 'symbolic' and 'practical' uses of writing.<sup>8</sup> Here, Wormald's conclusions at least seem relatively extreme, summarized in his view that in several respects England was not a 'country of written law' before the Norman Conquest.<sup>9</sup> This is no place to rehearse his supporting arguments: instead, one may wonder at the usefulness of postulating a single 'culture of written law', against which all other legal cultures should be judged. A better starting-point may be the flexible uses of written texts: some codes might well have posed problems for purposes of 'ready reference', but there could have been many other connections with law in practice.<sup>10</sup> Indeed, there are strong possibilities that texts reached wider audiences through being read aloud. Together, these considerations suggest a rather different model of development, involving what might be termed the textualization of legal culture; that is to say, moves towards practices which were either experienced or understood in relation to certain written texts.<sup>11</sup> In this respect, indeed, the tenth century would appear to have been central within longer-term processes of change.

There seem a number of explanations for the unusual chronological profile, identified above, of English law-making. A first may be cultural, involving the

Cambridge University Press, 1990), pp. 226–57 and pp. 258–96 respectively; Catherine Cubitt, "As the Lawbook Teaches": Reeves, Lawbooks and Urban Life in the Anonymous Old English Legend of the Seven Sleepers', *EHR*, 124 (2009), 1021–49; Rosamond McKitterick, *The Carolingians and the Written Word* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), pp. 23–75; the German debate is usefully surveyed by W. Sellert, 'Aufzeichnung des Rechts und Gesetz', in *Das Gesetz in Spätantike und frühem Mittelalter*, IV: *Symposion der Kommission 'Die Funktion des Gesetzes in Geschichte und Gegenwart'*, ed. by W. Sellert (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1992), pp. 67–102.

<sup>8</sup> See esp. Paul Fouracre, 'Carolingian Justice: The Rhetoric of Improvement and Contexts of Abuse', in *La Giustizia nell'Alto Medioevo (Secoli V–VIII): 7–13 Aprile 1994*, Settimane, 42 (Spoleto: Centro italiano di studi sull'alto Medioevo, 1995), pp. 771–803; Matthew Innes, *State and Society in the Early Middle Ages: The Middle Rhine Valley, 400–1000*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought, 4th ser., 47 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp. 253–54.

<sup>9</sup> Wormald, *MEL*, p. 481.

<sup>10</sup> Keynes, 'Royal Government', pp. 230–33; David Pratt, *The Political Thought of King Alfred the Great*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought, 4th ser., 67 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), pp. 217–18, with references.

<sup>11</sup> Pratt, *Political Thought*, pp. 214–41 and 341–43.

symbolic dimensions of written law. There was certainly considerable emulation of Carolingian rule in West Saxon circles, whence perhaps came some of the energy in creating a written legal tradition imitating that of the Carolingians. One might contrast the contemporary Frankish world of the tenth and eleventh centuries, where Carolingian legislative initiatives had in some sense 'done their job', with the *leges* and capitularies now fossilized as part of the symbolic inheritance of successor-kingdoms. A second factor may be suspected in the educational initiatives of King Alfred (871–99), whose impact correlates closely with other changes in the evidential record. Alfred's reforms had strong legal dimensions, in the centrality of his law-book or *Domboc*, and assigned distinctive value to the written vernacular, building on earlier Anglo-Saxon legal tradition.<sup>12</sup> Whereas the Continent was never freed, administratively, from certain constraints of using Latin, one may contrast this with the striking post-Alfredian evidence for local use of vernacular writing for legal purposes: the first examples of several types of vernacular document all survive from the early tenth century.<sup>13</sup> Thirdly, one must consider tenth-century English political processes, involving a massive expansion of West Saxon power, accompanied by intensive administrative reform. The exporting of West Saxon governmental structures to East Anglia and the Midlands created a unified kingdom of relative uniformity, reliant at many levels on shared 'royal' culture.<sup>14</sup> There is a clear contrast with the territorial restriction of West Frankish royal power in the same period, including the loss of royal monopolies to dukes and bishops outside the royal demesne.<sup>15</sup> Ottonian Germany also presents a different

<sup>12</sup> Pratt, *Political Thought*, pp. 214–41, cf. pp. 115–29 and 148–49.

<sup>13</sup> Simon Keynes, 'The Fonthill Letter', in *Words, Texts and Manuscripts: Studies in Anglo-Saxon Culture Presented to Helmut Gneuss*, ed. by M. Korhammer, K. Reichl, and H. Sauer (Cambridge: Brewer, 1992), pp. 53–97; David A. E. Pelteret, *Slavery in Early Mediaeval England* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1995), pp. 140–63 (manumissions); forthcoming work by Patrick Conner on guild statutes (cf. *EHD*, I, nos 136–39). Cf. Janet L. Nelson, 'Literacy in Carolingian Government', in her *The Frankish World, 750–900* (London: Hambledon, 1996), pp. 1–36 (pp. 6–14), for important discussion of Frankish linguistic conditions.

<sup>14</sup> James Campbell, 'The United Kingdom of England: The Anglo-Saxon Achievement', in his *The Anglo-Saxon State* (London: Hambledon, 2000), pp. 31–53; cf. also S. Keynes, 'England, c.900–1016', in *NCMH*, III, 456–84 (pp. 469–71 and 480–81); Pratt, *Political Thought*, pp. 345–50.

<sup>15</sup> See esp. Jean Dunbabin, 'West Francia: The Kingdom', in *NCMH*, III, 372–97 (at pp. 393–97); Nelson, 'Rulers and Government', pp. 105 and 112–25; C. Wickham, *Problems in Doing Comparative History*, Reuter Lecture 2004 (Southampton: University of Southampton, Centre for Antiquity and the Middle Ages, 2005), pp. 15–35.

picture, in its case of unitary rule held together by face-to-face contact between the ruler and his leading subjects, with jurisdiction exercised territorially by powerful magnates, and parallel immunities held by the Church.<sup>16</sup> In relation to governmental structures, therefore, English legal production might reflect the more 'public' character of West Saxon power.

There are still problems, however, in relating these forces, discussed above, to written law as it has survived. In addition to the basic challenge of assessing the oral and customary dimensions of legal procedures, one faces the pressing problem, in the tenth century, of establishing when an institution may first have emerged, as is exemplified by the problem of the origin of the hundred court.<sup>17</sup> There are also issues of source survival, with notable diversity in the material conveniently but imprecisely termed 'law-codes'. Some preserve decrees recorded in the king's name, in some instances addressing specific recipients or issued on specific occasions; others are not in the king's name but represent 'local' productions. How typical is the sample preserved for us? Frustratingly, almost the entirety of surviving 'law-codes' is mediated through eleventh- and twelfth-century manuscripts, posing a range of problems. Even within what is a restricted surviving corpus, there is some evidence for 'lost' material within this corpus.<sup>18</sup> The situation suggests the value of a case-study, focused on the legislation of a particular reign; the best example for these purposes is undoubtedly that produced under Æthelstan, which supplies not only the largest tenth-century corpus, but also the most diverse, with strongest evidence for 'local' material related to central initiatives, and indications of strong royal aspirations to 'correct' or improve existing practices.<sup>19</sup> The aim of this paper is to use this valuable case-study as a means of exploring several issues which, as discussed above, seem central to the understanding and interpretation of later Anglo-Saxon law: that is, the purposes underpinning the increasing use of law in

<sup>16</sup> Nelson, 'Rulers and Government', pp. 105–06, 109–12, 120–22; Arnold, *Germany*, pp. 126–92; Innes, *State and Society*, pp. 222–50.

<sup>17</sup> Henry Loyn, 'The Hundred in England in the Tenth and Early Eleventh Centuries', in his *Society and Peoples: Studies in the History of England and Wales, c. 600–1200*, Westfield Publications in Medieval Studies, 6 (London: University of London, Centre for Medieval Studies, 1992), pp. 111–34.

<sup>18</sup> Keynes, 'Royal Government', pp. 234 and 238, n. 49.

<sup>19</sup> For earlier studies, see esp. Keynes, 'Royal Government', pp. 235–41 (cf. his 'Crime and Punishment in the Reign of Æthelred the Unready', in *People and Places in Northern Europe 500–1600: Essays in Honour of Peter Hayes Sawyer*, ed. by I. Wood and N. Lund (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1991), pp. 67–81), and Wormald, *MEL*, pp. 290–308, now classic accounts whose divergences also illustrate many more general points at issue.

writing, the relationship of legal structures to Carolingian precedents, and the value of such written sources as evidence for legal continuity or change. The richness of the material from Æthelstan's reign gives the best hope of reconstructing some of the dynamics at work in all these areas, with wider implications for tenth- and early eleventh-century legislation.

It is additionally fortunate that the legal texts produced in Æthelstan's reign can be placed with reasonable confidence in a relative chronology. Though none can be precisely dated, contextual connections point to a period of production in the early 930s, in the context of a series of widely attended councils, beginning at Grately, Hampshire (represented by the core of *II Æthelstan*), and subsequently at Exeter (*V Æthelstan*), then Faversham, Kent, and finally at a place called Thunderfield, probably in Surrey (*IV Æthelstan*).<sup>20</sup> There are repeated statements at these latter councils that there has been a general failure to uphold the 'peace', which seem to have prompted additional texts responding to these councils at a more local level: namely, *III Æthelstan*, a document addressed to the King by the bishops 'and all the thegns, nobles, and commoners of Kent'; *VI Æthelstan*, a written agreement of members of the London 'peace-guild'; and one might add the *Ordinance concerning the Dunsate*, laws relating to a region on the Welsh border.<sup>21</sup> Now in all likelihood the references to Grately, Exeter, Faversham, and Thunderfield were to royal assemblies. Doubts about this were expressed by Wormald, who suggested that the King's presence at the councils was only proven in the case of Exeter, and this was one component of his argument for what he regarded as the dominance of Wulfhelm, archbishop of Canterbury, in the recording and preservation of this evidence.<sup>22</sup> Certainly, some of the phrasing of the records of the councils is ambiguous, but this might equally reflect the particular perspective of the record-keeper, rather than the nature of the meetings. The importance of assemblies attended by the king is heavily documented for the tenth century.<sup>23</sup> One should therefore take very seriously the statement of *VI Æthelstan* 10, referring to the 'peace as King Æthelstan and his councillors had established it' at Grately, Exeter, Faversham, and Thunderfield. Wormald may have been mistaken in equating Faversham with the local Kentish assembly; Thunderfield, certainly, was

<sup>20</sup> Keynes, 'Royal Government', pp. 237–38; Wormald, *MEL*, pp. 439–40.

<sup>21</sup> See below, pp. 345–46.

<sup>22</sup> Wormald, *MEL*, pp. 439–40, cf. 291–300, esp. 298–300.

<sup>23</sup> Simon Keynes, *The Diplomas of King Æthelred 'the Unready', 978–1016: A Study in their Use as Historical Evidence* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980), pp. 35–83 and 269–73; Wormald, *MEL*, pp. 430–44.

the site of a royal vill, and the wording for Thunderfield closely resembles that for Grately, so it seems very likely that the King was in fact presiding.<sup>24</sup>

The word 'peace' (*frið*) here had a distinctive and quite restricted meaning, denoting the preservation of order at grassroots level, particularly against threats to livestock and moveable property. In a European context, the Æthelstan corpus of 'law-codes' actually amounts to the fullest surviving peace-legislation of the tenth century. Yet this 'peace' had a broader context in earlier Carolingian arrangements, the recognition of which was one of Wormald's seminal contributions, identifying close connections between it and the general oath of loyalty taken to Charlemagne in 802.<sup>25</sup> This had been sworn 'sicut per drictum debet esse homo domino suo' ('just as by right a man ought to be to his lord'); neglected later West Frankish capitularies of 853 and 854 indicate that these arrangements went much further, involving an oath taken by every 'Francus homo' that he would be loyal to the king, and the organization of such men into groups administered by a *decanus* and *centenarius*.<sup>26</sup> There was then a separate oath taken by each man that he would not commit theft, nor conceal thefts committed by fellow men.<sup>27</sup> The system was administered on a large scale across Charles the Bald's kingdom by *missi* and included provision for *fideiussores* ('co-swearers' or 'sureties') to bring thieves to justice.<sup>28</sup> As Wormald recognized, this widespread Carolingian system represents a vital precedent for the later Anglo-Saxon mechanism of tithing, with very similar structures of policing and surety: what after 1066 Anglo-Norman lawyers could in a sense correctly identify as *francplegium* ('frankpledge').<sup>29</sup>

<sup>24</sup> Wormald *MEL*, p. 299. *VI Æthelstan* 10, cf. *II Æthelstan* Epil. (the text of this section of *II Æthelstan* is mediated through *Quadripartitus*: for discussion, see Wormald, *MEL*, p. 295). Cf. R. Lavelle, 'Why Grately? Reflections on Anglo-Saxon Kingship in a Hampshire Landscape', *Proceedings of the Hampshire Field Club and Archaeological Society*, 60 (2005), 154–69, for Grately's relationship to the royal vill of Andover.

<sup>25</sup> Wormald, 'Engla Lond', pp. 366–67, and 'Frederic William Maitland', pp. 54–62; *Capitularia regum Francorum*, ed. by Alfred Boretius and V. Krause, MGH, Capit. reg., Legum Sectio, 2, 2 vols (Hannover: Hahn, 1883–97), I, 92–93 (no. 33, cc. 2–9), and 101–02 (no. 34, c. 19).

<sup>26</sup> *Sacramentum fidelitatis*, in *Capitularia regum Francorum*, ed. by Boretius and Krause, II, 272–73 (no. 260, cc. 4–8), and 278 (no. 261).

<sup>27</sup> *Capitularia regum Francorum*, ed. by Boretius and Krause, II, 274 (no. 260), for oaths taken by *Franci homines* and *centenarii*.

<sup>28</sup> *Capitularia regum Francorum*, ed. by Boretius and Krause, II, 273 (no. 260, c. 4), cf. pp. 275–76.

<sup>29</sup> Wormald, 'Frederic William Maitland', pp. 54–56; for tithing and frankpledge, cf. below, note 46.

These links between England and the Continent have important implications also for Continental structures. The wholesale decay of local 'public' justice has been widely assumed for the tenth century, yet the existence of the arrangements described above suggests some need to qualify this view. References to *decani* are quite widely distributed, while Eric Goldberg envisages that Louis the German in East Francia made use of an oath of loyalty similar to that recorded in West Francia.<sup>30</sup> Ninth-century Carolingian use of such an oath seems an important context for the Peace of God movement of the later tenth century. Clearly, the various Peace of God agreements reflected the vacuum of royal structures in central and southern West Francia, which was only intensified by the regional carve-up of rights and responsibilities between bishops and secular magnates, but these agreements also frequently included an element of popular participation, with specific complaints against depredation.<sup>31</sup> For example, the assembly at Laprade, Auvergne, c. 980, incorporated *milites et rustici* ('fighting-men and peasants') in oath-swearing and the giving of hostages.<sup>32</sup> Similar groups of people were present at Limoges in 994, while the richer evidence for the Council of Bourges, c. 1038, describes an oath taken by all males over the age of fifteen, with provision for action against transgressors.<sup>33</sup> One may compare some slight East Frankish evidence, in an assembly at Zurich in Swabia under Henry II (1004), involving an oath sworn 'on preserving

<sup>30</sup> Bruce R. O'Brien, *God's Peace and King's Peace: The Laws of Edward the Confessor* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999), pp. 91–92; Eric J. Goldberg, *Struggle for Empire: Kingship and Conflict under Louis the German, 817–876* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2006), pp. 220–21, esp. n. 169.

<sup>31</sup> F. S. Paxton, 'History, Historians, and the Peace of God', H.-W. Goetz, 'Protection of the Church, Defense of the Law, and Reform: On the Purposes and Character of the Peace of God, 989–1038', and R. I. Moore, 'Postscript: The Peace of God and Social Revolution', all in *The Peace of God: Social Violence and Religious Response in France around the Year 1000*, ed. by Thomas Head and Richard Landes (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1992), pp. 21–41 (pp. 26–29 and 34–37), pp. 259–79 (pp. 266–73), and pp. 308–26 respectively; Janet L. Nelson, 'Kings with Justice, Kings without Justice: An Early Medieval Paradox', in *La Giustizia nell'Alto Medioevo (Secoli IX–XI): 11–17 Aprile 1996*, Settimane, 44 (Spoleto: Centro italiano di studi sull'alto Medioevo, 1997), pp. 797–823 (pp. 815–23); cf. Wormald, *MEL*, p. 454.

<sup>32</sup> C. Lauranson-Rosaz, 'Peace from the Mountains: The Auvergnat Origins of the Peace of God', in *Peace of God*, ed. by Head and Landes, pp. 104–34 (pp. 116–21).

<sup>33</sup> R. Landes, 'Between Aristocracy and Heresy: Popular Participation in the Limousin Peace of God, 994–1033', and T. Head, 'The Judgment of God: Andrew of Fleury's Account of the Peace League of Bourges', both in *Peace of God*, ed. by Head and Landes, pp. 184–218 (pp. 186–90) and pp. 219–38 (pp. 221–26) respectively.



peace through not committing thefts': this was perhaps a precedent for the later German *Landfrieden*.<sup>34</sup> In all these instances of oath-taking there can be no question of straightforward continuity of Carolingian structures, but in each case some local mechanisms seem still alive, variously responding to tenth-century 'mutation'.

When did tithings, these sworn associations of ten or more men, reach England? There was once a view which regarded frankpledge as a post-Conquest introduction; and there was another which held that the London text, *VI Æthelstan*, represented peace-keeping measures involving tithings spontaneously developed 'from below'; neither is now tenable.<sup>35</sup> Wormald's contribution was to take seriously the connections summarized above between crime, peace-keeping, and disloyalty and to use these as a way of making sense of later Anglo-Saxon law. Hence the case he advanced for Alfred's reign as the decisive moment of creation for later Anglo-Saxon legal structures; this focused especially on the following: Alfred's 'treason' law (4–4.2); also his opening law, that 'each man keep [...] his oath and pledge' (1–1.8); and further, *II Edward* 4–5, which treats a failure to pursue thieves as a breach of 'oath and pledge, which the whole people has given'.<sup>36</sup> There are, however, some problems with attributing all change to Alfred alone. Firstly, it is in fact questionable whether oath-taking was truly general at this stage: the evidence indicates a strong association between oaths and specific assemblies.<sup>37</sup> The formula in Edward's code closely resembles that in the treaty between Alfred and the Viking leader Guthrum, also described as a 'peace' (*frid*), yet in this case oaths were sworn by participants in the assembly rather than being made a requirement of all freemen. There is a similar feature in *V Æthelstan*, the Exeter legislation, referring to 'the oaths, pledges and sureties' given at Grately, that is, effectively by proxy rather than in person. Secondly, one may also be troubled, as perhaps Wormald was, by a lack of explicit reference to tithings in the rich evidence from Alfred's reign, including Asser's *Life of King Alfred*. This is a possible context for his dating of Alfred's law-book to that king's final years, postdating the

<sup>34</sup> Adalbold, *Vita Heinrici II. imperatoris*, ed. by Georg Waitz, MGH, SS, 4 (Hannover: Hahn, 1841), p. 694.

<sup>35</sup> Earlier historiography is discussed within more balanced assessment by B. R. O'Brien, 'From *Mordor* to *Murdrum*: The Preconquest Origin and Norman Revival of the Murder Fine', *Speculum*, 71 (1996), 321–57 (pp. 337–42); Frank Merry Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, Oxford History of England, 3rd edn (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971), pp. 354–55, though cf. p. 410.

<sup>36</sup> Wormald, 'Engla Lond', pp. 366–67; Wormald, 'Frederic William Maitland', pp. 54–56.

<sup>37</sup> Pratt, *Political Thought*, pp. 235–36.

composition of Asser's *Life*, but such a late date seems problematic.<sup>38</sup> Thirdly, *II Edward 3* assumes that there was a fundamental role for relatives in standing surety for a kinsman accused of theft.<sup>39</sup> This is anomalous, since it contrasts with legislation later in the sequence produced under Æthelstan: in that, there was still a role for kin within the tithing system, but it would be surprising to encounter its undiluted force under Edward if tithings were already in place.

Hence the marginally more restrained view now advanced by the present author on the extent of the change brought about under King Alfred. According to this view, the law-book did indeed mark a turning-point, but one which hinged on the treatment of crime as treachery against the king.<sup>40</sup> Related to this was the reconceptualizing of duties to pursue offenders, with heightened responsibilities for lords in organizing participation in this on the part of their men. The importance of Alfred's law-book thus lay in its general statement of these principles to the Alfredian secular and ecclesiastical nobility, drawing all actions at local level into a single legal framework. The effect was an important new form of legal theatricality, as the present author has characterized it; that is to say, the heightened meaning of certain actions, gestures, and practices when conducted by participants with knowledge, at the very least, of the contents of Alfred's law-book.<sup>41</sup> One may therefore make the case for a 'second stage' of legal reform under Æthelstan, a task aided by the unusual opportunities afforded by the existence of local texts responding to central, that is, royal legislation. There is the rare prospect of identifying what seem genuine innovations. This is per lucid in the punishment of theft: here policy hinged on a set of 'amnesty' measures (as Wormald usefully characterized them), such as the pardoning of criminals, agreed at Exeter and Faversham; followed by a tougher 'clamp-down' begun at Thunderfield, with death as the punishment for all thieves, including those not caught in the act, later restricted to those over the age of fifteen.<sup>42</sup> A related measure urged the transplantation of powerful kin-groups,

<sup>38</sup> Wormald, *MEL*, pp. 281 and 286; cf. Anton Scharer, *Herrschaft und Repräsentation: Studien zur Hofkultur König Alfreds des Großen* (Vienna: R. Oldenbourg, 2000), pp. 112 and 124, n. 36; Pratt, *Political Thought*, pp. 167 and 219.

<sup>39</sup> *II Æthelstan* 2–2.2 confirms those responsible for finding a man a lord as his relatives; cf. *III Æthelstan* 7–7.3 and *III Edmund* 7–7.2, assigning the surety responsibility to lords, the former incorporating a role for kinsmen in the case of a man 'whom the reeve dare not trust' (cf. *VI Æthelstan* 1.4, 3, and 9).

<sup>40</sup> Pratt, *Political Thought*, pp. 235–41, cf. pp. 98 and 174–75.

<sup>41</sup> Pratt, *Political Thought*, pp. 240–41 and 340–43, cf. pp. 168–78.

<sup>42</sup> *V Æthelstan* 3.1 and *III Æthelstan* 3; *IV Æthelstan* 6–7 cf. *VI Æthelstan* 1 and 12; cf. Wormald, *MEL*, pp. 296–99.

which may be interpreted as a last resort against individuals protected by their familial connections.<sup>43</sup> It is therefore striking that in the same evidence one should encounter the earliest evidence for tithings. This is clearest in *VI Æthelstan*, the London document, the provisions of which suggest a wider rural context, seemingly relating to Middlesex, and perhaps also Surrey and Essex.<sup>44</sup> Yet this compares closely with *III Æthelstan*, the Kentish report on peace-keeping: now it is the lord who shall 'hold his men in surety (*fideiussione*) against every theft', with reeves responsible for swearing in men on large estates.<sup>45</sup> This is good evidence for a coherent reordering of local justice, with hatches truly battened down against thieves and disruptive kin-groups. Both were now faced with the new tithing provision, with not only peace-keeping but now surety arrangements administered by lords.

This picture may be complemented from a further angle, that of retrospective evidence for the operation of tithings in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. The fuller record for this period reveals a major local institution of peace-keeping and surety, perhaps still underestimated by specialists in the central Middle Ages.<sup>46</sup> In many cases documentation includes tithing-lists, which were kept locally as written records of membership, while reflecting important responsibilities for tithing-members to assist in the presentment of crimes. Also striking is the mechanism's distinctive geographical distribution, revealed by the Hundred and *Quo Warranto* Rolls: these show tithings to have been very widespread in all shires south of the Humber, but not attested in Cheshire, Shropshire, and Herefordshire, nor in the former territory of Northumbria.<sup>47</sup> A separate system was in place in these areas,

<sup>43</sup> *V Æthelstan* Prol. 1–3; *III Æthelstan* 6; *IV Æthelstan* 3–3.2; cf. *VI Æthelstan* 8.2; cf. Keynes, 'Crime and Punishment', pp. 70 and 79.

<sup>44</sup> Esp. *VI Æthelstan* 3, 4, and 8.1–8.9; Liebermann, *Gesetze*, III, 116.

<sup>45</sup> *III Æthelstan* 7–7.2 (cf. *III Edmund* 7–7.2; *I Æthelred* 1; *II Cnut* 20 and 31).

<sup>46</sup> Cf. for example Paul Hyams, *Rancor and Reconciliation in Medieval England* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2003), pp. 28–29, 78–92, 115–16; notable exceptions are O'Brien, 'From *Mordor* to *Murdrum*', pp. 339–42, and John Hudson, *The Formation of the English Common Law: Law and Society in England from the Norman Conquest to Magna Carta* (London: Longman, 1996), pp. 61–85, the latter drawing on P. Wormald's seminal insights on the Anglo-Saxon origins of the system, summarized in his entry on 'Frankpledge', in *BEASE*, pp. 192–93; cf. William A. Morris, *The Frankpledge System* (New York: Longmans, 1910); D. A. Crowley, 'The Later History of Frankpledge', *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, 48, no. 117 (May 1975), 1–15; P. R. Schofield, 'The Late Medieval View of Frankpledge and the Tithing System: An Essex Case Study', in *Medieval Society and the Manor Court*, ed. by Z. Razi and R. M. Smith (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), pp. 408–49.

<sup>47</sup> Morris, *Frankpledge*, pp. 44–68.

with peace-keeping in the hands of agents known as 'sergeants of the peace', whose position should be distinguished from normal serjeantry tenure as a special category.<sup>48</sup> The existence of the office appears to reflect special responsibilities for peace maintenance attached to landholding in the areas in question; these may be quite ancient, preserved in such arrangements as the requirement that tenants provide 'bode' and 'witness' to peace officers.<sup>49</sup> In other words, this is evidence for a fundamental and neglected administrative divide between southern England on the one hand and the North and West on the other, first identified in 1936 by Stewart-Brown; briefly noted by Henry Loyn and James Campbell, its relevance in an Anglo-Saxon context was presumably also known to Wormald, though does not feature in his published work.<sup>50</sup>

Crucially, this administrative divergence can be traced back; one thinks, for example, of the treatment of western shires in Domesday Book, describing special military duties for western burhs.<sup>51</sup> There is also a remarkable correlation with the distribution of the *murdrum* ('murder') fine. As it emerges in the twelfth-century legal record, this fine took the form of a heavy penalty for failing to bring to justice the slayer of a Frenchman or foreigner, levied at this stage on the hundred.<sup>52</sup> Pipe and Assize Rolls show the murder fine to have been widely in force across southern England, but not in these western shires or the former territory of Northumbria, where it was not regarded as legally valid.<sup>53</sup> Now in its form, as a penalty for special circumstances, the murder fine bears the hallmarks of an instrument 'grafted on' to an existing system. The most likely explanation for its distinctive distribution is that the presence of tithings in the South enabled the hundred to take corporate responsibility for such offences in a way which was not possible in non-tithing areas

<sup>48</sup> Ronald Stewart-Brown, *The Serjeants of the Peace in Medieval England and Wales* (Manchester: University of Manchester Press, 1936).

<sup>49</sup> Stewart-Brown, *Serjeants of the Peace*, pp. 87–98, cf. pp. 73–86 and 99–104.

<sup>50</sup> Henry Loyn, *The Governance of Anglo-Saxon England, 500–1087* (London: Edward Arnold, 1984), p. 147; James Campbell, 'Some Agents and Agencies of the Late Anglo-Saxon State', in his *Anglo-Saxon State*, pp. 201–25 (pp. 210–11); cf. also Hudson, *Common Law*, pp. 64 and 84.

<sup>51</sup> Margaret Gelling, *The West Midlands in the Early Middle Ages* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1992), pp. 117 and 166.

<sup>52</sup> O'Brien, 'From *Mordor* to *Murdrum*', pp. 325–33 and 355; N. D. Hurnard, 'The Jury of Presentment and the Assize of Clarendon', *EHR*, 56 (1941), 374–410 (pp. 385–93).

<sup>53</sup> O'Brien, 'From *Mordor* to *Murdrum*', p. 333; F. C. Hamil, 'Presentment of Englishry and the Murder Fine', *Speculum*, 12 (1937), 285–98 (at pp. 290–91).

of the North and West.<sup>54</sup> Until recently, the murder fine was traditionally associated with William the Conqueror and was seen as a means of protecting his men from assassination, a view which would take this divide back to 1066. Bruce O'Brien has, however, advanced good arguments for attributing the murder fine to the reign of Cnut.<sup>55</sup> Such a context would connect closely with Archbishop Wulfstan's handling of murder in his contribution to Cnut's laws, and might also explain the value of the fine, which O'Brien has attractive arguments for interpreting as a legal consequence of Danish rule; these considerations would take the division between tithing and non-tithing areas, on which the distribution of the murder fine rested, back at least as far as the early part of Cnut's reign. Yet it would be unwise to regard the division between tithing and non-tithing areas as a recent innovation; there is every indication that the divide had deeper origins. Laws from the reigns of Edgar and Æthelred treat tithing as a widespread institution; no less suggestive is *III Edmund* 7, to the effect that 'every man shall act as surety both for his men and for all those who are under his protection and on his estate'.<sup>56</sup> This is supported by some administrative evidence: remarkably, as late as the thirteenth century, the hundred of Westbury-on-Severn is recorded as claiming exemption from the murder fine, on the grounds that it lay beyond the River Severn.<sup>57</sup> The likely context is that Westbury fell within territory which had been transferred to Gloucestershire as part of the region's administrative reorganization under Eadric Streona.<sup>58</sup> Land beyond the River Severn had formerly lain in Herefordshire; the hundred's customary claim shows respect for this older, tenth-century, boundary.

<sup>54</sup> The question is complex, relating to Maitland's classic article, and important discussion by Hurnard, O'Brien, and Hudson; I hope to explore it at length elsewhere.

<sup>55</sup> O'Brien, 'From *Mordðor* to *Murdrum*', pp. 325–36, 342–51.

<sup>56</sup> Cf. *Hundred Ordinance* 2 and 4, in Liebermann, *Gesetze*, I, 192–95 (trans. in *EHD*, I, no. 39); Wormald, *MEL*, pp. 378–79.

<sup>57</sup> C. E. H. Chadwyck-Healey, *Somersetshire Pleas (Civil and Criminal) from the Rolls of the Itinerant Justices (close of the 12th century–41 Henry III)*, Somerset Record Society, 11 (London: Somerset Record Society, 1897), p. lxxviii; cf. Hamil, 'Presentment of Englishry', p. 291; Morris, *Frankpledge*, p. 63.

<sup>58</sup> David Hill, 'The Shiring of Mercia – Again', in *Edward the Elder, 899–924*, ed. by N. J. Higham and David H. Hill (London: Routledge, 2001), pp. 144–59 (pp. 145, 151, 153–54); Herbert P. R. Finberg, *The Early Charters of the West Midlands*, Studies in Early English History, 2 (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1961), pp. 234–35; against Steven Bassett, 'The Administrative Landscape of the Diocese of Worcester in the Tenth Century', in *Oswald LI*, pp. 147–73 (p. 153).

Might there be a case for change having taken place in Alfred's reign? Wormald was perhaps thinking of a slight variation in the tithing system for eastern England, which tended to have multiple tithing groups per township, when compared with the West Midlands and territory south of the Thames, where each tithing tended to comprise a township's total male population.<sup>59</sup> The distinction, also reflected in nomenclature, is striking, yet remains open to a variety of interpretations: it might, for example, reflect different administrative practices in areas regarded as legally open to 'Danish' variations in custom, and could also bear the imprint of differences in agrarian and social structure onto which tithings had been imposed.<sup>60</sup> The case seems stronger for change having taken place under Æthelstan: one may note especially, in the distribution of non-tithing areas, the respect shown for the shire-boundaries of Cheshire, Shropshire, and Herefordshire, suggesting that the division postdates the establishment of these western shires. Inevitably, both the process by which the Midlands were organized into 'shires', that is, administrative units bearing the suffix *-scir*, and the degree of departure from earlier, Mercian, divisions, has attracted considerable debate. In search of a terminus post quem, it is useful to consider arguments which have sometimes been made for a degree of continuity in Midlands boundaries, taken furthest here by Steven Bassett. Even on this interpretation, Bassett's findings show considerable departures in the western shiring when compared with earlier diocesan divisions, particularly in southern Shropshire and its south-eastern boundary, and little earlier basis for the unit later documented as 'Cheshire'.<sup>61</sup> One may contrast the resilience of all three western shires as non-tithing areas.

The timing of the establishment of Midlands shires has also been much debated, with judgements ranging widely, and one view placing these developments as late as the early eleventh century, when several shires are first unambiguously attested.<sup>62</sup>

<sup>59</sup> Morris, *Frankpledge*, pp. 12–15 and 88–90, with review by H. W. C. Davis in *EHR*, 26 (1911), 367–69; Crowley, 'Later History of Frankpledge', p. 2; cf. Wormald, 'Frankpledge', p. 193.

<sup>60</sup> For especially pertinent discussion, see Dawn M. Hadley, *The Northern Danelaw: Its Social Structure, c.800–1100* (London: Leicester University Press, 2000), pp. 22–26, 162–64, 180–89, 213–15; Rosamond Faith, *The English Peasantry and the Growth of Lordship* (London: Leicester University Press, 1997), pp. 121–25 and 153–55; James Campbell, 'Hundreds and Leets: A Survey with Suggestions', in *Medieval East Anglia*, ed. by Christopher Harper-Bill (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2005), pp. 153–67.

<sup>61</sup> Bassett, 'Administrative Landscape', esp. pp. 152–53.

<sup>62</sup> C. S. Taylor, 'The Origin of the Mercian Shires', in *Gloucestershire Studies*, ed. by H. P. R. Finberg (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1957), pp. 17–45; Julian Whybra, *A Lost English*

While there are good grounds for suspecting a significant reorganization of western shires in the early eleventh century, and administrative terminology shows some variation in this period, both features seem compatible with the important arguments of David Hill and Margaret Gelling, for a significantly earlier process of shiring, fitting most naturally into the latter years of Edward the Elder. In particular, the correlation between Cheshire's hidage, 1200 hides, and the wall-length of Chester suggests a context closely associated with the logistics of burghal fortification, while the treatment of Tamworth, notoriously placed on the margins of Warwickshire and Staffordshire, suggests anti-Mercian action 'unlikely to be found in the reign of Æthelstan or later'.<sup>63</sup> This view accords nicely with the neglected evidence of *VI Æthelstan* 10, instructing 'that every reeve should exact a pledge from his own shire'. This chapter probably transmits what was originally a separate document, emanating from the Thunderfield assembly.<sup>64</sup> The most natural interpretation of these words is that the Midlands shires were already fully in place at this stage, in the form that they had in the tenth century.

Such considerations are suggestive; they receive further support from the *Dunsæte* document, which offers a precious picture of peace-keeping in a western region.<sup>65</sup> The text refers to an area inhabited by both Welshmen and Englishmen, divided by a river, and there are strong arguments for identifying the 'Dunsæte' as inhabiting a border territory known as Archenfield, which lay in southern Herefordshire in the tenth century. This territory, probably equating with the former Welsh kingdom of Ergyng, coincides with a break in Offa's Dyke, and there are other indications that its status may have been anomalous. The border in this case appears to have been the River Wye, and, very interestingly, the *Dunsæte* document makes no reference to tithings. Peace-keeping duties are rather assigned to land-owners, with a role for locally appointed agents termed *landmenn*.<sup>66</sup> Indeed, the document appears principally concerned with regulating inter-ethnic disputes between English and Welsh. There is, moreover, a good case for attributing the text

*County: Winchcombeshire in the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1990), pp. 1–15; John Blair, *Anglo-Saxon Oxfordshire* (Stroud: Alan Sutton, 1994), pp. 102–05.

<sup>63</sup> Hill, 'Shiring of Mercia', pp. 144–51 and 156–58; Gelling, *West Midlands*, pp. 139–42 and 155–58.

<sup>64</sup> Keynes, 'Royal Government', pp. 239–40 (cf. Wormald, *MEL*, p. 298).

<sup>65</sup> Liebermann, *Gesetze*, I, 374–79; for fundamental discussion and earlier scholarship, see Gelling, *West Midlands*, pp. 113–19, and M. Fordham, 'Peacekeeping and Order on the Anglo-Welsh Frontier in the Early Tenth Century', *Midland History*, 32 (2007), 1–18.

<sup>66</sup> *Dunsæte* 1–1.2 and 6–6.1.

to Æthelstan's reign, and this would fit in suggestively with his western activities; its production has been plausibly associated with Æthelstan's meeting with the Welsh princes at Hereford, reported by William of Malmesbury, which fixed the Welsh border as the River Wye, a context consistent with a date in the early 930s.<sup>67</sup> One of the *Dunsæte* document's main measures involved the offering of 'cheap' peace-making between Englishman and Welshman, allowing the mere payment of compensation for theft, with quittance of the fine.<sup>68</sup> This accords closely with very similar provisions agreed at Exeter, as part of the 'amnesty' phase in Æthelstan's peace.<sup>69</sup> All in all, it makes considerable sense to regard the *Dunsæte* document as a further local response, parallel to the Kentish and London documents, recording alternative legal arrangements: 'filling in the gaps' for peace-keeping in an anomalous western border region, prompted by the encouragement of tithings elsewhere.

One may therefore offer an overall assessment of Æthelstan's legislation and use of written law. The combination of texts and administrative legacies in the distribution of tithing and non-tithing areas here strengthens the reconstruction of what was undoubtedly a very significant process of administrative and legal reform. The decisive assembly here appears to have been that at Exeter, which first recorded the King's concern about a 'peace [...] kept worse than pleases me', which prompted new measures.<sup>70</sup> These took the form of an initial 'amnesty', already identified as time-limited; they found further expression in the text's concluding provision for liturgical commemoration, instructing each monastery to sing fifty psalms every Friday.<sup>71</sup> Explicitly intended 'for the king, and for all who are willing to carry out his wishes', the measure echoed earlier West Saxon royal use of psalmody under Æthelwulf and Alfred.<sup>72</sup> In due course, 'amnesty' was replaced with stringent punishment for thieves; one should, however, resist any picture of capricious twists

<sup>67</sup> Malmesbury, *GRA*, I, 214–16; Gelling, *West Midlands*, p. 162; Fordham, 'Peacekeeping', pp. 5–7; Wormald, *MEL*, pp. 381–82; for alternative views of the *Dunsæte* document, cf. C. P. Lewis, 'Welsh Territories and Welsh Identities in Late Anglo-Saxon England', in *Britons in Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. by Nick Higham (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2007), pp. 130–43 (pp. 141–42), and G. Molyneux, 'The Ordinance Concerning the *Dunsæte*' (forthcoming), both of whose arguments for a later date rely on features capable of other explanation.

<sup>68</sup> *Dunsæte* 4; Fordham, 'Peacekeeping', pp. 9–10 and 18.

<sup>69</sup> *V Æthelstan* 3.1.

<sup>70</sup> *V Æthelstan* Prol.

<sup>71</sup> *V Æthelstan* 3.

<sup>72</sup> Pratt, *Political Thought*, esp. pp. 68–69, 244, 261–63, 347; cf. Keynes, 'Royal Government', pp. 237–38.



of policy, except perhaps in the final raising of the age-threshold to fifteen. In general, the two phases had social logic in defusing conflict prior to sterner measures, suggesting coordinated planning; this is supported by the remarkable group of local documents, giving opportunities to respond to the centrally determined measures. All three give indications of consciously addressing the political centre. The Kentish report asks for the King's clemency to command alterations to the text 'if it contains either too much or too little'; the London document solicits the King for any additional rules that he may see fit, while in the *Dunsæte* document the final clause suggests that the 'Dunsæte' should be allowed hostages from the people of Gwent, 'if the king will grant [this] to them', which again looks like an appeal to the centre.<sup>73</sup>

All this was fed back to the King: crucial here was the assembly at Thunderfield, 'where the whole was at once decided and confirmed'.<sup>74</sup> The Kentish report was possibly delivered there; and it was also the occasion for a major agreement, 'that every reeve should exact a pledge from his own shire, that they would all hold the peace as King Æthelstan and his councillors had established it', recorded in *VI Æthelstan* 10. One may compare chapter 11, which (as noted above) probably transmits a separate document, taking the form of a centrally issued command to exact this pledge, addressed to bishops, ealdormen, and all the King's reeves throughout his realm.<sup>75</sup> This remarkable instrument suggests an overall context for the London document, which, among other things, showed that this instruction had been fulfilled. The centrality of tithings among these new measures is indicated in writing by both locally produced responses and would also explain the impetus behind the *Dunsæte* document. There is no reason to suppose that tithings were restricted to Kent and to territory in the vicinity of London. *VI Æthelstan* 11 expressed the King's command 'throughout my realm', while the provisions of the London document are in fact noticeably lacking in geographically specific local detail and may be describing practices which were more widespread. The opening reference to pledges agreed 'on urum friðgegyldum', literally 'among our peace-guild members', is compatible with an institution which might be found more widely.<sup>76</sup> That such structures were more widely distributed receives support from Edmund's Colyton code (*III Edmund* 7), which echoes the Kentish report in requiring all lords to act as surety for their men, and from Edgar's laws issued at

<sup>73</sup> *III Æthelstan* Epil.; *VI Æthelstan* 8.9; *Dunsæte* 9–9.1.

<sup>74</sup> *IV Æthelstan* 1.

<sup>75</sup> Keynes, 'Royal Government', p. 240; cf. Wormald, *MEL*, p. 298.

<sup>76</sup> *VI Æthelstan* Prol.; cf. Liebermann, *Gesetze*, II, 117.

*Wihthordesstan* (*IV Edgar*). Seemingly applicable to the East and North, the latter are generally taken as an indication of Edgar's thoroughgoing acceptance of 'Danish' customary differences, yet the text also asserts one judgement which should apply to the entire population, that is, 'that every man be under surety, whether he live within or without a burh', to the end 'that rich and poor may possess what they have lawfully acquired'.<sup>77</sup> Conversely, the *Dunsæte* document suggests genuine variations in peace-keeping practices in the west: in all likelihood, the regional distribution of tithings was also put in place under Æthelstan.

Such a process suggests the operation of powerful stimuli of some kind, though the question needs care. One might, for example, imagine a crime wave early in Æthelstan's reign, but it is difficult to see a context in which the absolute level of crime could have increased. Unfortunately, this possibility cannot be explored definitively since very few records of dispute settlement survive for this period, and these are mostly records of land disputes with only limited criminal content.<sup>78</sup> Wormald identified a possible context in factional conflict after Æthelstan's succession, highlighting the fate of the thegn Ælfred, who had plotted to blind the King at Winchester.<sup>79</sup> After Ælfred's death in Rome he was reportedly denied a Christian burial, which intriguingly appears to match the final provision of Æthelstan's Grately code.<sup>80</sup> Again, however, this does not seem a sufficient explanation for Æthelstan's reforms, the main focus of which appears to have been repressing crime at grassroots level rather than concern with elite violence or legal dispute resulting from such conflict. One may therefore suggest an alternative working model, which involves taking seriously all complaints of the lack of peace, but also remembering that central knowledge of the localities in later Anglo-Saxon England was quite heavily mediated through the king's councillors and officials. These conditions were heightened by the kingdom's expansion: legislation from the early tenth century suggests an increasing reliance on royal reeves at local level, but royal law from Alfred's time had had the effect of encouraging appeals to the king at the centre.<sup>81</sup> There are several signs that excessive seeking of the king's

<sup>77</sup> *IV Edgar* 2a.2–3, cf. 15; cf. esp. Wormald, *MEL*, pp. 441–42.

<sup>78</sup> Wormald, 'A Handlist of Anglo-Saxon Lawsuits', in his *Legal Culture*, pp. 253–87 (p. 266); Keynes, 'Fonthill Letter'; Keynes, 'Crime and Punishment', pp. 76–81.

<sup>79</sup> Wormald, *MEL*, pp. 307–08.

<sup>80</sup> *II Æthelstan* 26–26.1.

<sup>81</sup> Dorothy Whitelock in *Asser's Life of King Alfred, Together with the Annals of St Neots, Erroneously Ascribed to Asser*, ed. by W. H. Stevenson, new imp. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1959), pp. cxliii–cxlvii; Wormald, 'Charters, Law and the Settlement of Disputes in Anglo-Saxon

judgement was seen as problematic under Edward the Elder and Æthelstan.<sup>82</sup> Other considerations suggest that Æthelstan's early years were formative in the bedding down of new administrative structures in the Midlands: at local level in particular, a process which may well have encouraged some over-eager implementation of Alfred's 'treason' law and related measures. Perhaps, therefore, Æthelstan's assemblies had been dealing with not only genuine disruption, but the fact of more cases and disputes reaching the king's attention.

The response as it emerged amounted to a deep and far-reaching reform of legal structures, no less important than developments under King Alfred two generations earlier. Building on that inheritance, this further extension of royally oriented peace-keeping fused in Æthelstan's case with the grandiose 'imperial' dimensions of his rule. Moreover, there are signs that these measures enjoyed a lasting impact, not least in the widespread distribution of the tithing system, acknowledged in the legislation of later English rulers and ultimately bequeathed to their Norman successors.<sup>83</sup> One may equally observe the rapid disappearance from the written legal record of the peace-assembly, the one remaining example being Edmund's Colyton provisions, explicitly associated with the taking of a general oath of loyalty.<sup>84</sup> There are grounds for suspecting that practices slowly took on a routine character after a period of major change, a process perhaps unparalleled in scope until as late as the reforms of Henry II.<sup>85</sup> Indeed, tithing and peace-keeping were major areas of concern within Henry's reforms; in its attention to these areas, the Assize of Clarendon (1166) may be understood to have built very directly on these inherited local structures.<sup>86</sup>

England', in his *Legal Culture*, pp. 289–311 (pp. 304–08); Wormald, *MEL*, pp. 119–23 and 144–48; Pratt, *Political Thought*, pp. 38, 101–02, 239–41, cf. pp. 47–48, 54, 76–77.

<sup>82</sup> Keynes, 'Fonthill Letter', pp. 73–74, 76–77, 84–85; *II Æthelstan* 3.

<sup>83</sup> Here Wormald's case for the 'common law' legacy of Anglo-Saxon structures remains of central importance (esp. 'Frederic William Maitland', pp. 54–57, 61–63, 67–68; *'Engla Lond'*, pp. 366–67).

<sup>84</sup> *III Edmund* 1; Wormald, 'Frederic William Maitland', p. 55; Wormald, *MEL*, pp. 311–12, cf. p. 328 for Æthelred's assembly at *Bromdun*, the precise character of which is uncertain.

<sup>85</sup> Hudson, *Common Law*, pp. 118–219; Paul Brand, "'Multis Vigiliis Excogitatam et Inventam": Henry II and the Creation of the English Common Law', in his *The Making of the Common Law* (London: Hambledon, 1992), pp. 77–102; W. L. Warren, *Henry II*, rev. edn (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), pp. 281–300 and 319–61.

<sup>86</sup> Cf. Wormald, 'Frederic William Maitland', pp. 54–57. Morris, *Frankpledge*, pp. 39–41, 107, 113–18, and Stewart-Brown, *Serjeants*, pp. 76–80, 85, 93, cf. Hurnard, 'Jury of Presentment', pp. 396–410; Hudson, *Common Law*, pp. 65–66, 129–32, 157–66.

Not least in this context, finally, one may observe an important role for written law in the making of Æthelstan's peace. Rather than the prioritizing of largely symbolic uses of legislation, the intensity of written production here correlates rather closely with grassroots change. At work were genuine processes of legal reform: crucially, it is these wider processes, rather than the autonomous initiative, suggested by Wormald, of an earnest archbishop, which seem best to explain the unusual cluster of local documents. The example of the *Dunsete* document indicates the participation of far-flung areas in this vibrant written dialogue, incorporating many councillors and officials, and in this wider context the roles played by Archbishop Wulfhelm, Bishop Theodred, and others seem more closely paralleled by those of the later Domesday commissioners.<sup>87</sup> The actual uses of writing were clearly complex, with much communication of commands and central judgements, yet this communication did not reveal the legal framework in its entirety. In particular, 'the pledge exacted from each shire' may well have meant something more, while the local texts were reporting not so much straightforward action as complex gestures of familiarity and thegnly good will. This rather confirms the impact of Alfredian learned reforms on elite perceptions: whether read aloud to a wider audience, or in person, writing here supplied enhanced proof, in these circumstances, of local action requested from the centre.<sup>88</sup> Communications from the centre could equally involve both collections of decrees and more transient written instructions. Overall, Æthelstan's case seems partly exceptional, but in ways which lend credence to the wider significance of written law under tenth-century English kings. There was a kingdom integrated, as perhaps none of her Continental neighbours, by means which included law in writing. Such communication had force within a genuinely deep, though complex, enactment of kingship at local level, continuously expressed in the pursuit of everyday peace.

Downing College, University of Cambridge

<sup>87</sup> Vivian H. Galbraith, *The Making of Domesday Book* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1961), pp. 59–66, 82–85, 87, 94–95; Marjorie Chibnall, *Anglo-Norman England 1066–1166* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1986), pp. 111–14; James C. Holt, '1086', in *Domesday Studies*, ed. by J. C. Holt (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1987), pp. 41–64 (pp. 46–47); David Roffe, *Domesday: The Inquest and the Book* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), pp. 123–28, 147–68, 235–48; Stephen Baxter, 'The Representation of Lordship and Land Tenure in Domesday Book', in *Domesday Book*, ed. by Elizabeth Hallam and David Bates (Stroud: Tempus, 2001), pp. 73–102 and 203–08 (p. 78).

<sup>88</sup> Cf. Pratt, *Political Thought*, pp. 338–50, esp. p. 345; Keynes, 'Royal Government', pp. 238–41 and 244–48, cf. Keynes, 'Fonthill Letter', pp. 64, 87, 91–92, 95–97.

## LEGAL CULTURE IN TENTH-CENTURY LOTHARINGIA

Charles West

‘**F**or an implacable law so constrained them, that what was once anciently established for the entire people was in no way able to be dissolved.’ This description of the customs prevailing in mid-tenth-century al-Andalus was written at the monastery of St Arnulf in the outskirts of Metz in the 980s.<sup>1</sup> An impression forming part of a deliberately exoticizing account of the Cordoban court, it may be doubted whether it really tells us anything about al-Andalusian society. But by that token, if we read against the grain, perhaps it tells us something about understanding and perceptions of law in Lotharingia, the region including much of modern Belgium and Alsace-Lorraine. In that the account’s author, Abbot John of St Arnulf, used this description precisely to make Cordoba sound strange, did he implicitly consider Lotharingia — in the tenth century no longer an independent kingdom but still possessing a certain regional identity — to be a place where what had been ‘anciently established’ could indeed be dissolved, and where there was no ‘implacable law’ to do any constraining?

If that was John’s view of Lotharingia, he was not alone in holding it. Thietmar, bishop of the Saxon see of Merseburg and author of a famous chronicle, considered Lotharingians to be violent, lawless, and unpredictable.<sup>2</sup> Lawlessness bothered

I should like to thank the participants at the Durham conference for their comments, Benedict Coffin, Thomas Faulkner, Emma Hunter, and John Nightingale for discussing earlier drafts of this paper with me, as well as David Rollason for much helpful advice.

<sup>1</sup> *Vita Iohannis Gorziensis*, ed. by Georg H. Pertz, MGH, SS, 4 (Hannover: Hahn, 1841), p. 371. For discussion of the text and context, see Peter Jacobsen, ‘Die Vita des Johannes von Gorze und ihr literarisches Umfeld’, in *L’Abbaye de Gorze au x siècle*, ed. by Michel Parisse and Otto Gerhard Oexle (Nancy: Presses Universitaires de Nancy, 1993), pp. 25–50.

<sup>2</sup> *Thietmar* (Holtzmann), Bk IV, chap. 14 (pp. 148–49), Bk VI, chap. 48 (pp. 334–35), and chap. 59 (p. 347).

another commentator on Lotharingia too, Alpert of Metz, whose description in his 'On the Diversity of Times' of an anarchic and violent mercantile community in the lower reaches of the River Rhine clearly speaks to contemporary anxieties about social disorder.<sup>3</sup> The impression of Lotharingia drawn from reading John, Thietmar, and Alpert together is accordingly one of political fragmentation and instability. This is of course how much of tenth-century Continental Europe can be characterized, in marked contrast to Anglo-Saxon England which was at precisely this time becoming more unified politically, and where royal power was increasingly expressed in terms of law.<sup>4</sup>

Such characterizations, medieval and modern, have obvious implications for Lotharingian 'legal culture', a term employed here, following Patrick Wormald's lead, to place more emphasis on the general normative framework within society, that is, how behaviour was guided by norms, and less on narrow issues of compliance and evasion implied by alternatives like 'legal system'.<sup>5</sup> They might suggest that we should expect to find this legal culture to be marked by violence, unpredictability, and above all, a lack of engagement with legal texts, compared for example with either the ninth or the eleventh centuries.<sup>6</sup> This chapter, echoing Levison's interest both in this part of Europe and in manuscripts, will explore how this impression sits with the evidence of Lotharingian manuscripts of legal texts, with the hope of contributing to an understanding of the workings of law within Lotharingian society which may also shed some comparative light on contemporary England.

### *Canon Law in Tenth-Century Lotharingia*

Alongside visions of a disordered Lotharingia, there is an alternative characterization of the region, as a land of bishops and archbishops, with figures such as Bruno, archbishop of Cologne (953–65), or Theoderic I, bishop of Metz (964–84), representatives par excellence of what used to be called the Ottonian Imperial Church

<sup>3</sup> Alpertus Mettensis, *De diversitate temporum et Fragmentum de Deoderico primo episcopo Mettensi*, ed. by Hans van Rij and Anna Sapir Abulafia (Amsterdam: Verloren, 1980), Bk II, chap. 20 (pp. 78–80).

<sup>4</sup> For an accessible introduction, see Timothy Reuter, 'Introduction: Reading the Tenth Century', in *NCMH*, III, 1–24.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Patrick Wormald, *Legal Culture in the Early Medieval West* (London: Hambledon, 1999), p. xiv, on 'Legal Culture'.

<sup>6</sup> On the eleventh century, see Peter Landau, 'The Development of Law', in *NCMH*, IV, 2, 113–47. On the ninth, see below, note 26.

system. We do not need the evidence of legal manuscripts to see that tenth-century Lotharingian bishops were keen on canon law, the law designed to regulate the activity of the Church and its members: the protests of the embattled Lotharingian-educated Bishop Rather (d. 974), translated from Lotharingia to Verona and faced there by what he perceived as scandalous neglect of the Church's rules, make the point just as eloquently.<sup>7</sup> But Lotharingian legal manuscripts, most of which concentrate on canon law, corroborate this impression in finer detail.<sup>8</sup>

The obvious starting point is Regino of Prüm's *Libri duo de synodalibus causis*, a canon law collection completed near Trier shortly after 900, compiled chiefly from selected ninth-century texts. According to his preface, Regino intended to save bishops from carting around their libraries of canon law manuscripts far and wide in the course of their travels, instead offering them all they needed in a single volume.<sup>9</sup> His efforts were clearly appreciated, since his collection survives in complete form in eleven manuscripts and in fragmentary form in further manuscripts, mostly copied in or around Lotharingia in the tenth and early eleventh centuries.<sup>10</sup> These manuscripts were live texts, for some were updated shortly after they were copied. For example, Regino's *Libri duo* did not include certain parts of the great ninth-century legal forgery generally known as the False Decretals of Pseudo-Isidore, parts which he may not have known: copyists however deemed this material important enough to be added, as may be seen in Trier, Stadtbibliothek, MS 927 (Figure 33), a copy of Regino's collection produced at the end of the tenth century around Trier.<sup>11</sup> But additions of this sort were no peculiarity of manuscripts of Regino, for they also occur in other Lotharingian canon law manuscripts.

<sup>7</sup> Rather of Verona, *Die Briefe des Bischofs Rather von Verona*, ed. by Fritz Weigle, MGH, Briefe, 1 (Weimar: Böhlau, 1949), pp. 71–102 (no. 16) and pp. 137–55 (no. 26), trans. by Peter Reid in *The Complete Works of Rather of Verona*, Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 76 (Binghamton: Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 1991), nos 28 and 47.

<sup>8</sup> Wilfried Hartmann, 'Probleme des geistlichen Gerichts im 10. und 11. Jahrhundert: Bischöfe und Synoden als Richter im ostfränkisch-deutschen Reich', in *La giustizia nella 'alto Medioevo (secoli IX–XI): 11–17 aprile 1997*, Settimane, 44, 2 vols (Spoleto: Centro italiano di studi sull'alto Medioevo, 1997), II, 631–74, addresses similar issues to what follows, but with a wider remit.

<sup>9</sup> The recent facing-page German translation by W. Hartmann, *Das Sendhandbuch des Regino von Prüm* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2004), though unfortunately partial, is accompanied by excellent notes. For this passage, see p. 20.

<sup>10</sup> Hartmann, *Das Sendhandbuch des Regino von Prüm*, p. 7.

<sup>11</sup> See Karl-Georg Schon, *Die Capitula Angilramni: Eine prozessrechtliche Fälschung Pseudo-Isidors*, MGH, Studien und Texte, 39 (Hannover: Hahn, 2006), p. 50: the additions are also to be found in a twelfth-century Orval manuscript of Regino.

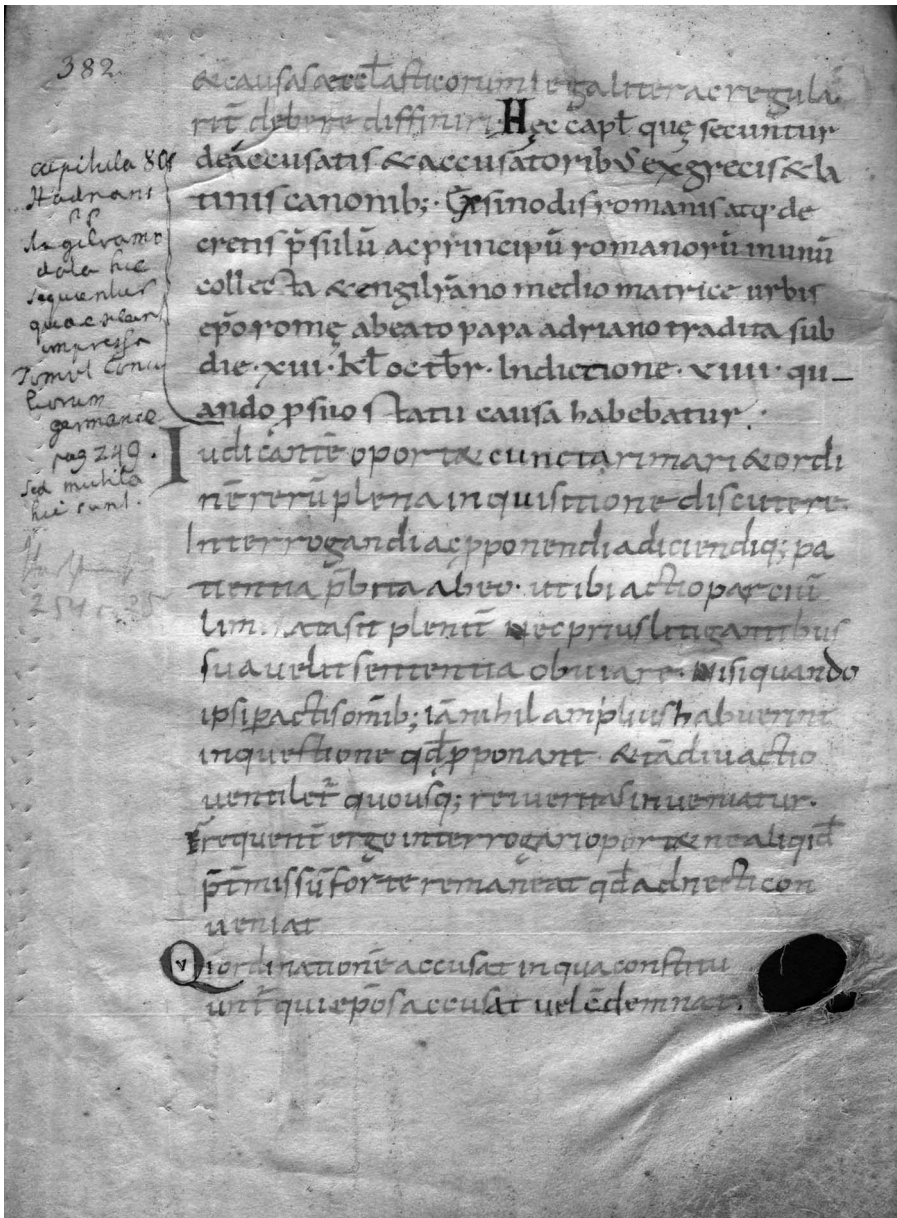


Figure 33. The *Collectio Angilramni*, dealing with judicial procedure, was added in this tenth-century Lotharingian manuscript to Regino of Prüm's canon law collection (Regino does not appear himself to have known the text). Trier, Stadtbibliothek, MS 927 (1882), p. 382. Reproduced with permission.



Cologne, Dombibliothek, MS 123, mostly taken up with an early medieval canon law collection known as the 'Dacheriana', was copied at the beginning of the ninth century, but was updated in the tenth century with the inscription of the records of the Council of Koblenz, held in 922.

Judging from extant manuscripts, Regino's estimate of the scale of the bishops' collections of canon law was not inaccurate, and this impression is only strengthened when library catalogues are considered. The early eleventh-century catalogue for Saint-Evre, an important monastery within Toul, listed fourteen unspecified books of canon law, and we can suppose that most of these were also there in the tenth century.<sup>12</sup> So, although bishops doubtless appreciated Regino's collection, they were not restricted to it, and other texts retained their appeal. Summaries for practical purposes of the canons of the Councils of Tribur, held in 895, and of Trosly, held in 909, for instance, were quite possibly made in Lotharingia, perhaps at Trier.<sup>13</sup> As we have already seen, manuscripts of the Pseudo-Isidore compilation were evidently circulating within Lotharingia. In fact, Lotharingian manuscripts of Pseudo-Isidore circulated outside Lotharingia too: at the Council of Saint-Basle near Reims in 991, the Bishop of Noyon brought forward a manuscript which he had borrowed or acquired 'from the Lotharingian kingdom', which might perhaps have come from Metz.<sup>14</sup>

In fact, Lotharingian manuscripts can be proven to have travelled extensively in the tenth century. The spread of Regino's *Libri duo* immediately westwards and eastwards of Lotharingia is unsurprising: its dedication to the Archbishop of Mainz, outside Lotharingia, shows it was written with a wider reception in mind. But Regino's text was not the only one in demand. Two Lotharingian manuscripts of a collection of canon law material were taken to Bavaria. One of these is now

<sup>12</sup> 'La Bibliothèque et le trésor de l'abbaye Saint-Evre-lès-Toul à la fin du XI<sup>e</sup> siècle d'après le manuscrit latin 10292 de Munich', ed. by Robert Fawtier, *Mémoires de la Société d'Archéologie Lorraine*, 61 (1911), 123–56.

<sup>13</sup> For abbreviated Trosly, see *Capitula Trosleiana*, ed. by Peter Brommer, Rudolf Pokorny, and Martina Stratmann, MGH, Capit. episc., 4 vols (Hannover: Hahn, 1984–2005), III, 141–46, and for connections with Trier, Rudolf Pokorny, 'Eine Kurzform der Konzilskanones von Trosly (909): Zur Reformgesetzgebung in der ausgehenden Karolingerzeit', *DA*, 42 (1986), 118–44. For abbreviated Tribur, see Emil Seckel, 'Zu den Acten der Triburer Synode 895', *Neues Archiv*, 18 (1893), 365–409: Krause puts arguments for a Trier derivation there too.

<sup>14</sup> *Die Konzilien Deutschlands und Reichsitaliens 916–1001*, ed. by Ernst-Dieter Hehl, MGH, Concilia, 6, 2 vols (Hannover: Hahn, 1987–2007), II, 414. The Metz connection is that St Symphorian had an account of the council in the early eleventh century, according to a book catalogue copied into Metz, BM, MS 221.

Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, MS Clm 3851. The other is now lost, but several important tenth-century Bavarian copies of it survive.<sup>15</sup> Similarly, Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, MS 454 Helmstedt, written in Hildesheim around the year 1000, appears to be a copy of material which the Lotharingian monk Adalbert, soon to be Archbishop of Magdeburg, took with him when he went to Saxony in 968. In addition to distinctively Trier liturgical material (which helps identify its provenance), it included still more Pseudo-Isidore, though in this case in the form of the late ninth-century reworked collection attributed to Bishop Remedius of Chur.<sup>16</sup>

While Lotharingia exported texts, it also imported them, particularly from Italy. Haimo, bishop of Verdun (990–1024), for instance, commissioned a copy of the Italian *Collectio Anselmo Dedicata*, now BnF, MS lat. 15392. We know he did because a colophon on p. 432 tells us so, and also helpfully dates the manuscript's completion to 23 March 1009. The connections of this Lotharingian manuscript with another, approximately contemporary and also including the *Collectio Anselmo Dedicata*, are sadly now obscure, because that manuscript, Metz, BM, MS 100, was destroyed in 1944.<sup>17</sup> Obscure too is the Italian connection of the early eleventh-century Cologne, Dombibliothek, MS 124. This is written in an Italian hand, but the text it principally contains, the 'Collection in Four Books' (an arrangement of canon law on episcopal authority, ecclesiastical discipline, penance, and marriage), seems certain to have been compiled at Cologne itself in the tenth century, and the manuscript has a clear Cologne provenance too.<sup>18</sup> But texts did not need to be newly compiled to interest a Lotharingian bishop. At almost exactly the same time as Haimo ordered his canon law book, Heribert, archbishop of

<sup>15</sup> The issues surrounding Munich, BS, MS Clm. 3851 are rather knotty: the best account is Jörg Müller, *Untersuchungen zur Collectio Duodecim Partium* (Ebelsbach: Gremer, 1989). Lotte Kéry, *Canonical Collections of the Early Middle Ages* (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 1999), gives a bibliography under the heading 'Lorraine collection of canonical materials', p. 182.

<sup>16</sup> See Herwig John, *Collectio canonum Remedii Curiensi episcopo perperam ascriptam*, Monumenta Iuris Canonici, Series B, Corpus Collectionum, 2 (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1976), pp. 54–56.

<sup>17</sup> Horst Fuhrmann, 'Fragmente der Collectio Anselmo dedicata', *DA*, 44 (1988), 539–43.

<sup>18</sup> Gerhard Schmitz, 'Die Vier-Bücher Sammlung des Cod. Köln DD 124', in *Ex ipsis rerum documentis: Beiträge zur Mediävistik. Festschrift für Harald Zimmermann zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. by Klaus Herbers, Hans H. Kortüm, and Carlo Servatius (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1991), pp. 233–56.

Cologne (999–1021), commissioned one too, an impressive manuscript now Cologne, Dombibliothek, MS 113, containing for the most part Pseudo-Isidore.<sup>19</sup>

Lotharingian energy in commissioning manuscripts and putting together new arrangements of canon law texts was paralleled by the continuing tradition of creating texts, notably episcopal capitularies, exhortations to local priests based on canon law. Although Roger, archbishop of Trier (915–31), has the distinction of being the last identifiable promulgator of such capitularies north of the Alps, anonymous texts continued to be put together in Lotharingia after his time, and indeed Roger's work was used together with other material to compile a fresh capitulary later in the century.<sup>20</sup>

It should by now be clear that the evidence from manuscripts for Lotharingian interest in canon law is unequivocally strong. The question of the use of this canon law is, however, a little more complicated.<sup>21</sup> We have seen that a Lotharingian manuscript was brandished in a council, that of Saint-Basle just beyond the borders of Lotharingia, but canon law manuscripts were sometimes demonstrably consulted within Lotharingia too. For example, a copy from Cologne of the Dionysio-Hadriana, a canon law compilation promoted by Charlemagne, has a gloss suggesting that it was used in the context of Bishop Rather's short-lived translation to Liège in 955.<sup>22</sup> Robert, archbishop of Trier (c. 930–56), cited canon law, again from a copy of the Dionysio-Hadriana, in the course of the Council of Mouzon in 948.<sup>23</sup> More generally, Regino's *Libri duo* was, as its author had intended, demonstrably more than an ornamental icon of episcopal rule, for it was extensively used in tenth-century Ottonian councils at which Lotharingian bishops were often present, for instance, the Councils of Hohenaltheim in 916, Ingelheim in 948, and Frankfurt in 951.<sup>24</sup>

<sup>19</sup> A description and digital photographs of the manuscript can be found at the 'Codices Electronici Ecclesiae Coloniensis' website, <<http://www.ceec.uni-koeln.de/>> [accessed 3 January 2009].

<sup>20</sup> Roger's capitularies are ed. by Peter Brommer in MGH, Capit. episc., I, 57–70; the anonymous Antwerp capitularies in III, 104–10 form a revised version.

<sup>21</sup> Hartmann, 'Probleme des gestlichen', has investigated this question with particular attention to episcopal *vitae*.

<sup>22</sup> Henry Mayr-Harting, *Church and Cosmos in Early Ottonian Germany: The View from Cologne* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), p. 137, n. 32, concerning a gloss to Cologne, Dombibliothek, MS 115 (s. ix).

<sup>23</sup> *Die Konzilien Deutschlands und Reichsitaliens*, ed. by Hehl, p. 134.

<sup>24</sup> *Die Konzilien Deutschlands und Reichsitaliens*, ed. by Hehl, pp. 3, 137, and 179.

But the use of canon law goes beyond citing it in councils or disputes. Leiden, Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit, Vulcan MS 94B, a tenth-century manuscript of Archbishop Roger's capitulary, is a modest little pamphlet, perhaps representing the form in which such capitularies circulated. Irrespective of whether they were used in a dispute, unpretentious manuscripts like this — and there might once have been many more like it — imply a penetration of the text into local society, and imply moreover that it was actually read. Indeed, we know that John of Gorze, the hero of the saint's life with which we began, studied a collection of canon law (strikingly similar to that preserved in Munich, BS, MS Clm 3851) simply as part of his self-education. John's reading of canon law constitutes a 'use' just as important as citation in judicial contexts; it reminds us that while our picture is dominated by bishops and their practical requirements, canon law had an intellectual appeal in Lotharingia which reached beyond the cathedral.<sup>25</sup>

### *Frankish and Roman Law in Tenth-Century Lotharingia*

Demonstrating the interest in canon law in a part of Europe dominated by strong bishops is one thing, but to do the same for 'secular' law, that is, texts produced by kings or handed down from Roman or barbarian antiquity, is quite another. Although the Ottonians who ruled Lotharingia were relatively strong kings, they did not have the tight control of the localities which their Carolingian predecessors had enjoyed, nor their over-riding concern with written law.<sup>26</sup>

One might therefore expect that Carolingian legal material of the eighth and ninth centuries would have provoked little interest in such different conditions. But that turns out not to be the case. Carolingian capitularies, edicts issued by royal councils, were not forgotten. Indeed, it was somewhere along the River Moselle in Lotharingia in the mid- to late tenth century that the only extant translation of a Carolingian capitulary into a vernacular language, in this case Old High German, was produced; unfortunately it survives only in an early modern copy, but

<sup>25</sup> *Vita Iohannis*, p. 342, detailing that John studied 'precepta canonicae institutionis, hoc est decreta conciliorum, iudicia penitentium, ordinem actionum ecclesiasticum, ad hoc et secularium edicta legum', precisely the contents of Munich, BS, MS Clm. 3851 (as at note 15 above).

<sup>26</sup> On Ottonian government, see Karl Leyser, 'Ottonian Government', *EHR*, 96 (1981), 721–53. On Carolingian interest in written law, see Rosamond McKitterick, *The Carolingians and the Written Word* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), pp. 23–76.

on linguistic grounds the text is datable to the mid- to late tenth century.<sup>27</sup> The capitulary in question, a *Capitulare legibus additum*, regulated the donations of land to a church or monastery, and the translation was perhaps produced by a church or monastery with a pragmatic motivation uppermost.

Nor was it only capitularies that commanded Lotharingian attention. At around the same time as the capitulary was translated, a sixth-century Roman law manuscript of the Theodosian Code, now BAV, MS Reg. lat. 886, which is thought to have been at Trier in the late tenth century, was brought back into use to correct other Roman law manuscripts. Admittedly this process of correction was undertaken in Reims, but the manuscript must have already aroused interest in Trier for it to have come to the attention of the Reims corrector.<sup>28</sup>

These are of course only isolated instances, and it is hard to draw far-reaching conclusions from them. The difficulty for a general assessment of tenth-century Lotharingian interest in secular law on the basis of manuscript evidence is that of pinning down precise provenance and dating. Many manuscripts containing Frankish or Roman legal material were copied in the tenth century, so there is no shortage of material, but it is hard to put this to use without secure dating and attribution. Palaeographical localization can often be no more precise than 'north-east Frankia' or 'western Germany', which might, or might not, mean that the manuscript in question was Lotharingian. BnF, MS lat. 4403B, which includes a copy of the Salic Law (*Lex Salica*) complete with administrative notes (a list of people who had been fined for theft), and which seems to have been copied in the early tenth century, is an illustration of these difficulties. Indication that it originated specifically in Lotharingia is provided only by liturgical material in it relating to St Cassius, especially venerated in Lotharingia, hardly cast-iron proof.<sup>29</sup>

Happily, however, three manuscripts are striking exceptions to this uncertainty, because they can all be reasonably safely associated with late tenth- or early

<sup>27</sup> 'Ein übersehener Textzeuge des Trierer Capitulare', ed. by Heinrich Tiefenbach, *Rheinische Vierteljahrsblätter*, 39 (1975), 272–310.

<sup>28</sup> Jean-Pierre Poly, 'Le Sac de Cuir: la crise de l'an mil et la première renaissance du droit roman', in *Droits savants et pratiques françaises du pouvoir X<sup>e</sup>–XV<sup>e</sup> siècles*, ed. by Jacques Krynen and Albert Rigaudière (Bordeaux: Presses universitaires de Bordeaux, 1992), pp. 39–68. The corrected manuscripts are BnF, MS lat. 12445 and Berlin, Deutsche Staatsbibliothek, MS Phillipps 1741, both from around Reims.

<sup>29</sup> This is the analysis of Petrus Boeren, 'Quelques remarques sur les manuscrits de la loi Salique', *Tijdschrift voor Rechtsgeschiedenis*, 22 (1954), 33–67 (pp. 41–45).

eleventh-century Metz, thanks to Metz's well-studied and characteristic script.<sup>30</sup> The first of these is Berlin, Deutsche Staatsbibliothek, MS Phillipps 1737, a copy of Ansegis's famous ninth-century collection of Carolingian capitularies (Figure 34).<sup>31</sup> Ansegis's collection was extremely widely distributed, so its inclusion in the manuscript is not unusual in itself. Nevertheless the manuscript has its peculiarities, to which we shall return.

The second Metz manuscript is BnF, MS lat. 9654, which is on a rather larger scale to the modest Berlin codex.<sup>32</sup> Illustrated with a striking picture of a king (fol. A<sup>v</sup>: Figure 35), whom one might fancifully imagine to be in legislative posture, this large manuscript boasts in addition to another copy of Ansegis's capitulary collection an impressive series of barbarian law-codes, including the very rare *Lex Chamavorum*. It also adds to Ansegis two much less well-known capitulary collections, the first of capitularies from the reigns of Pippin III (751–68) and Charlemagne (768–814), the second of capitularies from the reign of Charles the Bald (840–77) and his son Carloman (879–84). These collections are otherwise to be found only in a sister manuscript, BAV, MS Reg. lat. 582, which sadly cannot be assigned a precise provenance, but judging from its content was copied from the same exemplar as BnF, MS lat. 9654. The Vatican manuscript is slightly smaller than the Paris, but nevertheless both are extremely impressive: in fact, the capitulary collections in these two manuscripts together probably constitute the largest such collection made north of the Alps, preserving many capitularies found nowhere else.<sup>33</sup>

The third Metz manuscript was another stately codex, now divided between BnF, MS lat. 4614, and BnF, MS lat. 4669. These manuscripts together form an imposing collection of material, yet codicological analysis shows that a third of the

<sup>30</sup> For a discussion of this script, see Jean Vezin, 'Un manuscrit messin de la première moitié du XI<sup>e</sup> siècle', in *Miscellanea codicologica F. Masai dicata MCMLXXIX*, ed. by Pierre Cockshaw, 2 vols (Gent: Story-Scientia, 1979), II, 157–64.

<sup>31</sup> *Die Kapitulariensammlung des Ansegis*, ed. by Gerhard Schmitz, MGH Capit. reg., n.s., 1 (Hannover: Hahn, 1996).

<sup>32</sup> For a detailed description, see Hubert Mordek, *Bibliotheca capitularium regum Francorum manuscriptorum: Überlieferung und Traditionszusammenhang der fränkischen Herrschererlasse*, MGH, Hilfsmittel, 15 (Munich: MGH, 1995). The image has been reproduced many times, most recently in Hubert Mordek, 'Frühmittelalterliche Gesetzgeber und Iustitia in Miniaturen weltlicher Rechts-handschriften', in *La Giustizia nell'Alto Medioevo (secoli V–VIII)*, Settimane, 42, 2 vols (Spoleto: Centro italiano di studi sull'alto Medioevo, 1995), II, 997–1052.

<sup>33</sup> Unique to these manuscripts are Capit. nos 49, 51, 53, 58, 59, 65, 72, and 73 (all edited in *Capitularia regum Francorum*, ed. by Alfred Boretius, MGH, Capit. reg., 1 (Hannover: Hahn, 1881)).

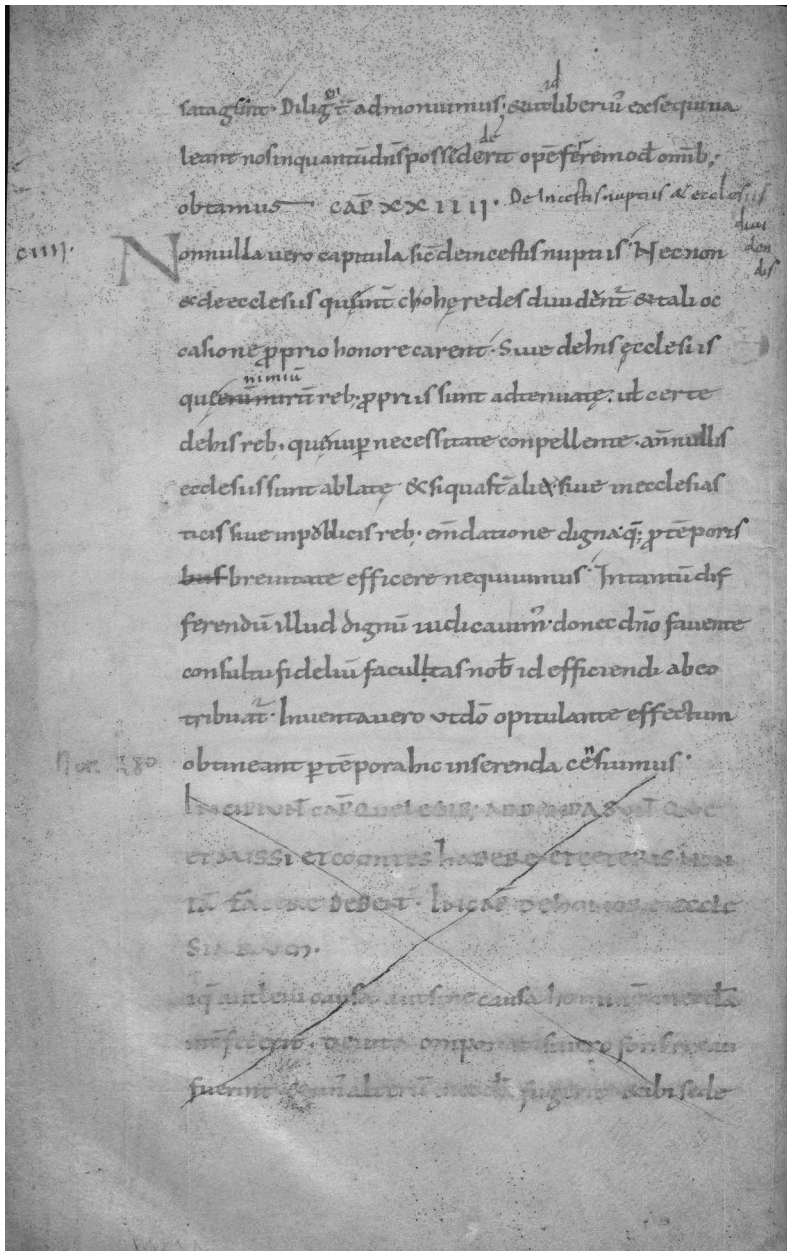


Figure 34. A capitulary text has been crossed out and erased, as part of the tenth-century ‘upgrading’ of this manuscript from a small selection of Louis the Pious’s capitularies to a copy of Ansegis’s capitulary collection. Berlin, Deutsche Staatsbibliothek, MS Phillipps 1737, fol. 6<sup>r</sup>. Reproduced with permission.



Figure 35. This image of a king in a tenth-century Lotharingian legal manuscript may have drawn inspiration from earlier exemplars, but should nevertheless still be seen as representing tenth-century ideals of kingship. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS lat. 9654, fol. A<sup>v</sup>. Reproduced with permission.



original manuscript has been lost.<sup>34</sup> Even in this diminished state, the divided manuscript contains a splendid sequence of texts of Roman and Frankish law, including the *Lex Romana Visigothorum*, the *Lex Alamannorum*, and the *Lex Baiuvariorum*. It is certain that it was copied at least in part from Carolingian-period manuscripts, because its source for the *Lex Visigothorum* has been identified as BnF, MS lat. 4418.

### *The Significance of the Metz Manuscripts*

Although each of these manuscripts is interesting in its own right, their shared Metz provenance heightens their importance. I would like to suggest three lines of interpretation, each one associating these manuscripts with a different context and thereby bringing out different aspects of their significance.

### **Bishops and Monastic Libraries**

First of all, we can see that, as always in Lotharingia, bishops are not far away. Close episcopal involvement can be inferred for the production of two of the three manuscripts, demonstrating the role of bishops as patrons and collectors of manuscripts, as attested elsewhere in the post-Carolingian world, for example at Laon and, a well-studied English example, Exeter.<sup>35</sup> BnF, MS lat. 9654 was probably produced in the monastery of St Vincent, which was founded around 968 by Bishop Theoderic I of Metz, and where he chose to be buried. Theoderic was a close friend and indeed cousin of the emperor Otto I, and he was heavily involved in that ruler's activities in Italy. He appears to have used this connection to acquire not only a large stock of Italian relics, which he duly passed on to his monastery of St Vincent, but also a collection of Italian manuscripts from Verona. Though none of these was a law text, this interest in acquiring manuscripts, part of the

<sup>34</sup> Mordek, *Bibliotheca*, pp. 1031–32.

<sup>35</sup> The articles in *Metz enluminée: autour de la Bible de Charles le Chauve: Trésors manuscrits des églises messines*, ed. by François Avril and others (Metz: Serpenoise, 1989) provide an overview of the vicissitudes of the libraries of Metz. For the generosity of late tenth-century bishops of Laon, see Émile Lesne, *Histoire de la propriété ecclésiastique en France*, vol. IV: *Livres, 'scriptoria' et bibliothèques du commencement du VIII<sup>e</sup> à la fin du XI<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Lille: Université de Lille, 1938), p. 253. For Exeter, see Richard Gameson, 'The Origin of the Exeter Book of Old English Poetry', *ASE*, 25 (1996), 135–85.

responsibility of a monastic founder, was probably an important context for the copying of BnF, MS lat. 9654.<sup>36</sup>

For its part, the manuscript divided between BnF, MS lat. 4669 and BnF, MS lat. 4614 can be connected with a substantial copying programme undertaken in the early eleventh century at St Symphorian, a monastery founded by Theoderic's successor Adalbero II, bishop of Metz (984–1005), and moreover a monastery which had connections with St Vincent.<sup>37</sup> Four extant manuscripts helpfully contain a colophon attributing their composition to the monastery's abbot (incidentally the author of a *Life* of Bishop Adalbero II), and several others can be palaeographically attributed to this scriptorium or one associated with it, including the book which concerned us. Overall, these manuscripts do not have a particularly strong legal focus so, as at St Vincent, the *leges* manuscript finds a plausible context in terms of the building up of a library at a monastery closely associated with the bishop.

### Late Tenth-Century Metz and the Carolingian Legacy

However, it must be emphasized that this association with book collecting does not mean that these texts were not valued in their own right. Notwithstanding their scale, these manuscripts were not simply *objets d'art*, nor were they considered as merely ornamentally necessary for a decent library. Far from being negligent or slavish copies, attention to their text reveals a remarkable concern with the actual content. Berlin, MS Phillippus 1737 did not start out as a copy of Ansegis, but as a collection of some of Louis the Pious's capitulary legislation. However, apparently soon after its inception, the decision was made to 'upgrade' the manuscript to a full copy of Ansegis's collection, which happened to include those of Louis's capitularies already available in the manuscript. The additional material necessary was

<sup>36</sup> For the career of Theoderic, see Robert Folz, 'Un évêque Ottonien: Thierry I de Metz (965–984)', in *Media in Francia, mélanges à K. F. Werner*, ed. by Georges Duby (Paris: Maulévrier, 1989), pp. 139–57. Rosamond McKitterick, 'The Audience for Latin Historiography in the Early Middle Ages: Text Transmission and Manuscript Dissemination', in *Historiographie im frühen Mittelalter*, ed. by A. Scharer (Vienna: Oldenbourg, 1994), pp. 96–114, discusses these manuscripts on pp. 107–08.

<sup>37</sup> Not least via Alpert, who dedicated his work to Constantine but whose manuscript ended up in St Vincent. For the identification of these manuscripts, see Vezin, 'Un manuscrit messin'. For Bishop Adalbero, see R. Folz, 'Adalberon II évêque de Metz', in *Ex ipsis rerum documentis*, pp. 399–416.

written out, cross-references were made to what was already there, and the binding was altered to splice it all together.<sup>38</sup>

BnF, MS lat. 9654 was not so comprehensively revised, but attempts were made to improve the sense of its Ansegis text, and a comparison with its Vatican sister reveals one or two significant changes, presumably additions to what the exemplar offered. For example, a capitulary on ecclesiastical immunity, which is in fact the most explicit text on Carolingian immunity and which appears first in Benedict Levita's partly forged extension of Ansegis's capitulary collection, was also copied here, an indication that this capitulary travelled independently of Benedict Levita's collection in the tenth century, as it would in later periods.<sup>39</sup> Presumably this text was deemed of relevance to a newly founded monastery in the late tenth century. Moreover, in contrast to the compiler of the Vatican manuscript, the copyist of BnF, MS lat. 9654 decided to add law-code texts to the capitulary texts he found in his exemplar. This was itself an act of creative interpretation, indicating an overarching intent, as signalled by a short (and slightly cryptic) linking sentence: 'and the rest which is contained in the capitularies, you will be able to track down in this way, wise reader. Now, God willing, we must turn our pen to the Salic material.'<sup>40</sup>

When and where the manuscript's lost exemplar was made may seem irrelevant, but in fact is potentially quite important. The attribution of the original compilation to ninth-century Sens by the capitulary scholar Hubert Mordek rested on the fact that several capitularies in it relate specifically to that region, but it should be noted that others relate specifically to other regions.<sup>41</sup> As it happens, the Vatican manuscript also has some Lotharingian credentials, and Regino of Prüm seems to have used a similar manuscript in compiling his *Libri duo*.<sup>42</sup> More significantly,

<sup>38</sup> For a detailed description, see *Die Kapitulariensammlung des Ansegis*, ed. by Schmitz, p. 81. G. Schmitz also highlights the changes made to this manuscript and BnF, MS lat. 9654 (as discussed below) in 'Intelligente Schreiber: Beobachtungen aus Ansegis- und Kapitularienhandschriften', in *Papsttum, Kirche und Recht im Mittelalter: Festschrift für Horst Fuhrmann*, ed. by Hubert Mordek (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1991), pp. 79–93.

<sup>39</sup> This text (Benedictus Levita I 279: a modern edition in association with the Monumenta Germaniae Historica is in progress, and part is already available online at <<http://www.benedictus.mgh.de>>) is included as part of the Ansegis material, fol. 56'.

<sup>40</sup> 'Et reliqua quae in capitulari continentur, prudens lector hoc modo poteris indagare. Nunc stilus flectendus est ad salica argumenta deo uolente', fol. 122' (the text is also given in Mordek, *Bibliotheca*, p. 576).

<sup>41</sup> Mordek, *Bibliotheca*, p. 563.

<sup>42</sup> Mordek, *Bibliotheca*, p. 780. The credentials are Hoffman's attribution to Werden, and the Lower Lotharingian saints' lives added to the manuscript.

Sens material is to be found in other texts associated with the famous Carolingian ‘*leges scriptorium*’, a ninth-century workshop producing legal manuscripts later distributed around the empire, and probably connected to the royal court in some fashion.<sup>43</sup> Might BnF, MS lat. 9654’s exemplar have been associated with this *leges scriptorium*? That this is not merely implausible speculation is demonstrated by the identified exemplar of BnF, MS lat. 4669/BnF, MS lat. 4614, the above-mentioned BnF, MS lat. 4418. Not just any Carolingian copy of law-code texts, the latter manuscript is a lavishly produced codex very closely associated with the court of Louis the Pious.<sup>44</sup>

It therefore seems that both BnF, MS lat. 9654 and the *leges*-manuscript divided between BnF, MSS lat. 4614 and 4669 were copied from exemplars of a rather special status. Either these exemplar manuscripts were available in Metz at the time or, more intriguingly, they had been deliberately sought out. What could have motivated such effort to be devoted to these manuscripts? In contrast to what could be supposed for canon law, they seem unlikely to have been the product of prosaic administrative interest. All their contents were the product of the legislative and compilatory efforts of a century or more before. The contents of BnF, MS lat. 9654 were, in a sense, out of date, for its most recent datable text is from the 880s. Actually, it is likely that some of these texts, particularly the capitularies like the Edict of Pîtres, had *never* been ‘in date’ from a Lotharingian perspective, since they had been issued by a West Frankish king.

Moreover, the ‘genre’ of Frankish or royal law was no longer a current one. Unlike the situation across the Channel, where Anglo-Saxon kings were embracing the opportunities of legislation as never before, tenth-century Continental rulers, including those of Lotharingia, produced nothing to be compared with their Carolingian predecessors, nor with the output of an Æthelstan or an Edgar, let alone an Æthelred II.<sup>45</sup> Since no one can be proven to have brandished one of these manuscripts in a courtroom, we can assume that the creation within Metz of three manuscripts of Frankish and imperial law constituted an ideological statement. But

<sup>43</sup> For the *leges scriptorium*, see Rosamond McKitterick, ‘Zur Herstellung von Kapitularien: Die Arbeit des Leges-Skriptoriums’, *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung*, 101 (1993), 3–16. BnF, MS lat. 4627, which has some Sens material (two formularies), has been attributed to this scriptorium.

<sup>44</sup> See Yolanda García López, *Estudios críticos de la ‘lex wisigothorum’*, *Memorias del seminario de historia antigua*, 5 (Madrid: Universidad de Alcalá, 1996), p. 43 for BnF, MS lat. 4418. For the connection with BnF, MS lat. 4669, see Vezin, ‘Un manuscrit messin’, p. 163.

<sup>45</sup> See above, note 26.

that statement's actual content would have depended on the immediate context. Is there perhaps some other reason why the particularly Carolingian associations of all these manuscripts might have found a resonance in late tenth-century Metz?

There is, and it forms my second line of interpretation. We are reasonably well informed about Metz's history around the year 1000. It was dominated by the Carolingians, who were in a very real sense not confined to the past as far as the region around Metz was concerned. Bishop Theoderic defended his city against the attack of King Lothar of West Frankia (954–86), whose interest in Lotharingia was justified by his Carolingian pedigree as the great-great-great-grandson of Charlemagne, and also engaged in polemic against Lothar's younger brother, Charles, duke of Lorraine (in fact Lower Lotharingia), who boasted of his Carolingian descent.<sup>46</sup> Bishop Adalbero II of Metz, far less involved in Ottonian politics than his predecessor and portrayed less as a man of action than one always close to tears and fond of washing the poor, was nevertheless involved in the controversial coronation of Hugh Capet by his relative Archbishop Adalbero of Reims, in the teeth of dynastic claims put by Charles of Lorraine.<sup>47</sup>

A venerable historiographical account suggests that Lotharingian bishops, and West Frankish bishops with Lotharingian connections like the two Adalberos of Reims and Laon, plotted against the last Carolingians, Lothar, Louis V, and Charles of Lorraine, precisely because these kings pursued programmatically a strategy for the recuperation of Lotharingia which loyal Ottonian *Reichskirche* bishops found unappealing.<sup>48</sup> This is actually rather hard to show as such, but that these kings were laying claim to a Carolingian heritage with controversial territorial implications, though not at the expense of learning from the innovations of their eastern cousins, is apparent. The three Metz manuscripts must therefore also

<sup>46</sup> For the siege of Metz (probably 978), see *De diversitate temporum*, ed. by van Rij, p. 108. For Lothar's Carolingian claims, see *Richer* (Hoffmann), p. 206. For the polemic against Charles, see the letters of Gerbert of Reims, most recently edited by Pierre Riché and Jean Pierre Callu with facing-page French translation, *Correspondence: Gerbert d'Aurillac*, 2 vols (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1993), I, 67; and p. 73 for Charles's dynastic claims.

<sup>47</sup> *Correspondence*, ed. by Riché and Callu. For Charles's dynastic claims, see *Richer* (Hoffmann), p. 236.

<sup>48</sup> For an overview of these events from an episcopal perspective, see M. Bur, 'Adalbéron, archevêque de Reims, reconsidéré', in *Le Roi de France et son royaume: autour de l'an mil: actes du Colloque Hugues Capet 987–1987. La France de l'an mil, Paris-Senlis, 22–25 juin 1987*, ed. by Michel Parisse and Xavier Barral i Altet (Paris: Picard, 1992), pp. 55–64.

be seen in that context. Specifically, commissioning them might have been a way of neutralizing that appeal to Carolingian heritage.

Indeed, this brings into question whether these books from Metz were really part of contemporary Lotharingian legal culture at all. They might be better interpreted as primarily historical manuscripts, a collective statement of Metz's claims to be a Carolingian city, a claim promoted since the late eighth century. In a sense, they could be understood as functionally equivalent to the *Histories* of Richer of Saint-Rémi from Reims.<sup>49</sup> In place of collecting legal texts, Richer continued the work of the earlier historians Hincmar of Reims and Flodoard, directly connecting his present with a Carolingian background, and moreover flattening historical change through his use of an archaic Romanizing vocabulary. The manuscripts from Metz and Richer's *Histories* could together be thought of as alternative but analogous ways to process the Carolingian past and apply it to the present.

As it happens, other manuscripts lend plausibility to this view. Lotharingia as a whole retained in the tenth century an interest in history, as demonstrated by the continuator of Regino of Prüm's chronicle (the same Adalbert who took Lotharingian law to Saxony) and by Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, MS 529, a Lotharingian mid-tenth-century copy of Einhard's *Vita Karoli* and the Astronomer's *Vita Ludovici*. And there is evidence more specific to Metz too, in the shape of the Annals of Metz: not the famous 'Prior' Annals (*Annales Mettenses Priores*), initially compiled around 806 and the subject of so much recent work, but the comparatively neglected 'Later' Annals (*Annales Mettenses Posteriores*).<sup>50</sup> The annalist of this later text took a range of historical material, including the 'Prior' Metz Annals and Regino's chronicle as well as part of the Annals of Saint-Bertin, and wove them together to create a new history. The text finishes in the early tenth century and is clearly incomplete, but it is not clear exactly how incomplete, and was perhaps designed as a self-contained history of the Frankish past. Its most famous manuscript (Berlin, Deutsche Staatsbibliothek, MS Meerman lat. 141) comes from twelfth-century Metz, but in fact there is an earlier manuscript, BnF, MS lat. 5017 from eleventh-century Metz, and this may not be the original, so the work could be tenth-century. The remaining fragment of another work of Alpert

<sup>49</sup> For a recent study of Richer's autograph, see Jason Glenn, *Politics and History in the Tenth Century: The Work and World of Richer of Reims* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

<sup>50</sup> For the *Annales Priores*, see Yitzak Hen, 'The Annals of Metz and the Merovingian Past', in *The Uses of the Past in Early Medieval Europe*, ed. by Yitzhak Hen and Matthew Innes (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp. 175–90. Both sets of annals are edited by Bernhard de Simson, *Annales Mettenses priores*, MGH, SS rer. Germ., 10 (Hannover: Hahn, 1905).

of Metz, a *Life of Bishop Theoderic*, could also be set in this context of a tenth-century interest in the Frankish past of Metz. Perhaps it could be considered as a continuation of Paul the Deacon's late eighth-century, Carolingian-focused *Deeds of the Bishop of Metz*.<sup>51</sup>

### The Carolingian Context

An interpretation of these manuscripts as history books with a particular conjunctural importance, whose particular significance can only be understood in relation to political events at the particular moment of their redaction, is satisfying. Yet caution is required. Firstly, there is the risk of implying a sharper distinction between history and law than really obtained. The historical aspects of legal texts do not prove that they functioned as histories rather than legal texts, because the line between history and law is at the best of times blurred.<sup>52</sup> Given that law is at one level the attempt to order the present with reference to norms laid down previously, it is always and inherently a little historical, while history-writing often had a normative edge, in other words was intended to establish norms of behaviour. Just as law can be interpreted as a form of literature, so forms of literature like history can be put to practical effect. The distinction does not necessarily rest in the text, but in the use to which the text is put.

Secondly, and following from this point, we must be careful not to jump into considering these manuscripts as inherently different in status from those produced during the ninth century, and this relationship between ninth- and tenth-century manuscripts forms my third line of interpretation. A sharp distinction between Carolingian and 'post-Carolingian' manuscripts of secular law, and particularly capitularies, would be untenable for three reasons. In the first place, a substantial proportion of the capitulary manuscripts containing Carolingian legal material actually comes from the tenth or early eleventh century, and many of these manuscripts, including as we have seen BnF, MS lat. 9654, play a very important role in transmission of Carolingian material.<sup>53</sup> These Metz manuscripts are simply

<sup>51</sup> Though Alpert's most recent editor leans against this view: *De diversitate temporum*, ed. by van Rij, pp. xx–xxi.

<sup>52</sup> Cf. the arguments developed by Rosamond McKitterick, *History and Memory in the Carolingian World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), particularly chap. 11 on canon law.

<sup>53</sup> To judge from Mordek's *Bibliotheca*, and excluding Italian manuscripts, a little under a quarter of all capitulary manuscripts are tenth-century in date. Forthcoming work by Tom Faulkner will clarify this point.

a prominent concentration which lends itself to comparative analysis; they need not be considered wholly exceptional in any other way.

Moreover, these Metz manuscripts cannot be easily distinguished in codicological terms from those of the ninth century. The form in which they arrange their material is closer to that of ninth-century manuscripts than to those of the later eleventh century and subsequently, and this is not untypical. If change can be detected, it is change in the sense of a developing tradition: tenth-century manuscripts of Carolingian law are often larger and more focused on legal material than are those of the ninth century, at least north of the Alps.<sup>54</sup> So while BnF, MS lat. 9654 and its Vatican sister may well be the sort of manuscript one might suppose would have been highly valued in the ninth century (and there certainly were approximately comparable manuscripts from the later ninth, such as a lost manuscript from Beauvais of almost legendary scope), they are equally paralleled in their scale by others of the tenth, manuscripts like Erfurt/Gotha, Universitäts- und Forschungsbibliothek, MS Membr. I 84, and one now split three ways between BL, MSS Egerton 2832 and 269, and BnF, MS lat. 4633.<sup>55</sup> Codicologically, therefore, it appears that these tenth-century manuscripts fulfilled the same function as did later ninth-century ones.

Moreover, the status of ninth-century capitulary manuscripts, and their relation to ninth-century legal culture, remains the subject of debate. For example, do some rare surviving parchment rolls represent capitulary 'originals', or should we rather assign that status to *leges* scriptorium manuscripts, produced, as discussed above, in association with the court?<sup>56</sup> In the latter case, surviving manuscripts may not simply passively record for posterity the echoes of legislation; they may in a sense have been that legislation. By extension, we should consider the Metz manuscripts as potentially having played an active, direct role, neither as histories nor as antiquarian copies of dead law, but as living texts contributing directly to contemporary culture and politics. There is plenty of evidence that Carolingian legislation was effective, that it had real, concrete effect beyond the royal court, which implies that ninth-century manuscripts were 'effective'. Whether these Metz manuscripts were equally effective is hard to know for sure — but it could be noted in this

<sup>54</sup> Wormald, *MEL*, pp. 65–66, commented on change of format in ninth-century legal manuscripts. The increase in scale however requires further work, building on the foundations laid by Mordek.

<sup>55</sup> For the Beauvais manuscript, see Mordek, *Bibliotheca*, pp. 1030–31, identified as a *leges* scriptorium product. The other manuscripts are also discussed there, pp. 131–49 and pp. 226–31.

<sup>56</sup> McKitterick, 'Zur Herstellung' offers an excellent overview of these debates.



context that Lothar of West Frankia, in spite of his ancestry, in fact enjoyed conspicuously little support in Lotharingia, and that Charles of Lorraine, despite his soubriquet, never secured his position there either.

Raising these sorts of questions shows the importance of trying to transcend the slightly artificial distinctions implied by oppositions of norm and practice. While some of the manuscripts discussed above were taken outside the monastery, others were perhaps not, yet they were nevertheless equally an aspect of legal culture and should not be neglected simply because we cannot show a *direct* relationship with the processes of specific disputes. These manuscripts reflect an interest in the norms which underpinned dispute, helping to mould expectations as much as results. Any distinction between the 'relevance' of canon law and that of secular, Frankish or Roman law in tenth-century Lotharingia could therefore be more apparent than real, as moreover implied by the manuscripts which often combine elements of both.

### *Comparative Legacies at Home and Overseas*

It is evident that, viewed from the manuscripts, tenth-century Lotharingian legal culture was vibrant. Yet to be properly appreciated, this vibrancy needs to be set into two further contexts. The first of these is the later influence of these manuscripts and this legal culture within Lotharingia itself. For all that it is possible to argue for a degree of continuity in legal culture between the ninth and tenth centuries, it is important too to remember that legal cultures are seldom truly fossilized. Intense interest in ancient texts and texts concerning ancient days is not necessarily symptomatic of an inauthentic, passive, or tradition-bound culture; it can be an aspect of innovation. This is something tenth-century Lotharingians would have known better than most, since the monastic reforms of this period for which Lotharingia, and in particular the area around Metz, was famous rested precisely in concentrated attention to an ancient text, the Rule of St Benedict.<sup>57</sup>

Like the monastic reform movement, Lotharingian legal culture in the eleventh century created novelty from tradition. Lotharingia produced notoriously radical

<sup>57</sup> The best English-language introduction is given by John Nightingale, *Monasteries and Patrons in the Gorze Reform: Lotharingia c.850–1000* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2001). For the background to this reform, see now Michèle Gaillard, *D'une réforme à l'autre (816–934): les communautés religieuses en Lorraine à l'époque carolingienne*, Histoire ancienne et médiévale, 82 (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 2006).

critics like Humbert of Moyenmoûtier and (probably) the anonymous author of the *De ordinando pontifice*. Yet their radicalism rested on combining the twin currents of Church reform and interest in old legal texts (particularly Pseudo-Isidore), both of which, as we have seen, characterized tenth-century Lotharingia.<sup>58</sup> Without exaggerating such connections, and even though historians no longer see nebulous Lotharingian law schools as the nurseries of Gregorian reform, eleventh-century Lotharingia's interest in legal texts can be traced without difficulty back to the tenth century.<sup>59</sup>

Another aspect of changing Lotharingian legal culture too little considered in this light is the rise of judicialized lordship, Marc Bloch's *seigneurie banale*. Over the course of the eleventh century, around Metz as elsewhere, an understanding of lordship developed in which courts, justice, and fines were not accessories but actually constituted that lordship.<sup>60</sup> This has long been analysed in political and economic terms, but it would surely be reductive to understand the phenomenon as simply one of intensifying lordship, without taking into account the particular form that intensification took, namely one framed by attention to formal, judicial interaction between unequals. Perhaps the development could be seen as in part a distorted reflection or even consequence of a more abstract concern with justice, and as such linked, however indirectly, to the tenth-century manuscripts discussed above.

<sup>58</sup> For Humbert's sources, see Henning Hoesch, *Die kanonischen Quellen im Werk Humberts von Moyenmoutier*, *Forschungen zur kirchlichen Rechtsgeschichte und zum Kirchenrecht*, 10 (Cologne: Böhlau, 1970) (though greatly underestimating the availability of Pseudo-Isidore in Lotharingia); for the *De ordinando pontifice* and its Lotharingian context, see most recently Ludolf Melve, *Inventing the Public Sphere: The Public Debate during the Investiture Contest*, *Brill's Studies in Intellectual History*, 154, 2 vols (Leiden: Brill, 2007), I, 122–69.

<sup>59</sup> For the phantom Lotharingian law schools, see Horst Fuhrmann, 'Papst Gregor VII. und das Kirchenrecht: zum Problem des *Dictatus Papae*', *Studi Gregoriani*, 13 (1989), 123–49. For the general recent stress on a bottom-up reform movement, see Greta Austin, 'Bishops and Religious Law, 900–1500', in *The Bishop Reformed: Studies of Episcopal Power and Culture in the Central Middle Ages*, ed. by John S. Ott and Anna Trumbore Jones, *Church, Faith, and Culture in the Medieval West* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), pp. 40–57.

<sup>60</sup> For the general concept, see Marc Bloch, *Feudal Society*, trans. by L. A. Manyon (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1961), pp. 359–68. Jean-Luc Fray, 'Recherches sur la seigneurie banale au XII<sup>e</sup> siècle d'après le vocabulaire des actes des évêques de Metz (1058–1210)', in *La Seigneurie rurale en Lotharingie*, *Publications de la Section Historique de l'Institut Grand-Ducal*, 104 (Luxembourg: Section historique de l'Institut Grand-Ducal de Luxembourg, 1988), pp. 77–101, brings together the relevant documents from around Metz, including those from the eleventh century.

The second comparative context is geographical, turning to Anglo-Saxon England. The differences are at first sight glaring. In Lotharingia there was an abundance of legal manuscripts, old and new, but most related to canon law, and none of this law had been issued by contemporary kings. In contrast, much of this canon law was simply not in circulation across the Channel, with the Pseudo-Isidorian texts so prominent in Lotharingia particularly noticeable in their absence in Anglo-Saxon England, which was, furthermore, at just this moment experiencing a golden age of royal legislation. Fresh legal texts were being drawn up, and contemporary kings were located at their heart, whether as legislator or simply as point of focus.<sup>61</sup> Whereas BnF, MS lat. 9654 could only offer an iconic substitute of a king, a two-dimensional authorizing power sketched in pen and ink in place of the generally absent Ottonians, tenth-century Anglo-Saxon England had living, breathing kings, pronouncing and adjudicating, as David Pratt's chapter in this volume has emphasized.

Yet this impression of clear-cut difference, however arresting it may seem, must be nuanced. In the first place, this is because even if books of Pseudo-Isidore did not make it to England, other Continental manuscripts did. Indeed, Lotharingian manuscripts in particular might have played some small role in Anglo-Saxon developments. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 718 is a manuscript of Carolingian canon law which inspired Archbishop Wulfstan II, the figure standing behind much early eleventh-century English law. Though copied in tenth-century England, probably at Canterbury, Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 418 must have had a Frankish exemplar, and in view of its contents, it would not be surprising were this lost exemplar to have been tenth-century in date and Lotharingian in provenance.<sup>62</sup> The evidence is admittedly ambiguous, yet we should certainly not assume that England's connections were restricted to known centres of Continental

<sup>61</sup> Wormald, *MEL*, in particular p. 286, more generally pp. 286–329 and pp. 366–94.

<sup>62</sup> For Oxford, Bodleian, MS Bodley 718 and its influence on Wulfstan, see *Wulfstan's Canon Law Collection* ed. by James Cross and Andrew Hamer (Rochester: Brewer, 1999) pp. 32–33, and Gameson, 'Origin of the Exeter Book of Old English Poetry', pp. 172–78. The exemplar's main raw materials, the canon law collection known as the *Quadripartitus* and the penitential of Pseudo-Egbert, are both strongly attested in Lotharingia in terms of extant manuscripts and textual reception (Regino of Prüm, for example, made much use of the *Quadripartitus*), and the innovative way they were integrated together also fits Lotharingia, where a new redaction of Pseudo-Egbert was probably developed in the late ninth century. The episcopal capitularies it also includes were first drawn up in early ninth-century Liège. (Anglo-Saxon transmission of this text appears to derive from the Bodley manuscript.) The exemplar as a whole might have borne some resemblance to Munich, BS, MS Clm 3851, in its careful mixture of canon law and penitential material.

contact like Fleury, Cluny, and Gent. If nothing else, these places could have acted as conduits of communication. For example, Gent connected Lotharingia and England, specifically Canterbury, via Leofsige, an English monk of St Peter's Gent, abbot of Mettlach near Trier, and associate of Archbishop Dunstan. Connections like these prepared the way for what would blossom into the eleventh-century 'Lotharingian connection'.<sup>63</sup>

Of course, if Oxford, Bodleian, MS Bodley 418's exemplar had come from Lotharingia, that would merely show how Lotharingian manuscripts could serve to stimulate royal legislation in England in a way they could not do at home, thereby emphasizing again that sense of difference. But this distinction too must be properly contextualized. Tenth-century Anglo-Saxon royal law-codes have been persuasively interpreted by Patrick Wormald as grand statements of ideology more than practical tools of administration; while conversely, such texts' relative absence from Lotharingian dispute-contexts need not, as we have seen, imply that they were wholly redundant.<sup>64</sup> From this point of view, the primary difference between the Metz books and the Anglo-Saxon law-codes rests in the material used and the particular authority being bolstered, not in the actual message, which was in both cases an appeal to a prestigious past and a claim to represent legitimate authority. Both tenth-century Lotharingian bishop and Anglo-Saxon king, and perhaps a wider audience too, were intensely interested in what *ought* to be, even though that interest was articulated very differently. Both promoted an iconic, not an administrative law: this emphatically does not suggest a lack of engagement with the 'real world', it simply indicates the particular form of that engagement.

## Conclusion

It seems that, read carefully, John of St Arnulf's notion of Cordoban otherness with which we began does indeed accurately delineate some characteristics of Lotharingian legal culture: not that Lotharingians were uninterested in 'anciently

<sup>63</sup> See Michael Hare, 'Abbot Leofsige of Mettlach: An English Monk in Flanders and Upper Lotharingia in the Late Tenth Century', *ASE*, 33 (2004), 109–44. For the 'Lotharingian connection', see Simon Keynes, 'Giso, Bishop of Wells', *Anglo-Norman Studies*, 19 (1996), 203–72 (p. 253). Significantly, a copy of the *Quadripartitus* with a Gent provenance hints at Lotharingian connections, including a copy of Archbishop Roger of Trier's episcopal capitularies: see Franz Kerff, *Der Quadripartitus: Ein Handbuch der karolingischen Kirchenreform. Überlieferung, Quellen und Rezeption* (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1982), p. 17.

<sup>64</sup> Wormald, *MEL*, pp. 481–82.

established' laws, nor that these laws could easily be 'dissolved', but that they should be understood as texts of authoritative orientation as much as texts of constraint, as opposed to the mythical laws of Cordoba. In this light, and without obscuring differences between England and the Continent, it may be helpful to see tenth-century Lotharingia and England as loosely connected societies, together developing changing patterns of integration between legal culture and political and social power, united by an interest in the normative, which nevertheless found increasingly divergent expression, textually, politically, and socially. There remains, however, much work to be done on establishing the tenth century's place in this divergence more precisely.

University of Sheffield



## Part IV

### The Church: Organization and Culture





## WHERE ARE THE PARISHES? WHERE ARE THE MINSTERS? THE ORGANIZATION OF THE SPANISH CHURCH IN THE TENTH CENTURY

Wendy Davies

Levison was well aware that ‘the Continent’ stretched beyond Francia: he commented on the Adoptionist controversy in Spain and provided an edition of Alcuin’s letter of friendship and support to Beatus of the Liébana, in northern Spain.<sup>1</sup> It is my intention to pick up this thread, look at the Spanish church of the tenth century, and consider to what extent it was similar to the Anglo-Saxon Church. As always, looking elsewhere may lead us to reconsider things we think we know. In fact, Iberia was not completely out of range of northern Europeans in the early Middle Ages: we know of one small hoard of Anglo-Saxon coins in North-East Spain — found at the guest-house (*hospitalis*) of the monastery of San Salvador de Ibañeta, by the pass of Roncesvalles on the road across the Pyrenees from France to Pamplona — six silver pennies of Æthelred II, probably deposited *c.* 990.<sup>2</sup> This monastery lies on a clear pilgrim route, so it is not entirely fanciful to think that some Anglo-Saxons may have journeyed to northern Spain in the tenth century.

At first glance the surviving corpus of tenth-century Spanish charters seems to suggest that the structure of ecclesiastical organization in the Christian parts of the Iberian peninsula was very different from what we find in Anglo-Saxon England

I am extremely grateful to conference participants for their fruitful suggestions, and to David Rollason and Francesca Tinti for their very helpful comments on a draft of this paper.

<sup>1</sup> Levison, *ECEC*, pp. 156, 159, 314–23.

<sup>2</sup> F. Mateu y Llopis and R. H. Dolley, ‘A Small Find of Anglo-Saxon Pennies from Roncesvalles’, *British Numismatic Journal*, 27 (1952–54), 89–91.

at the same time. Can that really have been the case in two western European Christian societies of the same period? English distinctiveness has in fact been an issue for some time, however, and James Campbell reminded us at the conference which gave rise to this volume of John Blair's question: how different was England?<sup>3</sup> The answer partly hangs on the so-called English 'minster' model: it is proposed that there was a network of 'mother-churches' over much of England, which received dues from the faithful and from which pastoral care was organized; the territory served by a mother-church was as much as ten times larger than that of subsequent separate parishes. The date of origin of the system remains very controversial, but the view that it had aspects dating from the tenth century commands a large degree of consensus nowadays: from the 920s the position of those mother-churches was enshrined in law, although the same laws made it clear that there were more local churches too.<sup>4</sup> In the longer term, local churches with local priests came to be the main providers of pastoral care, through the parish system, and the mother-churches lost resources as tithe was diverted away from them, although they often continued in existence. That change essentially seems to have happened across the span of the eleventh and twelfth centuries. The tenth century is therefore seen to be the heyday of the well-resourced mother-church with pastoral responsibilities.<sup>5</sup>

### *Northern Spain: Contexts*

How does northern Spain compare? My focus here is on Spain north of the River Duero, excluding Catalonia, that is, 'Christian' Spain by contrast with the Muslim-dominated centre and South (Map 1).<sup>6</sup> The tenth century was a time of political

<sup>3</sup> John Blair, *The Church in Anglo-Saxon Society* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), pp. 118–19, 422–25.

<sup>4</sup> Blair, *The Church in Anglo-Saxon Society*, esp. pp. 153–62, 368–73, 442–48; for serious doubts about the model, see E. Cambridge and David Rollason, 'Debate: The Pastoral Organization of the Anglo-Saxon Church: A Review of the "Minster Hypothesis"', *EME*, 4 (1995), 87–104. Blair modified some of his earlier proposals in his 2005 book, especially with reference to pre-Viking phases.

<sup>5</sup> The extent of those pastoral responsibilities is nevertheless arguable; see further below, p. 391, and *Pastoral Care in Late Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. by Francesca Tinti (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2005).

<sup>6</sup> Excluding Catalonia because it has a background of Frankish influence and often looked eastwards; the point is emphasized by the fact that all papal letters to Spain of this period are to, or

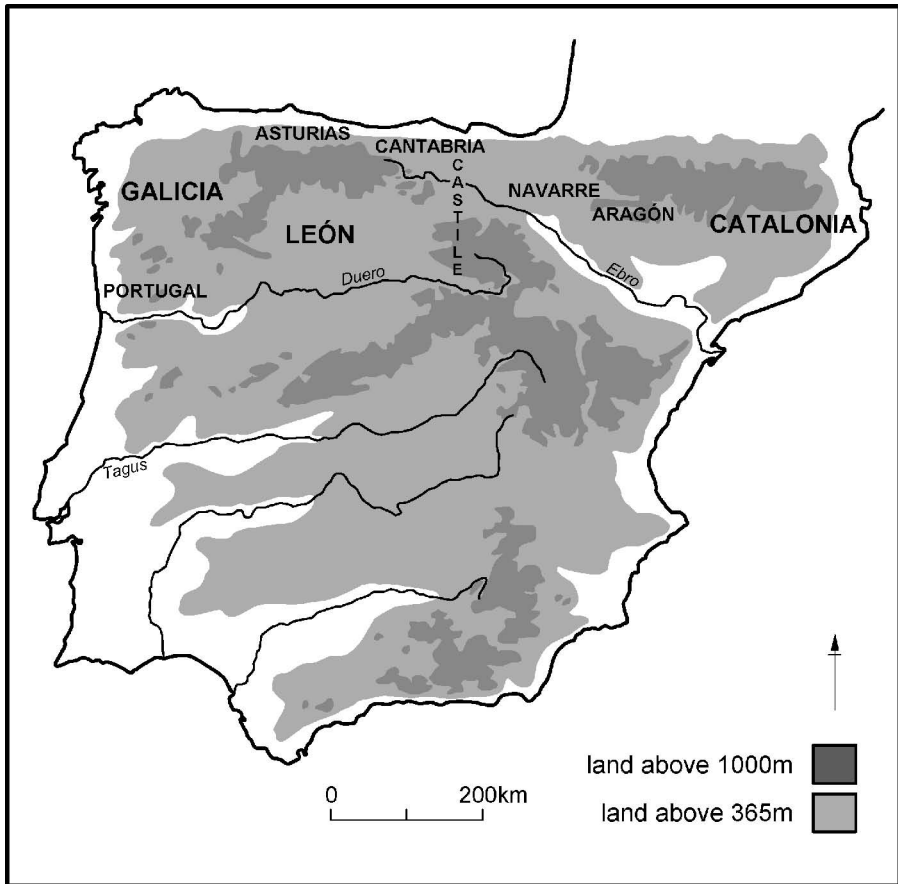
consolidation for the kings of the North, as they began to intensify their control of northern territory, while responding to continuing campaigns by their Arab neighbours and campaigning themselves to the south. They had time to patronize religious houses, however, and made donations to a wide range of institutions; some houses had especially strong connections with kings, like Sahagún with the León royal house and San Millán de la Cogolla with that of Navarre. These were the two principal kingdoms, Asturias-León in the North-West and Navarre in the North-East, with the Count of Castile, on the eastern flank of León, growing in power and influence.<sup>7</sup> There are relatively many written sources from the tenth century, by comparison with the preceding two centuries, because of the rich survival of charter texts. There are other kinds of text too — brief annals and a chronicle, a large corpus of liturgical material, some saints' lives, and copies of earlier material such as Visigothic canons and secular law — but these are rather fewer in number and diversity than would be found in England.<sup>8</sup> The contribution of archaeology has also been much more limited, although the results of important new research — especially on church archaeology — are beginning to become available.<sup>9</sup>

about, Catalan institutions; there are none to bodies in the rest of Spain. See Jochen Johrendt, *Papsttum und Landeskirchen im Spiegel der päpstlichen Urkunden (896–1046)*, MGH Studien und Texte, 33 (Hannover: Hahn, 2004), pp. 262–71; for the texts, see *Papsturkunden 896–1046*, ed. by H. Zimmermann, 3 vols, Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-Historische Klasse Denkschriften, 174, 177, 198 (Vienna: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1988–89), in vols 174 and 177.

<sup>7</sup> For general surveys of political history, see for example in English, Hugh Kennedy, *Muslim Spain and Portugal: A Political History of al-Andalus* (London: Longman, 1996); Roger Collins, 'The Spanish Kingdoms', in *NCMH*, III, 670–91; in Spanish: Amancio Isla Frez, *La alta edad media: Siglos VIII–XI* (Madrid: Síntesis, 2002).

<sup>8</sup> The principal chronicle is Justo Pérez de Urbel, *Sampiro: Su crónica y la monarquía leonesa en el siglo X* (Madrid: Escuela de Estudios Medievales, Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1952), of late tenth- or early eleventh-century date; for liturgy, see *Le Liber ordinum en usage dans l'église wisigothique et mozarabe d'Espagne du cinquième au onzième siècle*, ed. by Marius Férotin (Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1904) and below note 45. For works, other than charters, written in the tenth century, see M. C. Díaz y Díaz, *Index scriptorum Latinorum Medii Aevi Hispanorum*, 2 vols (Salamanca: Universidad de Salamanca, 1958–59), pp. 141–64; for a helpful overview of the manuscript context of probable tenth-century *passiones* and *vitae*, see Ann Christys, *Christians in al-Andalus (711–1000)* (Richmond: Curzon, 2002), pp. 82–107; the dating of the collections of *passiones* is problematic, but a good case can be made for the tenth-century origin of some of their contents. For the contents of important tenth-century manuscript collections, see further below, p. 390.

<sup>9</sup> A. Vigil-Escalera Guirado and J. A. Quirós Castillo, 'Early Medieval Rural Societies in the Northwest of the Iberian Peninsula: Archaeological Recognition of Fragmentation and



Map 11. Principal regions of northern Iberia in the tenth century.

There are just over two thousand northern Spanish charters from the period, of which the great majority occurs from the 930s onwards. They record gifts, sales, exchanges, and disputes; they come from all parts of the North (Map 2); and they include plenty of anecdotal detail. Most are known from cartulary copies, of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, but there are several hundred surviving originals, especially in the great collections of the *meseta*, the high central plateau of Spain (León and Sahagún material especially). The biggest collections are from the monasteries

Convergence Processes', in *Scale and Scale Change: Western Europe in the First Millennium*, ed. by J. Escalona and A. Reynolds (Turnhout: Brepols, forthcoming).

of Celanova and Sobrado in Galicia in the North-West;<sup>10</sup> the bishopric of León and monastery of Sahagún on the *meseta*, León collections including material from several original sources;<sup>11</sup> the monastery of Cardeña in Castile;<sup>12</sup> and that of San Millán de la Cogolla in the Rioja.<sup>13</sup> There are also important smaller collections: that from Otero de las Dueñas on the northern edge of the *meseta*, which includes a lay archive with a high proportion of originals;<sup>14</sup> that from the monastery of Santo Toribio, to the far north in the Liébana, the tenth-century material coming from its predecessor San Martín de Turieno;<sup>15</sup> and that from San Juan de la Peña, a monastery in Aragón patronized by the royal house of Navarre.<sup>16</sup> Other

<sup>10</sup> *O Tombo de Celanova: Estudio introductorio, edición e índices (ss. IX–XII)*, ed. by J. M. Andrade Cernadas, with M. Díaz Tie and F. J. Pérez Rodríguez, 2 vols (Santiago de Compostela: Consello da Cultura Galega, 1995) — a late twelfth-century cartulary; charters cited by number as Cel1, Cel2, etc. *Tombo del monasterio de Sobrado de los Monjes*, ed. by P. Loscertales de García de Valdeavellano, 2 vols (Madrid: Dirección General del Patrimonio Artístico y Cultural, Archivo Histórico Nacional, 1976) — two twelfth-century cartularies; charters cited by number as Sob1, Sob2, etc.

<sup>11</sup> *Colección documental del archivo de la catedral de León (775–1230)*, vol. I: (775–952), ed. by E. Sáez; vol. II: (953–85), ed. by E. Sáez and C. Sáez; vol. III: (986–1031), ed. by J. M. Ruiz Asencio (León: Centro de Estudios e Investigación 'San Isidoro' (CSIC-CECEL), Caja de Ahorros y Monte de Piedad, Archivo Histórico Diocesano, 1987, 1990, 1987) — the core of the edition is a large cartulary of the first third of the twelfth century; charters cited as Li1, Li2, Lii259, Liii512, etc. *Colección diplomática del monasterio de Sahagún (Siglos IX y X)*, ed. by J. M. Mínguez Fernández (León: Centro de Estudios e Investigación 'San Isidoro', Archivo Histórico Diocesano, Caja de Ahorros y Monte de Piedad de León, 1976) — from two collections, one a set of single sheets (including both originals and copies made up to the early twelfth century) and the other a cartulary of c. 1110; charters cited as S1, S2, etc.

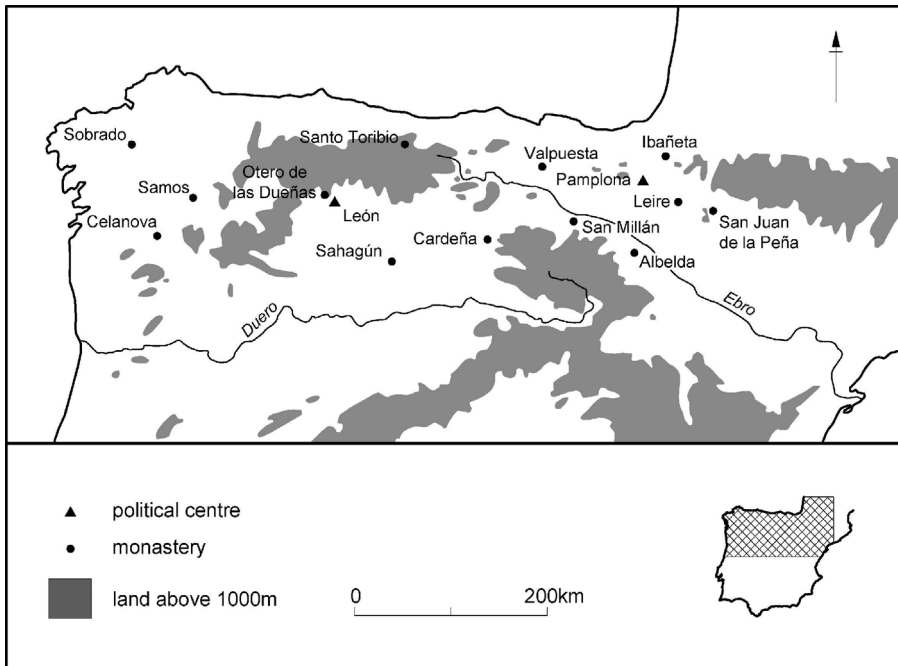
<sup>12</sup> *Colección documental del monasterio de San Pedro de Cardeña*, ed. by G. Martínez Díez (Cardena and Burgos: Caja de Ahorros y Monte de Piedad del Círculo Católico de Obreros de Burgos, 1998) — a late eleventh-century cartulary; charters cited as C1, C2, etc.

<sup>13</sup> *Cartulario de San Millán de la Cogolla (759–1076)*, ed. by A. Ubieto Arteta (Valencia: Anubar, 1976) — a twelfth-century collection, from several sources; charters cited as SM1, SM2, etc.

<sup>14</sup> *Colección documental del monasterio de Santa María de Otero de las Dueñas*, vol. I: (854–1108), ed. by J. A. Fernández Flórez and M. Herrero de la Fuente (León: Centro de Estudios e Investigación 'San Isidoro', Caja España de Inversiones, Archivo Histórico Diocesano, 1999), cited as OD1, OD2, etc.

<sup>15</sup> *Cartulario de Santo Toribio de Liébana*, ed. by L. Sánchez Belda (Madrid: Archivo Histórico Nacional, 1948).

<sup>16</sup> Many of the early charters are suspect; there are eleven credible tenth-century transactions: *Cartulario de San Juan de la Peña*, ed. by A. Ubieto Arteta, 2 vols (Valencia: Bautista, 1962–63), cited as SJP1, SJP2, etc.



Map 12. Sources of important tenth-century Spanish charter collections.

collections with relevant material are those from the monasteries of Samos in Galicia, Valpuesta in Castile, and Albelda in the Rioja; and there is also important material from northern Portugal, much of which is not yet available in modern editions.<sup>17</sup> There is therefore a good spread of material from Galicia to Castile, but that from Navarre and Aragón is rather thin.

<sup>17</sup> *El Tumbo de San Julián de Samos (siglos VIII–XII)*, ed. by M. Lucas Álvarez (Santiago de Compostela: Caixa de Galicia, 1986) — a cartulary of c. 1200; charters cited as Sam1, Sam2, etc. *Cartulario de Valpuesta*, ed. by M. Desamparados Perez Soler (Valencia: Anubar, 1970) — a late eleventh-century cartulary. *Cartulario de Albelda*, ed. by A. Ubieto Arteta (Valencia: Bautista, 1960), cited as A1, A2, etc. *Portugaliae Monumenta Historica a saeculo octavo post Christum usque ad quintum decimum, Diplomata et Chartae*, vol. 1, ed. by A. Herculano de Carvalho e Araujo and J. J. da Silva Mendes Leal (Lisbon: Academia Scientiarum Olisiponensis, 1867–73): 184 charters of pre-1000, including both cartulary copies and originals.

### *Ecclesiastical Structures*

There were bishops, priests, monks, monasteries, cathedrals, local churches — many of them — plenty of the elements of an ecclesiastical structure. While some bishops were regular actors — a presence in a real sense — others are more difficult to see. The Bishop of León, for example, appears here and there, had a focus in a busy city, attended the royal court, and was involved in many property deals. The locations of many other sees are uncertain, or shift, and the holders rarely or never appear (there were twelve sees in Asturias by 900 and four in Navarre by the end of the tenth century, but fifty in Christian Spain by the end of the thirteenth century).<sup>18</sup> It is rare to find charters dated by episcopates as, for example, one finds in early medieval Brittany,<sup>19</sup> and assessment of the tenth-century situation is clouded by the forgeries which originate from twelfth-century sees. This is so much the case that the Spanish historiography of the early medieval church largely operates within a model of declining episcopal power between the very active Visigothic background of the sixth and seventh centuries, with its many conciliar pronouncements, and the beginnings of church reform in the eleventh century. Some scholars propose that monasteries took over power and influence in the interim, rather like the dominant model of Irish church organization, although not by direct analogy with it.<sup>20</sup> However, when individual bishops appear in the charters, they are unquestionably authority figures: they take disciplinary action

<sup>18</sup> Isla Frez, *Alta edad media*, pp. 239, 247; I. Álvarez Borge, *La plena edad media: Siglos XII–XIII* (Madrid: Síntesis, 2003), p. 296; cf. A. Isla Frez, *La sociedad gallega en la alta edad media* (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1992), pp. 75–93, and I. Martín Viso, 'Organización episcopal y poder entre la Antigüedad tardía y el Medioevo (siglos V–XI): las sedes de Calahorra, Oca y Osma', *Iberia*, 2 (1999), 151–90 (p. 182 for 'bishops without see').

<sup>19</sup> *Cartulaire de l'Abbaye de Redon en Bretagne*, ed. by Aurélien de Courson (Paris: Imprimerie Impériale, 1863), e.g. nos 97, 136, 222.

<sup>20</sup> José Orlandis, 'Reforma eclesiástica en los siglos XI y XII' (first delivered 1974), in his *La Iglesia en la España visigótica y medieval* (Pamplona: Universidad de Navarra, 1976), pp. 307–48 (pp. 322–25); Isla Frez, *Sociedad gallega*, pp. 100–03; S. Castellanos and I. Martín Viso, 'The Local Articulation of Central Power in the North of the Iberian Peninsula (500–1000)', *EME*, 13 (2005), 1–42 (pp. 27–28). Cf. Carlos Estepa on the fact that ninth-century churches in the Liébana were 'at the margins of episcopal organization', 'Discussione sulla lezione Sotomayor', in *Cristianizzazione ed Organizzazione ecclesiastica delle Campagne nell'alto medioevo: Espansione e Resistenze*, Settimane, 28 (Spoleto: Centro italiano di studi sull'alto Medioevo, 1982), pp. 671–83 (pp. 678–79). For Ireland, Kathleen Hughes, *The Church in Early Irish Society* (London: Methuen, 1966) remains classic, but see also Colmán Etchingham, *Church Organisation in Ireland, AD 650 to 1000* (Maynooth: Laigin, 1999).

(confiscating property from monks for sexual offences, for example), dispose of churches to this or that incumbent, consort with kings, and control very substantial resources.

There were plenty of priests and minor clergy, usually named and often localizable. They appear as members of episcopal or courtly households, as members of monastic communities, and as isolated individuals associated with local churches, where they might be an incumbent placed by an absent owner or simply resident with family members on family property.<sup>21</sup> 'Local church' here might well mean a complex of buildings; the mid-ninth-century church at Mao in Galicia had a church, houses (*casas*), food store, cook house, and cider or wine press, as well as appurtenant property.<sup>22</sup>

As in many parts of early medieval Europe, including England, the word *monasterium* was applied to different kinds of institution, large and small, and the extent to which something called a church was any different from a small monastery (if at all) is impossible to determine; church and monastery could in any case be used interchangeably for the same institution.<sup>23</sup> In theory they were differentiated because monasteries did not return a third of their income to the bishop, as churches were supposed to do, but whether local churches did this in practice in our period is debatable.<sup>24</sup> What is clear, however, is that there were many different kinds of monastery — from large, wealthy, and politically influential institutions to tiny, domestic households — many hundreds of them. Hence, there were houses like Cardeña and Albelda, with about two hundred monks in 921 and 951 respectively; or Sahagún, which was very close to the León royal court; as against those of more limited scale but still sizable enough to have followed a structured day, like Piasca on the edge of the Liébana, with thirty-six nuns and an abbess in 941; as against much smaller communities, with only a handful of members — six, seven, eleven, and so on.<sup>25</sup> Some followed a rule, but many of the smaller communities followed a life of religious commitment without the formal structure we associate with monasteries, rather like the communities of 'veiled vowesses' of late Anglo-

<sup>21</sup> See Wendy Davies, *Acts of Giving: Individual, Community, and Church in Tenth-Century Christian Spain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), pp. 47–50, for detailed discussion.

<sup>22</sup> Sam99 (?854).

<sup>23</sup> Orlandis, 'Reforma eclesiastica', p. 319; Davies, *Acts of Giving*, pp. 46–47.

<sup>24</sup> Isla Frez, *Sociedad gallega*, pp. 93–100.

<sup>25</sup> Davies, *Acts of Giving*, pp. 46–47; C14, M. C. Díaz y Díaz, *Libros y librerías en la Rioja altomedieval* (Logroño: Servicio de Cultura de la Excma, Diputación Provincial, Instituto de Estudios Riojanos, 1979), 55; S79; smaller communities: Cel442 (?826), A19 (950), OD20 (976).



Saxon England.<sup>26</sup> There were male houses, female houses, and mixed houses: the prominent nunnery of Santiago in León housed a community of women, as did the much less prominent communities of the sisters of Santa María in the same city and of Santa Cristina in its neighbourhood; Sahagún and Cardena were male, as also the smaller communities of brothers of San Martín de Valdepopulo and of San Cipriano by the river Porma; while there were five men and six women at Santa Eulalia de Airas in 976, unspecified numbers of brothers and sisters led by Abbess Gontina (who gave a church and estate to Samos in Galicia in 988), and many brothers and sisters at the much larger Galician monastery of Sobrado.<sup>27</sup>

Some of these were clearly family monasteries — called *monasteria*, with abbot or abbess as head. An abbot and his two brothers gave a family church to another small monastery south-west of Sahagún in 941; an abbot and his cousin gave their church on the River Esgueva to Cardena in 948; a man and his mother, called abbot and abbess respectively, put themselves under a rule in Castile in 967; an abbot passed on a Galician monastery to three cousins, themselves succeeded as abbot by a descendant of the first (elected by the community), who then passed it on to another cousin, who finally handed the monastery to Sobrado in 955.<sup>28</sup> There are many such cases. There is no need to suppose that they were all ‘bad’ family monasteries, like those of Bede’s famous letter to Bishop Ecgberht:<sup>29</sup> their transactions are often recorded in terms of exceptional piety. However, some religious households had more of a lay character, although not necessarily any less pious, with married householders and in some cases extensive properties. In practice these must have been very similar to the small family monastery, but the texts differentiate them by simply describing them as religious households, not *monasteria*, with principal actors designated *confessus* (masculine) or *confessa* (feminine). Meaning literally ‘one who has confessed the faith’, this word presumably meant that some kind of vow had been taken. In a case that clearly straddles the line

<sup>26</sup> For veiled vowesses in England, especially between 871 and 1066, and much more on diverse ‘forms of communal religious expression’, see Sarah Foot, *Veiled Women*, 2 vols (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000).

<sup>27</sup> Li42 (917), S272 (973), Liii554 (992); S273 (973), Li201 (948); OD20, Sam171, Sob64 (984), Sob88 (996), etc.

<sup>28</sup> S77, C61, SM86, Sob110.

<sup>29</sup> Bede, *Opera historica*, ed. by Charles Plummer, 2 vols (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1896; repr. 1969), I, 414–17; trans. in *The Ecclesiastical History of the English People; The Greater Chronicle; Bede’s Letter to Egbert*, ed. with an intro. by Judith McClure and Roger Collins (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), pp. 350–52.

between family monastery and lay religious household, Sunilano, *confessus*, and his wife Nunnita, *confessa*, in 976 passed their church and extremely substantial properties to their priest son, whom they chose to be abbot, perhaps implying that the church was assuming a more monastic status; there are five other people associated with the transaction, who seem to be descendants of the founder.<sup>30</sup> Less obviously monastic, a *confessus* and his wife *deo vota*, 'promised to God', made substantial gifts to Samos in 958; a *confessus*, his wife, and his daughter, the latter *deo vota*, made gifts to the monastery of Piñeira in 961; in 992 an abbot gave away properties accumulated by his parents (*confessus* and *confessa*) in mid-century; a widow (*quasi confessa*) made gifts of property acquired with her husband (*confessus*) to the nunnery of Santiago in León in 995.<sup>31</sup> These seem to be married couples who stayed together, in their domestic households, but followed a life of known religious commitment — perhaps marked out by special clothes or a badge of some kind.<sup>32</sup> Since they were known as *confessi* they presumably took some kind of vow: we know that at least one very wealthy *confessus*, Lucito Lucidiz, made a public statement of religious commitment, since he refers to estates bought with his wife at the time of the statement.<sup>33</sup>

### Trends

Family monasteries shout proprietary interests. Strong proprietary interests in churches and monasteries are one of the prominent features of the Spanish church in the early tenth century.<sup>34</sup> To the extent that there was a system, control and coordination were often delivered through proprietary interests, through which authority was largely exercised: owners gave and sold churches (or fractions of

<sup>30</sup> Sam 61.

<sup>31</sup> Sam 127, Sam S-4, Liii 554, Liii 570.

<sup>32</sup> I am grateful to Clare Stancliffe for pointing out the similarities between these practices and those of the early Church; cf. Letter 18 of Paulinus of Nola, to Bishop Victricius of Rouen in 397 or 398, commenting on 'married couples subject to God who secretly live as brother and sister'; *Letters of St Paulinus of Nola*, trans. P. G. Walsh, 2 vols (London: Longmans, Green, 1967), I, 171–72.

<sup>33</sup> Sam 23 (982): 'que comparavi cum mea coniuge Visclavara quando pervenit ad ordinem confessionis et proclamavit me ad ipsum locum sanctum iam sepe dictum Sancti Iuliani'.

<sup>34</sup> Susan Wood, *The Proprietary Church in the Medieval West* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), e.g. pp. 147–51, 541–43; Davies, *Acts of Giving*, chap. 2.

them) as they saw fit; priests were appointed by owners; incumbents made regular returns to owners (and owners might give the returns to others); and incumbents sometimes defaulted — getting into the kinds of argument which led to well-documented disputes. For example, a priest called Christofo took on a church from a Galician count and agreed to make regular payments; he stopped paying when the count died; the count's son took him to court; then the surety for the original agreement (a woman) appeared in court in the 990s and quoted that agreement, thereby determining the outcome of the case.<sup>35</sup> There are many examples of owners exercising their interests. Owners could be laity, or lay religious, or bishops, or monasteries, or priests.

Although, broadly, owner interests were still prominent at the end of the tenth century, and it took centuries to accomplish complete change, there were two striking trends in a different direction. First, from the mid-tenth century lay owners increasingly donated their ecclesiastical property (that is, a church or monastery plus its appurtenant land) to monasteries; in fact, rather than founding and controlling churches themselves, as they had done before, they started to make more grants to favoured institutions so that prayers might be said for their souls — *pro anima* grants thereby became much more common.<sup>36</sup> Secondly, across the tenth century, and especially from the second quarter, religious owners increasingly donated their religious property to large monasteries: priests gave their churches, abbots and abbesses gave their family monasteries, small monasteries gave themselves. There was consequently a tendency for a multiplicity of small-scale religious communities (of the simple domestic household kind) to accumulate in the hands of the large, several-hundred-monk, monasteries; where the former owners were religious, they often joined these larger monastic communities. This vastly increased the wealth of those houses, as also their religious and ecclesiastical influence. There are at least twenty-two cases of acquisition of churches and monasteries from priests and abbots by Cardena in the period 917–81; and in the 950s, to take a particularly relevant decade, lay owners from Galicia to Navarre gave their churches to both large and small monasteries.<sup>37</sup> By the year 1000, several of the great monastic houses were pursuing deliberately aggressive proprietary policies.<sup>38</sup>

<sup>35</sup> Sob130 (992).

<sup>36</sup> For detailed discussion of these trends, see Davies, *Acts of Giving*, chaps 2 and 5.

<sup>37</sup> Davies, *Acts of Giving*, pp. 61, 51–52.

<sup>38</sup> A process that has been well treated by Spanish historians; see, for example, J. A. García de Cortázar y Ruiz de Aguirre, *El dominio del monasterio de San Millán de la Cogolla (siglos X a XIII)*:

The great monastic houses were also the engine of a highly developed literate culture by the end of the tenth century. While we know from the details of Eulogius's journey to Leire that Navarre monasteries were already a source of books in the ninth century, it was during the tenth century that many of the great Spanish manuscripts were written. The contents of these manuscripts were in large part devotional: Bibles, psalters, liturgical texts; monastic rules; saints' lives and passions; patristic works, especially those of Gregory the Great and Cassian, and of the Spaniards Isidore and Ildephonsus; the *Commentary on the Apocalypse* of Beatus of the Liébana; and, rather surprisingly, several works of the Carolingian Smaragdus of St-Mihiel.<sup>39</sup> But there was also work which might best be described as academic, like the great collection of the Codex Albeldense, of 974–76, from Albelda, which includes the Visigothic laws and canons, some lives of famous men (including Abbot Salvo of Albelda, d. 962) and the so-called Chronicle of Albelda;<sup>40</sup> and like the large glossaries from San Millán de la Cogolla.<sup>41</sup> This work comes from prominent monastic centres, as do the manuscripts from Cardena, Santo Domingo de Silos, and León. This was material for the monastic context — some literally to be read out on the appropriate saint's day. Although a few manuscripts appear to originate from smaller monasteries, like Bobadilla near Samos, source of Leodegundia's excerpts from monastic rules, these collections belong to the high culture of powerful, wealthy monasteries.<sup>42</sup> There is very little to suggest that the contents of such manuscripts circulated beyond this very special monastic environment.

*Introducción a la historia rural de Castilla altomedieval* (Salamanca: Universidad de Salamanca, 1969); Salustiano Moreta Velayos, *El monasterio de San Pedro de Cardena: Historia de un dominio monástico castellano (902–1338)* (Salamanca: Universidad de Salamanca, 1971).

<sup>39</sup> For description and contents of the manuscripts, see A. Millares Carlo, *Corpus de códices visigóticos*, prep. by M. C. Díaz y Díaz and others, 2 vols (Las Palmas de Gran Canaria: Universidad de Educación a Distancia, Centro Asociado de Las Palmas de Gran Canaria, Gobierno de Canarias, 1999). For more detailed discussion, see Manuel C. Díaz y Díaz, *Códices visigóticos en la monarquía leonesa* (León: Centro de Estudios e Investigación 'San Isidoro' (C.S.I.C.), 1983); *Los manuscritos visigóticos: estudio paleográfico y codicológico*, vol. 1: *Códices riojanos datados*, co-ord. by C. García Turza (Logroño: Fundación San Millán de la Cogolla, 2002).

<sup>40</sup> Biblioteca de El Escorial, MS d.I.2; Millares Carlo, *Corpus*, no. 49. 'un grueso libro de gran formato', Díaz y Díaz, *Libros y librerías*, p. 64. (The Chronicle is an Asturian work of the late ninth century.)

<sup>41</sup> E.g. Madrid, Real Academia de la Historia, Codex Emilianense 46, of 964; Millares Carlo, *Corpus*, no. 197.

<sup>42</sup> Biblioteca de El Escorial, MS a.I.13, of 902; Millares Carlo, *Corpus*, no. 42.

*Some Contrasts with England?*

So much is perfectly clear. What we do not find in this material is any suggestion of the English 'mother-house' type of community;<sup>43</sup> nor do we find much of any kind to suggest the exercise of responsibility for pastoral care. This does not have to mean that there was no pastoral care: incidental references show that some local groups articulated a need for spiritual teaching (even a request for preaching) and for moral guidance; lists of liturgical vessels and books associated with local churches imply the celebration of festivals in quite small-scale churches (and not simply in great monasteries) and mean that there was some material available that could — at least in theory — inform preaching, though numbers of books listed at smaller churches are low; as indicated above, grants were more frequently made for 'care of the soul' by the late tenth century; and priests performed practical functions like writing for rural communities.<sup>44</sup> But there is no textual comment that implies systematic organization or territorial coverage. There is no evidence of any programme of education for the rural clergy, such as found in the Carolingian Empire, nor of any deliberate policy to aid comprehension by preparing material in the vernacular, as is so striking in late Anglo-Saxon England. There are no incidental references to baptism, although liturgical texts include *ordines* for baptism.<sup>45</sup>

References to burial are not much more numerous: most non-liturgical references relate to aristocrats; there are requests for burial in a monastery, for example, from across the North, but the number of these explicit requests is small, no more than a dozen or so in this period. The physical evidence of cemeteries is much more substantial, but their chronological contexts are often insecure — we cannot even be sure that the many rock-cut cemeteries without grave-goods derive from any point in the early Middle Ages, although a site like Revenga (Castile), with at least

<sup>43</sup> But see below, note 61.

<sup>44</sup> Davies, *Acts of Giving*, pp. 48–50, 116–20; cf. 'ut pro animam meam curam gerant', an uncommon formula, Li175 (943).

<sup>45</sup> *Le Liber ordinum*, ed. by Férotin, cols 24–36, 217–26; this liturgical collection is of eleventh-century date but must derive, at least in part, from earlier material, which must have been available to larger monastic houses in the tenth century; see *Liber ordinum sacerdotal* (*Cod. Silos, Arch. monástico*, 3), ed. by José Janini (Silos: Abadía de Silos, 1981), pp. 22–23, for ninth- and tenth-century use of earlier *ordines*. (Salvo, abbot of Albelda, is known to have composed masses; *Liber ordinum*, p. 25.) Susan Keefe, *Water and the Word: Baptism and the Education of the Clergy in the Carolingian Empire*, 2 vols (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2002), I, 86–107, identified a text on baptism of c. 800, which was of Catalan origin, and argued that it included earlier Spanish features.

133 burials and traces of an associated church, must surely do so; moreover, the church at Buradón (Álava), which was modified in the tenth century, is associated with two hundred burials, and the cemetery around the church at Cuyacabras (Quintanar de la Sierra, Burgos) seems to have been in use between the tenth and thirteenth centuries.<sup>46</sup>

References to tithe are also extremely rare, and most of these are questionable.<sup>47</sup> There is certainly no sign of the kind of royal backing for payment of tithe that occurs in England from the 920s.<sup>48</sup> Indeed, it is standard in the Spanish historiography to suggest that parish structures, and the fully territorialized pastoral apparatus, were not introduced until the twelfth century; for example, although

<sup>46</sup> J. Escalona Monge, *Sociedad y territorio en la alta edad media castellana: La formación del alfoz de Lara*, BAR, International Series, 1079 (Oxford: John and Erica Hedges, Archaeopress, 2002), p. 174; J. A. Quirós Castillo and A. Vigil-Escalera Guirado, 'Networks of Peasant Villages between Toledo and *Velegia Alabense*, Northwestern Spain (v–x<sup>th</sup> centuries)', *Archeologia Medievale*, 33 (2006), 79–128 (pp. 98–99); J. A. Quirós Castillo and B. Bengoetxea Rementeria, *Arqueología (III) (Arqueología Postclásica)* (Madrid: Universidad Nacional de Educación a Distancia, 2006), pp. 209–11. For Visigothic cemeteries, see Quirós Castillo and Bengoetxea Rementeria, *Arqueología (III)*, pp. 190–208.

<sup>47</sup> Cf. Isla Frez, *Sociedad gallega*, pp. 96–100. Juan José Larrea, *La Navarre du IV<sup>e</sup> au XII<sup>e</sup> siècle: peuplement et société* (Paris: De Boeck Université, 1998), p. 197, used three ninth- to tenth-century San Juan de la Peña cases to argue for monastic control of parish revenues. SJP13 and SJP17 do indeed mention *decima* but they are records of royal grants which do not survive as originals; Larrea is probably right about monastic control, but these texts cannot be used as evidence of the taking of tithes in the tenth century. Compare SJP17 (of 947) with the series of royal grants of churches and other property to San Millán, SM68 (?955) to SM78 (959), which appear to be in San Millán diplomatic: the latter do not mention tithes. Overall it is striking that whatever the list of appurtenances to churches in tenth-century records, long or short, highly formulaic or individual, they do not normally include reference to tithes (nor to any other specifically church dues). Cf. also, with similar reservations about credibility, nos 6 (c.918) and 7 (938) of *Documentación medieval de Leire (siglos IX a XII)*, ed. by A. J. Martín Duque (Pamplona: Diputación foral de Navarra, Institución Príncipe de Viana, 1983).

<sup>48</sup> Many scholars have discussed the emergence of references to tithes in the eleventh and twelfth centuries: e.g. Orlandis, 'Reforma eclesiástica', pp. 344–45; Pascual Martínez Sopena, *La tierra de campos occidental: Poblamiento, poder y comunidad del siglo X al XIII* (Valladolid: Institución Cultural Simancas, 1985), pp. 273–79, 295–97 (but note his implication that the origins of the tithe system in this area must predate the mid-twelfth century). The monastery of Samos was in control of several sets of tithes in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries: J. M. Andrade Cernadas, *El monacato benedictino y la sociedad de la Galicia medieval (siglos X al XIII)* (A Coruña: Edicións do Castro, 1997), pp. 213–14; as was late eleventh- and twelfth-century Leire in Navarre: J. Orlandis, 'La estructura eclesiástica de un dominio monástico: Leire', in his *La Iglesia*, pp. 349–87 (p. 382).

many churches controlled by monasteries in the central Middle Ages correspond to modern parishes in Galicia, words for 'parish' are not recorded before the second quarter of the twelfth century.<sup>49</sup>

While a relatively late introduction of parish structures is neither surprising nor unusual, what looks odd by comparison with England is the apparent absence in northern Spain of forerunners of the parish structure or of alternative mechanisms for pastoral care. Sometimes I am tempted to think that those who work on England may perhaps see too much, and I remain sceptical about the extent of seventh- and eighth-century systems; but it is difficult not to accept the tenth-century evidence of established ecclesiastical dues in England. Whether or not those dues imply pastoral care in return (an implication which seems to be supported by terms like 'shrift-corn' for a due) is, however, arguable; direct evidence of pastoral care for the 'ordinary' laity is limited, although by c. 1000 leading churchmen clearly expected that pastoral care would be dispensed in return for payment of tithe.<sup>50</sup>

One must therefore think about the sources. Is the Spanish documentation different from the English, thereby giving the impression of different ecclesiastical organization? The answer has to be yes and no; there are plenty of charters in both regions, although there are more in northern Spain and they are of a wider range (there are more small-scale transactions; many sales; many records of transactions between lay parties). However, rather less unquestionably tenth-century material of other types — laws, sermons, narratives — survives in Spain.<sup>51</sup> There is also much less material from the eighth and ninth centuries to provide background: written sources are few from the time of the Arab conquest of 711 until they start to proliferate in the late ninth century. So, the shape of the available written data

<sup>49</sup> Andrade, *El monacato benedictino*, p. 212.

<sup>50</sup> Blair, *The Church in Anglo-Saxon Society*, pp. 433–44, 452–56. Francesca Tinti showed how, unlike tithe (which *did* have a relationship with pastoral care), the older established 'church-scor' was a render due to some churches from certain lands — a kind of ecclesiastical land-tax, unrelated to pastoral responsibility: 'The "Costs" of Pastoral Care: Church Dues in Late Anglo-Saxon England', in *Pastoral Care*, ed. by Tinti, pp. 27–51. She also argued that twelfth-century references to 'shrift-corn', despite appearances, probably refer to similar taxes: *ibid.*, p. 49.

<sup>51</sup> See above, p. 381, for potentially relevant but undated material. There are plenty of references to written law in charters (e.g. S190 (961), Sam132 (978), Cel375 (997)), but this law is Visigothic law of sixth- and seventh-century date, the texts of which continued to be copied; see above, p. 390. See the comments of Isla Frez, *Sociedad gallega*, pp. 224–25, on the continuity of Visigothic tradition.

is different, and that is bound to condition our approach. We could be comparing like with like, but viewed through different lenses.

There is another consideration too: the difference in the historiographical traditions of both countries. In Spain the prevailing historiography of the twentieth century, in part determined by the paucity of source-material for the eighth and ninth centuries, emphasized the break between the Visigothic period and the expansion of the Astur-Leonese kingdom in the tenth century; this is a historiography of rupture to set beside the English interest in long continuities.<sup>52</sup> In England too, in particular, there has been great interest in parish structures and pastoral care for at least the last thirty years, with notable forerunners before that.<sup>53</sup> In Spain, the prevailing themes of discussion in early medieval church history have been those of the Visigothic Church, of the nature of monasticism, and of competition between bishops and monasteries (of which there was plenty in the twelfth century and which in some regions continued for centuries beyond).<sup>54</sup> Discussion of eleventh-century reform has tended to focus on mid-eleventh-century precursors of papal reform and, especially, on lay and ecclesiastical proprietorship. The

<sup>52</sup> Claudio Sánchez-Albornoz's many works are fundamental: for example, *Despoblación y repoblación del valle del Duero* (Buenos Aires: Instituto de Historia de España, 1966); and 'Repoblación del reino Asturleonés', in his *Viejos y nuevos estudios sobre las instituciones medievales españolas*, 3 vols (Madrid: Espasa-Calpe, 1976–80 (first published 1971)), II, 581–790. For an overview of the historiography, see Wendy Davies, 'The Early Middle Ages and Spanish Identity', in *Power and Identity in the Middle Ages: Essays in Memory of Rees Davies*, ed. by Hugh Pryce and John Watts (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), pp. 68–84.

<sup>53</sup> For a small sample: James Campbell, 'The Church in Anglo-Saxon Towns', in *The Church in Town and Countryside*, ed. by Derek Baker, Studies in Church History, 16 (Oxford: Blackwell, 1979), pp. 119–35; Christopher Brooke, 'Rural Ecclesiastical Institutions in England: The Search for their Origins', in *Cristianizzazione ed Organizzazione ecclesiastica*, pp. 685–711; *Minsters and Parish Churches: The Local Church in Transition, 950–1200*, ed. by John Blair (Oxford: Oxford University Committee for Archaeology, 1988); Sarah Foot, 'Parochial Ministry in Early Anglo-Saxon England: The Role of Monastic Communities', in *The Ministry: Clerical and Lay*, ed. by W. J. Sheils and D. Wood, Studies in Church History, 26 (Oxford: Blackwell, 1989), pp. 43–54; *Pastoral Care before the Parish*, ed. by John Blair and Richard Sharpe (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1992); Cambridge and Rollason, 'Pastoral Organization'; Steven Basset, 'Church and Diocese in the West Midlands: The Transition from British to Anglo-Saxon Control', in *Pastoral Care*, ed. by Blair and Sharpe, pp. 13–40; *Pastoral Care*, ed. by Tinti.

<sup>54</sup> J. Orlandis, 'La elección de sepultura en la España medieval' (first published 1950), in his *La Iglesia*, pp. 257–306 (pp. 263, 284), with a brief reference to pastoral care at p. 263; competition continued until the fifteenth century in Vizcaya (in the Basque country): Orlandis, 'Reforma eclesiastica', p. 348; Isla Frez, *Alta edad media*, pp. 239–61.



territorial dimensions of the parish are seen to surface in the twelfth century with the beginnings of explicit direction on the proper place for baptism and burial (partly determined by foreign influence, especially French).<sup>55</sup> Until then, the emphasis was on freedom of choice of place of burial — an emphasis often reflected in the eleventh-century statements of local customary law, the *fueros* — a freedom which in some parts continued beyond the twelfth century.<sup>56</sup> The new developments of the twelfth century have therefore been seen as a break with the past.

So, the questions about pastoral care, especially 'before the parish', have not been asked. Nor has there been as much detailed attention to the church in the landscape as has characterized the English historiography; nor as much searching in later texts for traces of long continuities.<sup>57</sup> There is certainly an interest in landscape work in Spain, and there is plenty of interest in boundaries and in the changing or continuing shape of units of exploitation, although there has been a strong focus on the development of lay lordships.<sup>58</sup> Despite this, some brief comments published in the last decade suggest that the questions are now changing: some

<sup>55</sup> Orlandis, 'La elección', pp. 276–84; Martínez Sopena, *La tierra de campos*, p. 513; José Ángel García de Cortázar, *La sociedad rural en la España medieval* (Madrid: Siglo XXI de España, 1988), pp. 90–95; Larrea, *La Navarre*, p. 518; I. Martín Viso, *Fragmentos del Leviatán: La articulación política del espacio zamorano en la alta edad media* (Zamora: Instituto de Estudios Zamoranos 'Florián de Ocampo', 2002), pp. 135–36; Álvarez Borge, *La plena edad media*, pp. 304–05.

<sup>56</sup> Orlandis, 'La elección'.

<sup>57</sup> Though note Larrea's very detailed attention to the early medieval landscape of Navarre; and López Alsina's work on the church landscape of the diocese of Santiago de Compostela, *La ciudad de Santiago de Compostela en la alta edad media* (Santiago de Compostela: Ayuntamiento de Santiago de Compostela, 1988). For English examples, see John Blair, 'Minster Churches in the Landscape', in *Anglo-Saxon Settlements*, ed. by Della Hooke (Oxford: Blackwell, 1988), pp. 35–58; Della Hooke, *The Landscape of Anglo-Saxon England* (London: Leicester University Press, 1998), esp. pp. 62–102; R. J. P. Kain and R. R. Oliver, *The Historic Parishes of England and Wales: An Electronic Map of Boundaries before 1850 with a Gazetteer and Metadata* (Colchester: History Data Service, UK Data Archive, 2001) and 'The Arts Humanities Data Service' <<http://www.ahds.ac.uk/catalogue>>; Steven Bassett, 'Boundaries of Knowledge: Mapping the Land Units of Late Anglo-Saxon and Norman England', in *People and Space in the Middle Ages, 300–1300*, ed. by Wendy Davies, Guy Halsall, and Andrew Reynolds, *Studies in the Early Middle Ages*, 15 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2006), pp. 115–42.

<sup>58</sup> C. Estepa Díez, *Las Behetrías Castellanas*, 2 vols (Madrid: Junta de Castilla y León, Consejería de Cultura y Turismo, 2003); J. Escalona Monge, 'Unidades territoriales supralocales: Una propuesta sobre los orígenes del señorío de behetría', in *Los señoríos de behetría*, co-ord. by C. Estepa Díez and C. Jular Pérez-Alfaro (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 2001), pp. 21–46.

local churches were cult-centres on the edge of ecclesiastical control in the early Middle Ages, serving as quasi-parishes;<sup>59</sup> local churches were community churches, taken over by aggressive monasteries;<sup>60</sup> in Navarre there were 'ancient' large parishes, even talk of an 'église matrice'.<sup>61</sup> These are often one-off comments, rather than systematic examination, and there is work to do.<sup>62</sup> For the moment we can note that there were certainly at least some community churches in the early tenth century.<sup>63</sup> We can also note that there is a growing body of archaeology that indicates the erection of new church buildings in the ninth, tenth, and eleventh centuries — often added to existing settlements.<sup>64</sup> And there is certainly a list of bishoprics and dependent churches from the North-West, stretching from Coimbra in central Portugal to Astorga to the west of León, a listing which in itself implies that the churches had territorial responsibility; although in origin this appears to be a late sixth-century list from the Sueve kingdom, its preservation in numerous different textual contexts, with variants, implies some continuing principle of territorial responsibility organized from local churches — a kind of proto-parochial structure, albeit changing, which might parallel that of England.<sup>65</sup>

<sup>59</sup> Andrade, *El monacato benedictino*, p. 212.

<sup>60</sup> I. Álvarez Borge, *Poder y relaciones sociales en Castilla en la edad media: Los territorios entre el Arlanzón y el Duero en los siglos X al XIV* (Valladolid: Junta de Castilla y León, Consejería de Educación y Cultura, 1996), pp. 53–71, 109–25; Escalona Monge, *Sociedad y territorio*, p. 228.

<sup>61</sup> Larrea, *La Navarre*, pp. 262–63; this argument depends on the Sueve model, for which, see below, note 65.

<sup>62</sup> The takeover of local churches is much studied, as indicated above; that local churches were usually community churches much less so.

<sup>63</sup> Villabáscones in Castile clearly appears to have been a community church: C45 (944–50); cf. the churches given by local inhabitants in the twelfth century, Martínez Sopena, *La tierra de campos*, pp. 164, 290.

<sup>64</sup> Quirós Castillo and Vigil-Escalera Guirado, 'Networks', p. 103, including a church which appears to have been built at the same time as the village (Los Castros de Lastra in Valdegobía); subsequent excavations (2006, 2007) at Aistra in Álava show that the church there was also added to an earlier settlement — personal comment from Andrew Reynolds.

<sup>65</sup> There are many textual issues, which cannot be pursued here. The list is edited, with commentary, by Pierre David, 'Le Texte du *parochiale*', in his *Études historiques sur la Galice et le Portugal du VI<sup>e</sup> au XII<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Lisbon: Livraria Portugália, 1947), pp. 19–82 (pp. 30–44); David argued vigorously for the authenticity of the original list. López Alsina, *La ciudad de Santiago de Compostela*, pp. 155–67, 309–10, in detailed attention to the diocese of Santiago in the far North-West, argued that while some churches of the list remained parish centres, other territories were split and reorganized across the ninth to twelfth centuries; he diverged from David in several respects, although his argument reinforces David's principle of the credibility of the list.

### *Conclusions*

So, was ecclesiastical organization in England and Spain different or similar? The question requires not only more work, but some new kinds of work, especially on the relationship between twelfth- and thirteenth-century systems and tenth-century institutions in Spain and on the territorial dimensions of that relationship. There are also some relatively straightforward things to explore in tenth-century Spanish texts, like the nature of the book collections at local churches, the value systems expressed in the saints' lives, and the distribution of local clergy; and a careful look at glosses and glossaries might be revealing. As of now, one might say three things. First, there are certainly some similarities: the plethora of monasteries, of many types, might well remind us of seventh- and eighth-century England; the plethora of local churches might well remind us of eleventh-century England; but the particular mix of tenth-century northern Spain does not look much like tenth-century England. Secondly, given the numbers of local churches, and of named local priests, and given the fact that there were clearly elements of pastoral care here and there (there is even one recorded case, in 964, of a layman negotiating with a local priest to arrange burial with appropriate rite),<sup>66</sup> I can well believe that there was provision for some kind of pastoral care in many parts of northern Spain. This clearly was not systematized, and the underpinning resource, which looks a good deal more dependent on the profits of landlordship, did not have the same kind of royal backing as in England, but we do not have to suppose there was none. After all, the actual extent of pastoral provision in tenth-century England remains debatable. Thirdly, England clearly was 'different' in a number of respects, but it was not a single exception to a homogeneous Continent — rather, it offered, in all its variety, one manifestation of ecclesiastical organization among many.

<sup>66</sup> C117.



# PASTORAL CARE BEFORE THE PARISH: ASPECTS OF THE EARLY ECCLESIASTICAL ORGANIZATION OF SCANDINAVIA, ESPECIALLY SWEDEN

Stefan Brink

The Christianization and organization of the Church in Scandinavia have been rather favoured fields of research during the last two decades; new knowledge has been gained, and long-accepted truths have been challenged. We now have a fairly good picture of how the Christianization process developed, and the stress has been on the word *process*, challenging an older stance in research, which rather favoured the impact of individuals, specific important events, and a 'natural' growth of the new religion in the form of individuals successively converting to the new religion. Instead of this older stance, most researchers analysing the Christianization process in recent time have argued for a top-down process.<sup>1</sup>

The Christianization process in Scandinavia may be divided into various phases. A three-phase development has been proposed by Fridtjof Birkeli and

I would like to thank Guðný Zoëga, Ragnheiður Traustadóttir, and Leif Grundberg for the permission to reproduce their illustrations.

<sup>1</sup> See e.g. *Kristnandet i Sverige: Gamla källor och nya perspektiv*, ed. by B. Nilsson, Sveriges kristnande. Publikationer 5 (Uppsala: Lunne böcker, 1996); Bertil Nilsson, *Sveriges kyrkohistoria*, vol. 1: *Missionstid och tidig medeltid* (Stockholm: Verbum, 1998); Hjalti Hugason, *Kristni á Íslandi*, vol. 1: *Frumkristni og upphaf kirkju* (Reykjavík: Alþingi, 2000); Jón Viðar Sigurðsson, *Kristninga i Norden 750–1200* (Oslo: Det norske samlaget, 2003); *Kristendommen i Danmark før 1050*, ed. by N. Lund (Roskilde: Roskilde Museums Forlag, 2004); *Religionsskiftet i Norden: Brytninger mellom nordisk og europeisk kultur 800–1200 e.Kr.*, ed. by Jón Viðar Sigurðsson and others, Centre for Viking and Medieval Studies, Occasional Papers, 6 (Oslo: Unipub, 2004).

favoured by many, consisting of (1) an infiltration phase, (2) a missionary phase, and finally (3) an establishment phase.<sup>2</sup> For the actual ecclesiastical organization I would also propose three phases:

- 1) A thriving infiltration phase, during which clergymen from abroad stayed with kings and noblemen in Scandinavia, acting as councillors for religious and other matters. This first phase occupied roughly the latter part of the tenth century and the eleventh century.
- 2) A rather obscure phase, during which churches were built, especially at royal strongholds, where bishops were ordained to certain centres, such as Lund, Roskilde, Hedeby, Ribe, Skara, Sigtuna, and with the building, as was probably the case, of many small private churches. This phase, in which the first sees were established in Scandinavia, and which mainly occupied the late eleventh and twelfth centuries, might be called the large-scale organization phase.
- 3) The third phase during which parishes are formed, with the introduction of tithes and with a priest attached to almost every parish church. This constitutes the final and small-scale ecclesiastical organization of Scandinavia, taking place in the late twelfth but mainly the thirteenth century, when the Church takes a firm grip on the situation, organizes itself territorially, and melts into society.<sup>3</sup>

The first phase we can grasp, and the third we can reconstruct, but what about the intermediate phase?

The way in which the early Church in Europe solved the problem of ecclesiastical organization in the non-Roman or 'barbarian' north laid the foundations for a type of Church which was very biased socially towards the élite. First, we have the older episcopal churches in the cities (*civitates*). More numerous were the later *Adelskirchen* 'churches of the nobility', the private churches on the manors of landlords' estates, which eventually — after a long period of struggle and negotiations — came under the control of the papacy and the bishops.

<sup>2</sup> Fridtjov Birkeli, *Norske steinkors i tidlig middelalder: Et bidrag til belysning av overgangen fra norrøn religion til kristendom*, Skrifter utg. av Det Norske Videnskaps-Akademi i Oslo II. Hist.-Filos. Klasse. Ny serie, no. 10 (Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 1973), p. 14; see e.g. Anne-Sofie Gräslund, *Ideologi och mentalitet: Om religionsskiftet i Skandinavien från en arkeologisk horisont*, Occasional Papers in Archaeology, 29 (Uppsala: Institutionen för arkeologi och antik historia, Uppsala universitet, 2001), p. 19.

<sup>3</sup> Stefan Brink, *Sockenbildning och sockennamn: Studier i äldre territoriell indelning*, Acta Academiae Regiae Gustavi Adolphi, 57 (Stockholm: Almqvist and Wiksell, 1990).

We seem to have a similar development in Scandinavia, but taking place somewhat later in date. The picture of the early Church in Scandinavia, with missionaries attached to kings, is well established in research today. However, I would instead label the churchmen in question as well-educated councillors, who stood beside the itinerant kings and gave them advice — probably not only on religious matters — instead of ‘missionaries’, which at least for me gives the wrong association of holy men moving around spreading the word, preaching, and baptizing.<sup>4</sup> These bishop-councillors were attached to the itinerant royal courts, being part of the king’s close and personal household (*hird*), and they dealt primarily with kings, princes, high-born warriors, and ‘women who wove aristocratic dynasties together in marriage’.<sup>5</sup> The people they interacted with were the rich and the influential, hence belonging to the uppermost stratum of society, who could afford to build churches and found religious communities, which they could people with their kinsfolk and dependants. It is, however, notable that at least for Sweden, for some reason, there were no monasteries founded in this early phase. The lack of monasteries as a driving force in the early phase of the Christianization of especially Sweden is rather remarkable, when we compare it with northern Europe as a whole.<sup>6</sup>

The first churches seem to a large extent to have been built under the control of the kings and on their land, in the case of Sweden especially on estates and farms called *husaby*, making up the vital part of the regal economic asset (*bona regalia*) for the Swedish king (in the early Middle Ages called *Uppsala öd*, litt. ‘the wealth of Uppsala’).<sup>7</sup> On these *husabyar*, we often find exceptional medieval stone churches, each with one or two steeples, churches which were intended to impress. Most of these churches probably had predecessors in the form of much smaller wooden churches, built in the eleventh century. Of a few of these we have some remaining archaeological traces, but for the majority we have to rely on informed guesswork.

<sup>4</sup> Ian Wood, *The Missionary Life: Saints and the Evangelisation of Europe, 400–1050* (Harlow: Longman, 2001).

<sup>5</sup> Richard Fletcher, *The Conversion of Europe: From Paganism to Christianity 371–1386 AD* (London: Fontana, 1998), p. 455.

<sup>6</sup> Tore Nyberg, ‘Early Monasticism in Scandinavia’, in *Scandinavia and Europe 800–1350: Contact, Conflict, and Coexistence*, ed. by Jonathan Adams and Katherine Holman, *Medieval Texts and Cultures of Northern Europe*, 4 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2004), pp. 197–208; see also Tore Nyberg, *Monasticism in North-Western Europe, 800–1200* (London: Ashgate, 2000).

<sup>7</sup> Stefan Brink, ‘Husby’, in *Reallexikon der germanischen Altertumskunde*, vol. xv (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2000), pp. 274–78.

The visit of the papal legate Cardinal Nicholas Breakspear, later Pope Adrian IV (1154–59), to Norway in 1152 (and later on to Sweden)<sup>8</sup> must have been a decisive event for the organization of the Church in Scandinavia. One important result of this visit seems to have been the establishment of tithe, or rather the laying of a greater stress on the importance of introducing it, for this was something which Pope Gregory VII had already emphasized in a letter to the Swedish king Inge around 1080. Tithe must have been the fundamental prerequisite for the organization of the Church, and in particular for the establishment of parishes each with a parish priest. We can see in some of the Swedish provincial laws how part of the tithe was used for the priest's stipend (*beneficium*), part was used for maintenance and extension of the fabric of the church (*fabrica*), part was directed to the bishop, and in some regions part was devoted to helping the poor, this part being called *fattigtionde* ('tithe for the poor'). In an early phase there were obviously also certain one-off taxes, such as the *huvudtionde*, literally to be translated as 'main tithe', which is believed to have been paid for the building of the first churches.<sup>9</sup>

With an active Church, backed up by the royal houses and the nobility, the more or less accepted payment of tithes and the establishment of the *beneficium*, the *mensa* or *fundus* (in principle the vicarage), and a church's *fabrica*, the way was paved for the final and decisive phase of the organization of the Church and its 'infiltration' of the Scandinavian provinces and *bygder* ('settlement districts') — that is, the formation of parishes.

In the late 1980s, I was very much concerned with the process of parish-formation and I tried to understand this process in Scandinavia, and to ascertain whether or not it was a rapid one, and whether the process was uniform all over Scandinavia, which was the stance found in the handbooks.<sup>10</sup> I could see that the introduction of tithe must have been decisive, but it was an introduction which suffered many setbacks and much resistance in many regions. As late as 1232, Pope Gregory IX instructs the deans in the bishoprics of Västerås, Sigtuna, and *Aliati* to force the people in the province of Hälsingland to pay their tithe and to repay the archbishop in Uppsala the sum of money he had had to pay out on behalf of the Hälsingians in consequence of their neglecting to pay it themselves.<sup>11</sup> The other

<sup>8</sup> Nilsson, *Sveriges kyrkohistoria*, p. 95.

<sup>9</sup> Thomas Lindkvist, 'Kyrklig beskattning', in Bertil Nilsson, *Sveriges kyrkohistoria*, vol. 1: *Missionstid och tidig medeltid* (Stockholm: Verbum, 1998), pp. 216–21 (p. 219).

<sup>10</sup> See Brink, *Sockenbildning och sockennamn* for a discussion and for references.

<sup>11</sup> Brink, *Sockenbildning och sockennamn*, p. 144.

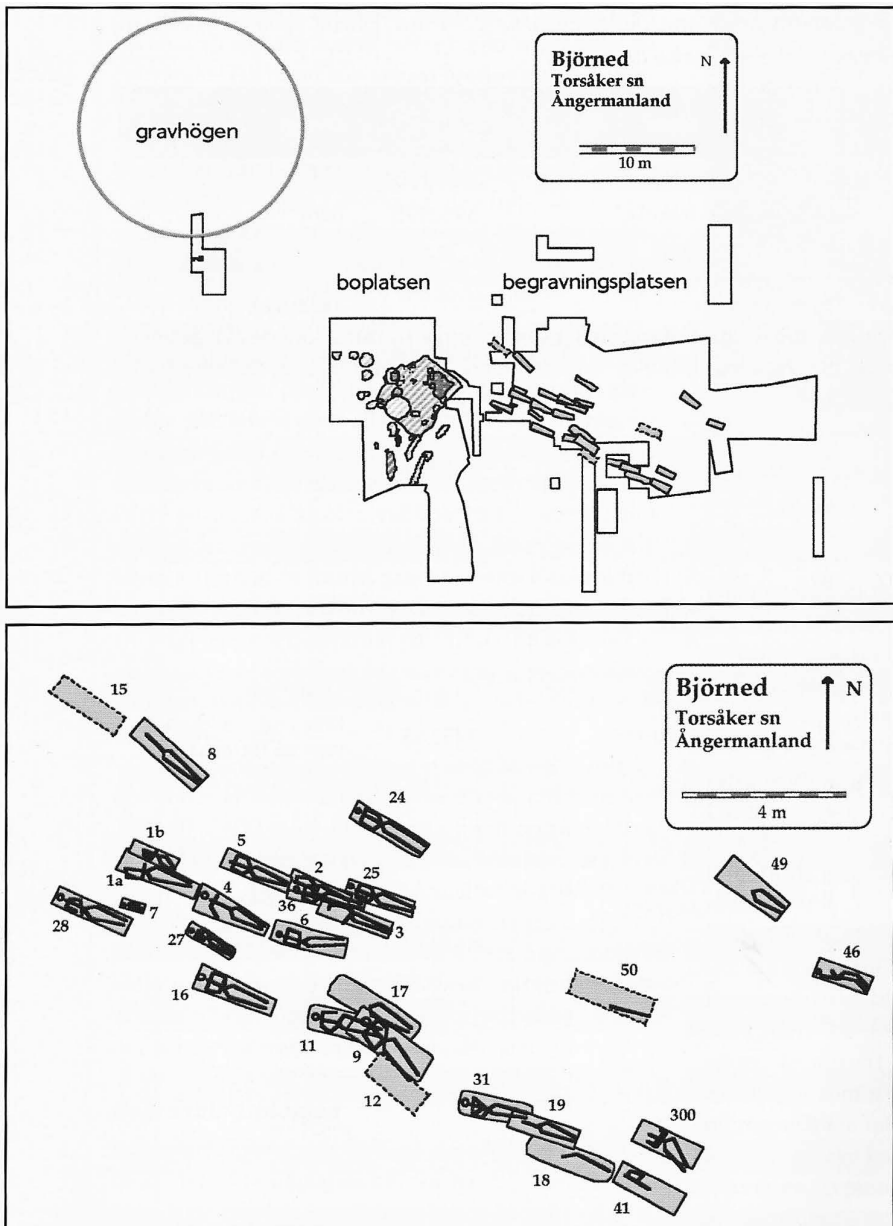


fundamental aspect of the organization was the churches themselves. In many parts of Scandinavia there was a number of churches already in existence when the process of parish formation started, but in other parts it looked to me as if there were no churches being built before the process of parish formation. In these latter cases, I assumed that the Church and the bishops must have taken an active part in the building of churches and the creation of parishes.<sup>12</sup>

The picture sketched above is one which I have been forced to modify. The background to this is provided by some very important archaeological excavations in Norway, Denmark, Iceland, and Sweden, from which I shall pick out a couple of examples. The first of these took place at the hamlet of Björned, which was formerly a farm, and which is situated in Torsåker parish in the province of Ångermanland, in northern Sweden. On this farm, the archaeologist Leif Grundberg has excavated a small and obviously Christian graveyard measuring approximately 25 m by 12 m.<sup>13</sup> It is not known what the shape of the graveyard was, or whether its boundary was marked with a dyke. Around one hundred people were buried there, men to the south, women to the north, some with and some without wooden coffins. Over the period from *c.* 1000 to *c.* 1250/1300, which is the period to which the graves, which were Christian, have been dated, the population implied probably corresponds to that of a farm inhabited by between six and ten people, the size of what we believe to have been a normal Viking-Age farm. DNA analyses of the remains of skeletons in the graves show that those buried there were close relatives. In the middle of the burial ground is a small area with no graves, which may be interpreted as the site of a small wooden church (perhaps measuring approximately 10 m x 5.5 m). What we have here in Björned is probably a small private church with a Christian burial ground for the farm (Map 13). The pagan burial-customs, which are found in a cemetery close to the Christian graveyard on the farm, were apparently abandoned around the year 1000. Thereafter people were buried in the small Christian graveyard until the thirteenth century. From the second half of the thirteenth century, no burials are known on this farm. This must coincide with the process of parish formation. When tithe is introduced, a church at the nearby place called Torsåker is chosen as the parish church. This church may already have been in existence since — to judge from the place-name, which means ‘the arable land

<sup>12</sup> Stefan Brink, ‘Tidig kyrklig organisation i Norden: aktörerna i sockenbildningen’, in *Kristnandet i Sverige*, ed. by Nilsson, pp. 269–90.

<sup>13</sup> Leif Grundberg, *Medeltid i centrum: Europeisering, historieskrivning och kulturarvsbruk i norrländska kulturmiljöer*, Studia Archaeologica Universitatis Umensis, 20 (Umeå: Inst. för arkeologi och samiska studier. Umeå universitet, 2006), pp. 61–72.



Map 13. Plan of excavation at Björned, Ångermanland, Sweden. The upper plan shows the area of investigation, hence the farm, and the close connection between the early farmstead (*boplatsen*), the Iron Age mound (*gravhögen*), and the Christian cemetery (*begravningsplatsen*). The plan below shows this small Christian cemetery for the farm, with burials dating between the tenth and the fourteenth centuries, and with a possible small church (of which there are no traces) in the void area around grave no. 50 (after Leif Grundberg, *Medeltid i centrum: Europeisering, historieskrivning och kulturarvsbruk i norrländska kulturmiljöer*, Studia Archaeologica Universitatis Umensis, 20 (Umeå: Inst. för arkeologi och samiska studier. Umeå universitet, 2006), p. 66).

dedicated to [the god] Tor' — Torsåker must have been the old assembly and cult site for the district.<sup>14</sup> At that time, the baptismal and burial rights are transferred to Torsåker church, and Björned church and graveyard are abandoned.

The second example is the discovery and excavation in 2002 of a small church and Christian graveyard on the farm called Keldudalur in northern Iceland.<sup>15</sup> It is more or less a copy of what was found at Björned. In the middle of a small, round cemetery, measuring approximately 15 m in diameter, there were traces of a church (approximately 5 m x 5 m in size). Around fifty graves were found, some with burials in wooden coffins, males to the south, women to the north, and children close to the church (Map 14). The church was built over an older Viking-Age long-house, which was covered by a layer of tephra (that is, ash from a volcanic eruption) dating from c. 1000. Tephra layers and also radiocarbon dating show that this graveyard was in use from c. 1000 to the middle of the twelfth century, hence for around 150 years.

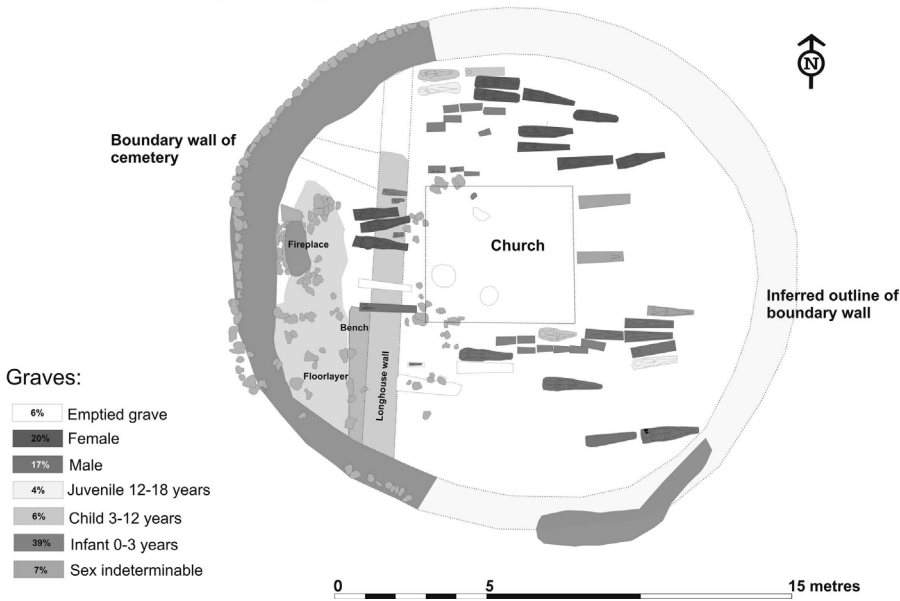
The picture that emerges is one in which many, perhaps nearly all large farms in the eleventh century had their own small private church. This picture for Scandinavia is also substantiated by the observations made by Dagfinn Skre, when he analysed the farms in Sør-Gudbrandsdalen in Norway, where he could archaeologically identify, or at least obtain indications of the existence of, many small churches on the farms.<sup>16</sup> It seems then that already at an early phase of the Christianization process we must reckon with small wooden churches on most or at least many of the farms, churches which had no place and function when the new parish system was introduced in the twelfth century and was established in the thirteenth century for large parts of Scandinavia. For the province of Västergötland in particular, we have several of these small, stone churches, which were abandoned when they became superfluous to the new parish structure, and which today are preserved as ruins.

<sup>14</sup> Stefan Brink, 'Cult Sites in Northern Sweden', in *Old Norse and Finnish Religions and Cultic Place-Names*, ed. by Tore Ahlbäck, Scripta Instituti Donneriani Aboensis, 13 (Stockholm: Almqvist and Wiksell, 1990), pp. 458–89 (at p. 466).

<sup>15</sup> Guðný Zoëga and Ragnheiður Traustadóttir, 'Keldudalur: A Sacred Place in Pagan and Christian Times in Iceland', in *Cultural Interaction between East and West: Archaeology, Artefacts and Human Contacts in Northern Europe*, ed. by U. Fransson and others, Stockholm Studies in Archaeology, 44 (Stockholm: University of Stockholm, 2007), pp. 225–30.

<sup>16</sup> Dagfinn Skre, *Gård og kirke, bygd og sogn: Organiseringsmodeller og organiseringsbeter i middelalderens kirkebygging i Sør-Gudbrandsdalen*, Riksantikvarens rapporter, 16 (Øvre Ervik: Alvheim and Eide, 1988).

Keldudalur - cemetery and longhouse



Map 14. Plan of excavated cemetery at Keldudalur (Iceland).

The next problems that we are faced with are the following. Who conducted the services in these small churches? Where did the priests come from? Where did the priest live? And how is it possible to understand the intermediate phase between on the one hand the early *Adelskirche* phase, with 'bishops' attached to the itinerant kings in their courts and all the small churches on farms, and on the other hand the parish-formation phase, with parish churches, each and every one with its own priest, to be found all over Scandinavia?

When we take a retrospective look back in history, the parish system, which dates mainly from the thirteenth century, creates a pattern so dense that it must obscure any earlier pattern. Consequently we have to work with written sources which are scarce and problematic, we have to propose models informed by comparisons with better-known societies, and we have to rely on guesswork. The most fruitful model has been the one John Blair has been chiefly responsible for proposing for Anglo-Saxon England. This model, labelled the 'Minster hypothesis' by its critics, has been intensely discussed and often criticized. The idea is that there were 'mother churches' of some kind, each with a *collegium* of priests, normally under the supervision of a bishop, and they had pastoral care for a large community, a large *parochia*.<sup>17</sup>

There are several of us who have used this kind of model to try to understand the phase in Scandinavian history before that of the formation of parishes, including Jørn Sandnes for Trøndelag, Dagfinn Skre for Romerike, and myself for Häl-singland and Gotland.<sup>18</sup> According to the 'Minster hypothesis', Anglo-Saxon kings in the seventh and eighth centuries built minsters and created a system of minster-churches with large *parochiae*, often coinciding with small kingdoms or other areas of royal administration. Nobility could found ministers with *parochiae* corresponding to their landed estates. The idea is that these minsters not only were serving the

<sup>17</sup> See e.g. *Minsters and Parish Churches: The Local Church in Transition 950–1200*, ed. by John Blair, Oxford University, Committee for Archaeology, Monograph 17 (Oxford: Oxford University Committee for Archaeology, 1988) and *Pastoral Care before the Parish*, ed. by John Blair and Richard Sharpe (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1992).

<sup>18</sup> A good introduction and discussion of this English Minster hypothesis applied to Scandinavia and Iceland has recently been written by Haki Antonsen, 'The Minsters: A Brief Review of the "Minster Hypothesis" in England and Some General Observations on its Relevance to Scandinavia and Iceland', in *Church Centres in Iceland from the 11<sup>th</sup> to the 13<sup>th</sup> Century and their Parallels in other Countries*, ed. by Helgi Þorláksson (Reykholzt: Snorrastofa, 2005), pp. 175–99. See also Stefan Brink, 'New Perspectives on the Christianization of Scandinavia and the Organization of the Early Church', in *Scandinavia and Europe 800–1350*, ed. by Adams and Holman, pp. 163–75 (pp. 172–75).

needs of the royal household or the lords on their estates, but were active in spreading Christianity and serving the emerging Christian community around each minster. Soon a group of clergy had pastoral care for a large area, the *parochia*.<sup>19</sup> The critique raised against this 'Minster hypothesis' is that it is not recorded in written sources, that it is doubtful that monastic institutions (minsters) should have been so active in society, and that the active role of bishops is questionable.<sup>20</sup> From a Scandinavian point of view, there is another problem with the 'Minster hypothesis', namely that of chronology. Already in the ninth and especially the tenth century it is assumed that in England the organization of minster *parochiae* declined, when new churches on private estates and smaller parishes became the norm. In Scandinavia, on the other hand, the 'Minster hypothesis' model has been assumed to have been functioning in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, so it is difficult to see how we could have a direct transfer from England at that time.

Although there are problems with a direct transfer of the model from Anglo-Saxon England to Scandinavia, the 'Minster hypothesis' may, in my opinion, nevertheless serve as a possible or even probable model for the activities of the early Church in large parts of Scandinavia. It is not so far-fetched to assume that the early churches built on royal estates and farms, such as the *husabyar*, may have served as some kind of 'mother churches' where a group of clergy, under the supervision of a bishop, spread the word and conducted ritual service in a large area, a 'storsocken', that is, a large *parochia*. The systematic distribution of early churches on these *husabyar* and also some obviously relict terms may support such a hypothesis.

The clergy assumed to have been at these 'mother churches' were probably funded by the king and the bishop, but they must have had another source of income, in a period when tithe was not yet in use. This must have been payment for the services the clergy conducted, presumably at the many small private churches in their *parochiae*. We probably have the word preserved for this kind of payment for service, although later on it was used with other meanings. The word was

<sup>19</sup> For a recent discussion of this 'Minster-model', see John Blair, *The Church in Anglo-Saxon Society* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005).

<sup>20</sup> Cf. David Rollason and Eric Cambridge, 'The Pastoral Organization of the Anglo-Saxon Church: A Review of the "Minster Hypothesis"', *EME*, 4 (1995), 87–104; David M. Palliser, 'The "Minster Hypothesis": A Case Study', *EME*, 5 (1996), 207–14; and David Rollason, 'Monasteries and Society in Early Medieval Northumbria', in *Monasteries and Society in Early Medieval Britain*, ed. by B. Thompson (Stamford: Paul Watkins, 1999), pp. 59–74.

probably *reiða* (payment, fee).<sup>21</sup> In the Norwegian laws we read of *prestreiða*, which in a later phase, in the Borgarthing law, had evolved into an annual fee consisting of butter and flour for a year for the priest, a fee also called *Olavssåd*. In return for this fee, the priest was to conduct prescribed services during the year, although he was still to be paid separately for some special rites. Another kind of fee for the performance of rites was *gipt* (fee), which, of course, is the same word as *gipt* (gift, present). I think it is possible to pick out relict words like these and use them to build up this hypothetical model of a system of mother churches, in Norway called *hofuðkirkjur* or *fylkiskirkjur*, in Sweden *hundareskirkior* etc., with a group of clergy attached to each of them, each group serving a large *parochia* without defined territorial boundaries and being paid fees (*reiða* or *gipt*) as recompense for performing their clerical duties. This seems to be a plausible model for the organizational structure of the intermediate period between the first phase of Christianization, with 'bishops' and clergy acting as councillors attached to kings, and a fully developed parish-structure, covering more or less the whole of Scandinavia. This intermediate period should then be dated approximately to the eleventh and twelfth centuries.

The transfer of the 'Minster hypothesis' model of an early parish-formation from Anglo-Saxon England to Scandinavia nevertheless remains doubtful, although it is a possibility. We do, however, have another case where we must reckon with a cultural exchange between the two regions, namely the concept of *sókn*, *soke*, and hence of the parish itself.<sup>22</sup> The Old Norse word *sókn* is the same word as Middle English *soke* and Old English *socn*. The Old Scandinavian word was originally one of the more frequently used and more important words in the legal language, with the meaning 'the process of suing some one; a trial'. The intricate problem to be explained here is why, in the early phase of the Church in Scandinavia, this word is used in the ecclesiastical realm as the word for a parish, and found with this meaning all over Scandinavia, except for Iceland. This drastic and geographically far-reaching change must have an explanation.

<sup>21</sup> See Halvard Björkvik, 'Reide', in *Kulturhistoriskt lexikon för nordisk medeltid*, vol. XIV, ed. by J. Granlund and others (Malmö: Allhems, 1969), pp. 10–11.

<sup>22</sup> See Stefan Brink, 'The Formation of the Scandinavian Parish, with Some Remarks Regarding the English Impact on the Process', in *The Community, the Family and the Saint: Patterns of Power in Early Medieval Europe*, ed. by J. Hill and M. Swan, International Medieval Research, 4 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1998), pp. 20–44 (pp. 33–37); Gillian Fellows-Jensen, 'Old English *socn* "Soke" and the Parish in Scandinavia', *Namn och bygd*, 88 (2000), 89–106.

One explanation worth considering is that the ecclesiastical term was borrowed outside Scandinavia, quite independently of the Old Norse *sókn*, thus producing a homonym of *sókn* with a quite new meaning. We have evidence for the Old English word *socn* acquiring in the tenth century the additional meaning ‘parish’ or ‘the congregation attached to a lord’s church’.<sup>23</sup> With the close contacts between England and Scandinavia in the early eleventh century, with Cnut the Great ruling both England and large parts of Scandinavia, hence organizing the Church there, we have at least the prerequisites for this English usage to have been transferred to Scandinavia with the creation of the new homonym *sókn*. We can thus finish with another interesting hypothesis linking England and Scandinavia during this vital period of cultural exchange between the two.

University of Aberdeen

<sup>23</sup> See Stefan Brink, ‘Sockenbildningen i Sverige’, in *Kyrka och socken i medeltidens Sverige*, ed. by Olle Ferm (Stockholm: Riksantikvarieämbetet, 1991), pp. 117–18.



## THE EARLY PONTIFICALS: THE ANGLO-SAXON EVIDENCE RECONSIDERED FROM A CONTINENTAL PERSPECTIVE

Sarah Hamilton

In his early eleventh-century will Bishop Ælfwold (997–1016) left to his church at Crediton three service books — a missal, a pontifical, and an epistle book — together with a set of Mass vestments.<sup>1</sup> Books which were personal to the Bishop were thus transferred to his church, for use by future generations. Half a century later Bishop Leofric's gift of a missal to the cathedral church of St Peter's in Exeter 'for the use of his successors' was recorded in both Latin and Old English in the front of the complex codex now known as the Leofric Missal (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 579, fol. 1<sup>v</sup>; Figure 36).<sup>2</sup> This paper will explore the implications of transfers such as these, from bishop to see, for the early history of the pontifical in England. Comparing the evidence of the first English pontificals with their Continental counterparts suggests, it will be argued, that pontificals

<sup>1</sup> '7 into Crydiantune þreo þeningboc, mæsseboc. 7 bletsungboc 7 pistelboc an mæssereaf: *Councils and Synods*, I, 385. Helmut Gneuss has demonstrated that there was no clear distinction between benedictional and pontifical in Old English, and that the word 'bletsungboc' was used to refer to a combined pontifical-benedictional in the list of books Leofric left to Exeter cathedral: 'Liturgical Books in Anglo-Saxon England and their Old English Terminology', in *LLASE*, pp. 91–141 (at pp. 131–33).

<sup>2</sup> 'Hunc missalem LEOFRICUS episcopus dat ecclesie sancti petri apostoli in exonia ad utilitatem successorum suorum': *The Leofric Missal*, ed. by Nicholas Orchard, HBS, 113–14, 2 vols (London: Boydell, 2002), II, 1 (fol. 1<sup>v</sup>). This work was one of sixty-six books Leofric left to his cathedral on his death; his bequest was recorded in Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Auct. D. 2.16, fols 1<sup>v</sup>–2<sup>v</sup>, and Exeter, Cathedral Library, MS 3501, fols 1<sup>v</sup>–2<sup>v</sup>, and edited most recently by Michael Lapidge, 'Surviving Booklists from Anglo-Saxon England', in *LLASE*, pp. 33–89 (pp. 64–69).

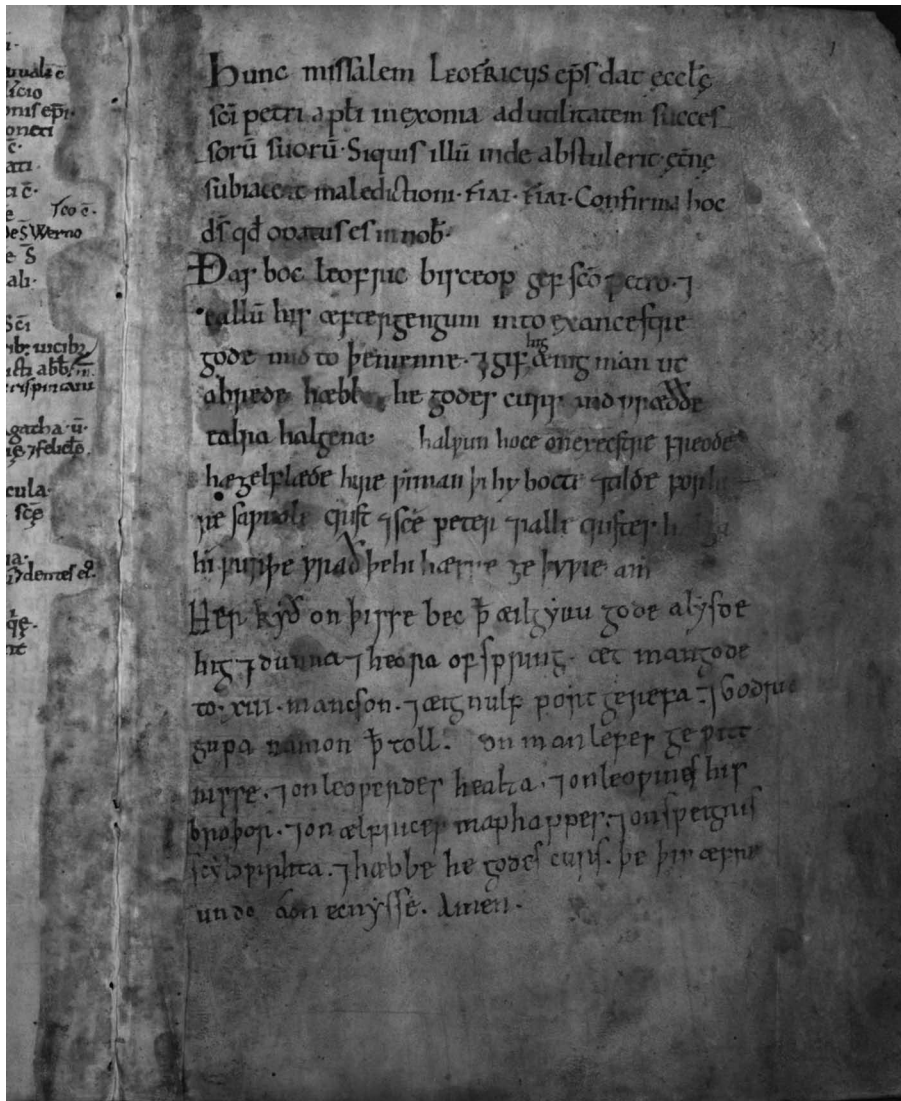


Figure 36. The Leofric Missal's record of Leofric's gift of the missal to Exeter Cathedral alongside a record of later manumissions. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 579, fol. 1r.

Reproduced with permission.

were much more than personal books of liturgy used by the bishop in his ministry, and had several different purposes, reflecting their various users and owners.

The pontifical, that is, an 'all-in-one' codex of those non-Eucharistic rites reserved to the bishop, first emerged as a separate genre in the late ninth and tenth

centuries.<sup>3</sup> Such codices were far from homogeneous but often combined rites for the dedication of churches and other sacred spaces with those for the ordination and consecration of the regular and secular clergy, the blessing of the chrism, *ordines* for holding synods, rites for public penance, and, at least sometimes, rites for excommunication and confirmation. They were also often, but by no means always, combined with sacramentaries and/or collections of episcopal blessings known as benedictionals.<sup>4</sup> The earliest examples of such books are Frankish and date from the later ninth century.<sup>5</sup> More polished, and much fuller, is the Romano-German Pontifical, produced in Mainz c. 950 which was widely copied within the Reich, to which we return below.<sup>6</sup> The oldest surviving Anglo-Saxon codex comes in the shape of the pontifical made for Archbishop Dunstan of Canterbury (959–88) at Christ Church Canterbury, probably c. 960,<sup>7</sup> although there also survive two fragments which Helmut Gneuss has identified as belonging to one pontifical, the script of which has been dated on palaeographical grounds by David Dumville to c. 930.<sup>8</sup> Some seven other more or less complete pontificals survive

<sup>3</sup> The word itself is early modern: *Glossarium mediae et infimae Latinitatis*, ed. by Charles du Fresne, Seigneur du Cange, rev. by D. P. Carpenterius and others, 10 vols (Niort: L. Favre, 1886), vi, 408.

<sup>4</sup> For a concise history, see Éric Palazzo, *A History of Liturgical Books: From the Beginning to the Thirteenth Century*, trans. by M. Beaumont (Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 1998), pp. 195–212; the most comprehensive work is that of Rasmussen, *Pontificaux*.

<sup>5</sup> For example, the ‘Poitiers’ pontifical, probably composed for a late ninth-century Archbishop of Bourges: *Il cosiddetto pontificale di Poitiers* (Paris, *Bibliothèque de l’Arsenal*, cod. 227), ed. by Aldo Martini, *Rerum ecclesiasticarum documenta*, series major fontes 14 (Rome: Herder, 1979); the Sens pontifical, St Petersburg, Russian National Library, MS Q.v.I.no. 35, and the Beauvais pontifical, Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, Codices Bibliothecae Publicae Latini 111:2, both described in Rasmussen, *Pontificaux*, pp. 89–166.

<sup>6</sup> *Le Pontifical Romano-Germanique du dixième siècle*, ed. by Cyril Vogel and Reinhard Elze, *Studi e testi*, 226–27 and 269, 3 vols (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1963–72). It survives in some twenty-nine manuscripts from the later tenth and eleventh centuries: Sarah Hamilton, *The Practice of Penance, 900–1050* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2001), pp. 131–35 and 211–23.

<sup>7</sup> BnF, MS lat. 943, described by Victor Leroquais, *Les Pontificaux Manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France*, 4 vols (Paris: A. Villien, 1937), II, 6–10; Rasmussen, *Pontificaux*, pp. 258–317; also important is Jane Rosenthal, ‘The Pontifical of St Dunstan’, in *Dunstan LTC*, pp. 143–63; on date, see David Dumville, *Liturgy and the Ecclesiastical History of Late Anglo-Saxon England*, *Studies in Anglo-Saxon History*, 5 (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1992), pp. 82–84.

<sup>8</sup> Cambridge, Trinity College, MS B.1.30A, and New Haven, Yale University Library, MS 320; Gneuss, ‘Liturgical Books’, p. 132; David Dumville, ‘On the Dating of Some Late Anglo-Saxon Liturgical Manuscripts’, *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society*, 10 (1991), 40–57 (pp. 42–43).

from the late tenth or first decades of the eleventh century, and some eighteen examples in all for the Anglo-Saxon Church.<sup>9</sup> The evidence of the surviving Anglo-Saxon pontificals suggests they were produced within the context of the Anglo-Saxon Church's tenth-century reform movement, itself a conscious extension of the ideals and texts of the ninth-century Frankish Church reforms which, in emphasizing episcopal 'status and responsibilities', had provided the context for the emergence of the first Frankish pontificals.<sup>10</sup> Nicholas Orchard's recent work has not only persuasively suggested evidence for at least two earlier Anglo-Saxon pontificals, but has also emphasized the strength of indigenous English rites. Thus he has identified at the heart of the Leofric Missal an updated eighth-century Gelasian sacramentary-cum-pontifical probably made at Canterbury for the early tenth-century reforming archbishop, Plegmund (890–923), to which various prayers, blessings, chants, collects, and masses were added over the course of the tenth century at Canterbury, under archbishops Wulfhelm, Oda, and Dunstan; finally, further texts were added in the mid-eleventh century at Exeter, under another reformer, Bishop Leofric.<sup>11</sup> The second 'earlier' English pontifical underlies the pontifical-cum-sacramentary now known at the Sacramentary of Ratoldus (BnF, MS lat. 12052).<sup>12</sup> Copied in northern France in the second half of the tenth

<sup>9</sup> Egbert Pontifical: BnF, MS lat. 10575 (c. 1000); Claudius I: BL, MS Cotton Claudius A III, fols 31<sup>v</sup>–86<sup>v</sup>, 106<sup>r</sup>–50<sup>v</sup> (c. 1000, London/York); Lanalet Pontifical: Rouen, BM, MS 368 (A.27) (s. xi<sup>in</sup>, St Germans/Wells); Anderson Pontifical: BL, MS Additional 57337 (c. 1000, Christ Church, Canterbury); Benedictional of Archbishop Robert: Rouen, BM, MS 369 (Y.7) (c. 980 x 1020, New Minster Winchester); Samson Pontifical: CCCC, MS 146 (s. x<sup>ex</sup>, Old Minster, Winchester/Canterbury); Cambridge, Sidney Sussex College, MS 100 (Δ.5.15), part 2 (s. x<sup>ex</sup>/s.xi<sup>in</sup>, Ramsey Abbey/Winchester). Dumville, *Liturgy*, pp. 66–95, and critique in Janet L. Nelson and Richard W. Pfaff, 'Pontificals and Benedictionals', in *The Liturgical Books of Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. by Richard W. Pfaff, Old English Newsletter Subsidia, 23 (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, 1995), pp. 87–98.

<sup>10</sup> Nelson and Pfaff, 'Pontificals and Benedictionals', p. 87.

<sup>11</sup> *Leofric Missal*, ed. by Orchard, I, 1–234 (pp. 131–32, 203–05, and 234). Plegmund played a significant part in the Alfredian reform, including advising on the translation of Gregory the Great's *Cura Pastoralis* into English, and the evidence of minuscule script and improved Latinity in the Canterbury charters testify to his introduction of these reforms into the Canterbury scriptorium: Nicholas Brooks, *The Early History of the Church of Canterbury: Christ Church from 597 to 1066* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1984), pp. 152–54, 173–74, and 213–14. On Leofric's pastoral interests, see Elaine M. Treharne, 'Producing a Library in Late Anglo-Saxon England: Exeter, 1050–1072', *Review of English Studies*, n.s., 54 (2003), 155–72.

<sup>12</sup> *The Sacramentary of Ratoldus* (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 12052), ed. by Nicholas Orchard, HBS, 116 (London: Boydell, 2005).

century, on the orders of Ratoldus, abbot of Corbie (972–86), it combines the text of a ninth-century sacramentary originally from Saint-Denis via Orléans and then Saint-Vaast with that of a now-lost pontifical from mid-tenth-century Canterbury.<sup>13</sup> Orchard's work thus brings the chronology for the development of the pontifical in England closer to that for Francia, suggesting that pontificals can be found as far back as around 900. At the same time, his stress on the continuing independence of the English from the Frankish liturgy means that Anglo-Saxon pontificals can no longer be viewed as a simple extension of the Frankish ninth-century reforms.<sup>14</sup>

Current explanations for the emergence of the pontifical in both Francia and England thus favour two interpretations. First, the dissemination of pontificals in both England and East Francia is seen as being led by the archiepiscopal sees as part of an effort to stamp their authority over other sees; pontificals are thus indelibly linked with efforts at royally supported ecclesiastical reform movements which emphasized the role and duties of bishops. David Dumville's stimulating study of the palaeography of the Anglo-Saxon pontificals suggests that a new one was produced at Christ Church, Canterbury for each new archbishop, and on the death of the archbishop, that of the previous archbishop was disseminated to another diocese on the occasion of the consecration of a new bishop to a see.<sup>15</sup> Yet some pontificals, as he acknowledges, were written at other sees.<sup>16</sup> Éric Palazzo has suggested that underlying the appearance of the pontifical in Francia is the increasing emphasis from the ninth century onwards on the authority of the bishop in his diocese, which was manifest in the liturgy of the Church as well as other texts such as the Carolingian bishops' capitula, penitentials, and canon law collections, and also artistic depictions of bishops.<sup>17</sup> The Continental pontifical thus reflects the political importance placed on bishops by later ninth-century and tenth-century rulers, especially Ottonian ones. In the Reich the 'primitive pontificals' were first

<sup>13</sup> *Sacramentary of Ratoldus*, ed. by Orchard, pp. cxci–cxci.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. Dumville, *Liturgy*, p. 145: 'it should not be too adventurous to suppose that in this first period of renewal there was heavy dependence on imported liturgical books'.

<sup>15</sup> Dumville, *Liturgy*, pp. 91–95.

<sup>16</sup> See the critique by Nelson and Pfaff, 'Pontificals and Benedictionals'.

<sup>17</sup> Éric Palazzo, 'La Liturgie de l'Occident médiéval autour de l'an mil: état de la question', *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale*, 43 (2000), 371–94; see also his *History of Liturgical Books*, p. 199, and his *L'Évêque et son image: l'illustration du pontifical au Moyen Âge* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1999), pp. 17–35. The best English example of a book which emphasized the bishop's authority is BL, MS Additional 49598: Robert Deshman, *The Benedictional of Æthelwold*, Studies in Manuscript Illumination, 9 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995).

codified in the mid-tenth century into a large and comprehensive, if somewhat fluid collection, now known as the Romano-German Pontifical, which combines liturgical rites with didactic texts, including liturgical exposition.<sup>18</sup> Cyrille Vogel and Reinhard Elze traced the pontifical's origins to the monastery of St Alban in Mainz in the mid-tenth century, and the pontificate of Archbishop William of Mainz, the son and chancellor of Otto I, arguing that its diffusion was part of a conscious plan by the Ottonian rulers to promote a unified episcopal liturgy.<sup>19</sup> The Romano-German Pontifical was thus viewed as an essential component of the 'imperial church system', shoring up and promoting episcopal authority under the command of German rulers. Whilst this explanation is very much of its time — Vogel and Elze were working in the 1950s — it was still being used as recently as 2000.<sup>20</sup> Tim Reuter's critique of the 'imperial church system', now almost thirty years old, has seemingly not yet been integrated into liturgists' thinking; yet Reuter's argument, that episcopal appointment and by implication authority, owed at least as much to local power structures as royal authority, helps explain some of the more localized features of the tenth- and eleventh-century pontifical evidence.<sup>21</sup> A further nail in the coffin for bland acceptance of the imperial promotion thesis is research on the ninth century which has shown that the Carolingian liturgical reforms were not as intentional, nor as uniform, nor as successful, as previously thought: the Carolingian ecclesiastical and secular rulers did not seek to impose the single Romanized liturgy of the Hadrianum Sacramentary throughout the Frankish kingdoms. By the death of Charles the Bald the Frankish liturgy was by no means unified, although there was common agreement about general forms.<sup>22</sup> Why should the Ottonian or Anglo-Saxon experiences therefore have been any different?

<sup>18</sup> *Pontifical romano-germanique*, ed. by Vogel and Elze.

<sup>19</sup> M. Andrieu, *Les Ordines romani du haut moyen âge*, 5 vols (Leuven: Spicilegium Sacrum Lovaniense, 1931–61), I, 507–09; C. Vogel, 'Le Pontifical romano-germanique du x<sup>e</sup> siècle: nature, date et importance du document', *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale*, 6 (1963), 27–48, and his *Medieval Liturgy: An Introduction to the Sources*, trans. and rev. by W. Storey and N. K. Rasmussen with J. K. Brooks-Leonard (Washington, DC: Pastoral Press, 1986), pp. 235–36. This picture will be substantially revised by Henry Parkes in his forthcoming University of Cambridge PhD thesis on 'Music and Liturgy in Tenth-Century Mainz'.

<sup>20</sup> Palazzo, 'La Liturgie', pp. 379–82.

<sup>21</sup> Timothy Reuter, 'The "Imperial Church System" of the Ottonian and Salian Rulers: A Reconsideration', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 33 (1982), 347–74.

<sup>22</sup> Yitzhak Hen, *The Royal Patronage of Liturgy in Frankish Gaul to the Death of Charles the Bald (877)*, HBS, Subsidia, 3 (London: Boydell, 2001).

The second explanation views the pontifical as essentially a practical book which emerged to support the bishop in his work. Niels Rasmussen's researches on the primitive pontificals suggest that this new genre emerged as a response to practical need as itinerant bishops sought to combine records of the rite for non-Eucharistic services, the *ordines*, previously recorded in *libelli*, into one volume. In the mid-1970s he demonstrated that there was no rhyme nor reason as to which rites were copied, but that the ones most commonly copied seem to have been those which an itinerant bishop would require on tours of his diocese: those for church dedications, the ordination of secular clergy, the consecration of regular clergy, and the administration of public penance.<sup>23</sup> Rasmussen's work was based on a study of the codicology and emphasized practical considerations, such as the size of the book: a small codex such as that of the Leofric Missal (now 195 mm high by 145 mm wide) was more likely to be carried around the diocese by the bishop.<sup>24</sup> Larger manuscripts, on the other hand, may have been intended as cathedral models, that is, as authoritative records of liturgical rites, which were copied into *libelli* for actual use, and as records of liturgical exposition and other quasi-liturgical texts for teaching and reflection, as in hybrid collections such as the Romano-German Pontifical.<sup>25</sup> The benedictionals and pontificals of the late Anglo-Saxon episcopate have also been examined as pragmatic texts by Richard Pfaff, and found wanting. Whilst pontifical texts do reflect practical concerns — rubrics specify the modulation in tone, for example, of an antiphon, as in one mid-eleventh-century Canterbury pontifical — as codices they were often not user friendly.<sup>26</sup> The lack of tabula in many codices, combined with the very diversity of their content, means it would be difficult for the uninitiated to find their way

<sup>23</sup> Rasmussen, *Pontificaux*; Niels Rasmussen, 'Célébration épiscopale et célébration presbytériale: Une essai de typologie', in *Segni e riti nella chiesa altomedievale occidentale: 11–17 aprile 1985*, Settimane, 33 (Spoleto: Centro italiano di studi sull'alto Medioevo, 1987), pp. 581–603; Rasmussen, 'Unité et diversité des Pontificaux latins aux VIII<sup>e</sup>, IX<sup>e</sup> et X<sup>e</sup> siècles', in *Liturgie de l'église particulière et liturgie de l'Église universelle*, Bibliotheca Ephemerides liturgicae subsidia, 7 (Rome: Edizioni Liturgiche, 1976), pp. 393–410.

<sup>24</sup> S. J. P. Van Dijk and J. Hazelden Walker, *The Origins of the Modern Roman Liturgy* (Winchester: Darton, Longman and Todd, 1960), p. 32, suggested a height of 20 cm as the boundary between portable and non-portable books.

<sup>25</sup> Rasmussen, *Pontificaux*, pp. 479–80; Christopher A. Jones, 'The Book of the Liturgy in Anglo-Saxon England', *Speculum*, 73 (1998), 659–702 (p. 698).

<sup>26</sup> Citing CCCC, MS 44, Richard Pfaff, 'The Anglo-Saxon Bishop and his Book', *Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester*, 81 (1999), 3–24 (p. 14).

around the book easily. He has thus raised problems for those who want to see them as wholly pragmatic texts, and therefore poses a challenge to this explanation as to why pontificals emerge.

It is not the intention of this paper to unravel either of the two strands which make up the current consensus about the pontifical's early history, but rather to point out that because they are both, naturally, based on the collections of rites which lay at the core of each pontifical, they neglect the evidence of the many liturgical, and non-liturgical, texts added to, or sometimes copied with, this central corps of rites in many codices. Such additions have not been entirely ignored: they are often mined by scholars to locate a particular codex in space and time,<sup>27</sup> whilst David Dumville has examined documents added to liturgical books as a specific category.<sup>28</sup> At the same time, scholars have tended to emphasize pontificals as personal to the bishop, either as the propagator of or recipient of reform.<sup>29</sup> They thus fail to take into account the implications of the seemingly frequent movement of pontifical from bishop to cathedral community and its continued use within that community, with which this paper began.

In what follows I highlight four characteristics of the surviving pontifical tradition in England and the Continent which require consideration by those looking to explain why the pontifical emerged when it did. These are (1) the significance of the inclusion of local traditions in reform-orientated collections of rites, (2) the function of these codices as didactic texts, (3) the role of pontificals as repositories of local record, and (4) the importance of pontifical books both as personal artefacts and as the focus for the memory of a particular bishop, and sometimes his successors, in a particular see.

To start with the first point, the continuing importance of local traditions, it is widely recognized that the very act of copying led to a good deal of variation; it is, however, also worth stressing that pontificals were often self-conscious compilations of texts which combined new, imported texts with more indigenous traditions.<sup>30</sup> In the English material, this pattern can be seen in the early eleventh-century pontifical, now known as the Samson Pontifical (CCCC, MS 146), to

<sup>27</sup> For example, Michael Lapidge's examination of the quire added in England to a German copy of the Romano-German Pontifical: 'Ealdred of York and MS Cotton Vitellius E.XII', *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, 55 (1983), 11–25.

<sup>28</sup> Dumville, *Liturgy*, pp. 123–27.

<sup>29</sup> Although the varied users of pontificals are noted by Pfaff, 'The Anglo-Saxon Bishop', and implicit in Rasmussen's recognition of some pontificals as 'cathedral copies'.

<sup>30</sup> See Orchard's comments: *Leofric Missal*, ed. by Orchard 1, 117.



which a supplement was added in the late eleventh century.<sup>31</sup> David Dumville suggests, on palaeographical grounds, that the 'original part' was written at Canterbury. Neil Ker had, however, noticed various Winchester elements in the liturgy of the 'original part'. Dumville reconciles these two observations by suggesting that the manuscript was made for Archbishop Ælfheah of Canterbury (1006–12) who had formerly been Bishop of Winchester.<sup>32</sup> Similarly, Michael Lapidge has demonstrated that the quire added in England to a German copy of the Romano-German Pontifical corresponds with what is known of Archbishop Ealdred of York's life, and thus that the Pontifical was probably bought back to England by the Archbishop after his visit to Cologne in 1054; the addition of a sermon on the office for the dead, and the text of the office itself, for example, fit with a later tradition that Ealdred exhorted his clergy to remember the dead.<sup>33</sup>

That such additions were common is clear from two Continental manuscripts: one mid-eleventh-century Burgundian codex,<sup>34</sup> from the archiepiscopal see of Besançon, is essentially a copy of the Romano-German Pontifical but includes a sort of supplement, made at the same time as the main part, on its first thirty-eight folios of a series of rites not found in the second part,<sup>35</sup> all of which can be localized to Besançon through their mention of the church and its saints; the supplement includes rites for episcopal ordination, the consecration of an abbess, an abbot, a nun, and a widow, a blessing for a knight, the consecration of a church, the altar, and the vestments, coronation *ordines* for both king and queen, and a set of (mostly) temporal episcopal benedictions. These rites are all central to the bishop's authority within his diocese; perhaps this is why Archbishop Hugues de Salins, (1031–66) chose to have them copied into this codex. An early eleventh-century pontifical, which was in Cambrai by the late eleventh century, reveals a more

<sup>31</sup> M. R. James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge*, 2 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1909–12), I, 332–35; N. R. Ker, *Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon*, 2nd edn (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), pp. 50–51.

<sup>32</sup> Dumville, *Liturgy*, pp. 72–73 and 92–93.

<sup>33</sup> Lapidge, 'Ealdred of York', p. 19.

<sup>34</sup> Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, MS lat. 4099 (Weissenburg. 15), fols 1–89; for a detailed description, see Andrieu, *Ordines Romani*, I, 441–52; for a more recent analysis which places this manuscript in the context of others produced for Archbishop Hugues de Salins, see B. de Vregille, *Hugues de Salins, archevêque de Besançon, 1031–66* (Besançon: Cetre, 1981), pp. 341–44.

<sup>35</sup> With one exception: the rite for the consecration of a widow is found in both parts. Andrieu, *Ordines Romani*, I, 445 and 447.

complex tale of the weaving of new and indigenous texts. Most of its *ordines* are drawn from the Romano-German Pontifical, but it includes a rite for the reconciliation of penitents on Maundy Thursday found only in Lotharingia and north-eastern France.<sup>36</sup> Hartmut Hoffman has identified the manuscript as the work of four scribes, three of whom were from Mainz and one from Metz; the Lotharingian scribe was the one who copied the Lotharingian rite for the reconciliation of penitents, suggesting that whoever commissioned the book was anxious to include some of their own rites to which they attached importance, as well as acquire an up-to-date liturgy.<sup>37</sup>

Secondly, as has been widely recognized, pontificals also acted as repositories for didactic texts, perhaps most famously the *expositiones missae*.<sup>38</sup> For example, the Dunstan, Egbert, and Lanalet Pontificals all include a copy of Gerbald of Liège's early ninth-century episcopal capitulary, prefaced by the prologue of a penitential attributed to Egbert, archbishop of York, together with an Anglo-Saxon version of the text 'De officiis VII graduum'.<sup>39</sup> These *capitula* deal with a priest's duties in simple terms: they include the injunction that he should say the office, preach on feast days and Sundays, collect the tithe, teach the people the creed and the Lord's prayer, not receive payment for baptism, and not eat or drink in taverns.<sup>40</sup> The inclusion of such a text suggests these codices were cathedral books, used to educate the clergy, rather than being used by the bishop to administer particular rites. A similarly educative purpose may lie behind the Old English translation of Amalarius's liturgical exposition on the spiritual significance of church bells included at the front of the mid-eleventh-century pontifical from Canterbury, now CCCC,

<sup>36</sup> BnF, MS lat. 13313, fols 43<sup>v</sup>–50<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>37</sup> Hartmut Hoffmann, *Buchkunst und Königtum im ottonischen und frühsalischen Reich*, Schriften der MGH, 30 (Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 1986), p. 254; Hamilton, *Practice*, p. 161.

<sup>38</sup> André Wilmart, 'Expositio missae', in *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie*, ed. by F. Cabrol and others, 15 vols (Paris: Letouzey, 1903–53), v.1 (1922), 1014–27; Roger E. Reynolds, 'Liturgy, Treatises on', in *Dictionary of the Middle Ages*, ed. by Joseph R. Strayer and others, 13 vols (New York: Scribner, 1982–89), VII, 624–33. On liturgical exposition in England, see Jones, 'Book of the Liturgy'.

<sup>39</sup> BnF, MS lat. 943, fols 149<sup>v</sup>–150<sup>v</sup>; Rouen, BM, MS 368 (A.27), fols 178<sup>v</sup>–80<sup>v</sup>; BnF, MS lat. 10575, fols 6<sup>v</sup>–9<sup>v</sup>. For this observation, see *Sacramentary of Ratoldus*, ed. by Orchard, p. xcix. Roger E. Reynolds, 'The "De officiis VIII graduum": Its Origins and Early Medieval Development', *Medieval Studies*, 34 (1972), 113–51. Gaerbald circulated more widely in tenth- and eleventh-century England: *Capitula episcoporum Pars I*, ed. by Peter Brommer, MGH, Capit. episc., 1 (Hannover: Hahn, 1984), pp. 6–16.

<sup>40</sup> *Capitula episcoporum Pars I*, ed. by Brommer, pp. 16–21.

MS 44.<sup>41</sup> The use of the first person in a rubric about sprinkling holy water in the *ordo* for the dedication of a church in the Dunstan Pontifical is also suggestive of a didactic purpose; it is at least possible that the text might have been used for instruction in the training of priests.<sup>42</sup> Distinguishing between texts which are primarily didactic and those which have a more pragmatic purpose is, however, often impossible. What should we make of the various texts added at Sherborne to a copy of the Romano-German Pontifical, BL, MS Cotton Tiberius C I, in the late eleventh century which include Old English confession formulae, prayers, and Lenten homilies?<sup>43</sup> The practical nature of some additions is seemingly clearer cut: an eleventh-century pontifical, now in Montpellier, made for Archbishop Hugues of Besançon, includes an oath of continence to be sworn by priests in the presence of the archbishop, added in a slightly later, 'maladroit' hand, which has been linked to the canons of the Council of Bourges (1031) which required priests to promise celibacy.<sup>44</sup> Its inclusion testifies to the liveliness of the pontifical as a text, but its unprofessional presentation might suggest that this oath was included as a matter of record rather than for administration as part of the liturgy.

The Besançon oath may therefore anticipate the third category of additions, those which suggest that the pontificals were used, as gospel-books also often were, as repositories of local record.<sup>45</sup> The Leofric Missal includes the texts of several

<sup>41</sup> Ker, *Catalogue*, p. 46; Dumville, *Liturgy*, p. 71.

<sup>42</sup> 'Ter dixi intrinsecus propter imbuendam fidem trinitatis quam fatetur ecclesia, et semel extrinsecus propter unum: et non iteratum baptisma quod gerit exterius ecclesia': *De antiquis ecclesiae ritibus libri*, ed. by Edmond Martène, 2nd edn, 4 vols (Antwerp: Johannes Baptistae de la Bry, 1736), II, Bk I, cap. viii, art. xi, ordo iii; Helen Gittos, 'Introduction', in *The Liturgy of the Late Anglo-Saxon Church*, ed. by Helen Gittos and M. Bradford Bedingfield, HBS, Subsidia, 5 (London: Boydell, 2005), pp. 1–12 (p. 6).

<sup>43</sup> N. R. Ker, 'Three Old English Texts in a Salisbury Pontifical, Cotton Tiberius C.I', in *The Anglo-Saxons: Studies in Some Aspects of their History and Culture Presented to Bruce Dickins*, ed. by Peter Clemoes (London: Bowes and Bowes, 1959), pp. 262–79. Other additions in Latin include texts for making and consecrating the chrism, prayers to the holy cross on Good Friday, on the seven grades of (clerical) office, various benedictions, and a decree confirming the election and examination of a bishop.

<sup>44</sup> 'Ab hac hora in antea promitto me servaturum castitatem deo in presentia domni hugonis archiepiscopi secundum mei sensus possibilitatem et si forte suadente diabolo in aliquam mulierem lapsus fuero non me intromittam de ordinibus sacris nisi cum consilio et iussione archiepiscopi bisunticensis.' Montpellier, Bibliothèque de la Faculté de Médecine, MS 303, fol. 173<sup>v</sup>; de Vregille, *Hugues de Salins*, p. 311, n. 87.

<sup>45</sup> Dumville, *Liturgy*, pp. 123–26.

manumissions from the late eleventh century.<sup>46</sup> The Dunstan Pontifical includes the records of a synod and seeming form letters announcing the death of a monk and letters of penance.<sup>47</sup> The early tenth-century Sens Pontifical includes written in the margins and on blank parts of folios throughout the manuscript in various tenth- and eleventh-century hands the texts of oaths of fidelity of twenty-seven suffragan bishops of the province of Sens.<sup>48</sup> The rationale for the inclusion at the beginning of Claudius Pontifical I, the pontifical with additions in Archbishop Wulfstan's handwriting, of a text, in both Latin and Old English, of the lawcode known as *VI Æthelred* is less clear.<sup>49</sup> As Patrick Wormald suggested, its presence may be more about demonstrating respect for the law by including it in a holy book rather than testimony of an educative or bibliographic purpose.<sup>50</sup>

Turning to the fourth observation, that pontificals often function as both personal and 'institutional' storehouses of memory, it has been widely recognized that particular pontificals were made for particular bishops.<sup>51</sup> Both the rite for the consecration of a bishop and the litany in an eleventh-century pontifical from the diocese of Verden mention Bishop Bruno by name, for example.<sup>52</sup> The Lanalet

<sup>46</sup> Fol. 1<sup>r-v</sup>; Frances Rose-Troup, 'Exeter Manumissions and Quittances of the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries', *Transactions of the Devonshire Association*, 69 (1937), 417–45.

<sup>47</sup> BnF, MS lat. 943, fols 163<sup>v</sup> and 170<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>48</sup> Rasmussen, *Pontificaux*, pp. 92–94, esp. n. 23. The list is edited by G. Waitz, 'Obediencerklärungen Burgundischer und Französischer Bischöfe', *Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde*, 3 (1878), 195–202. Sens had a tradition of recording notices of bishops' oaths in liturgical books, including a Saint-Amand sacramentary, a fragment of a tenth-century sacramentary, and a twelfth-century pontifical: Rasmussen, *Pontificaux*, p. 92, n. 17. A record of episcopal consecrations and abbatial benedictions was similarly kept in an early eleventh-century copy of the *Ordines Romani* from Besançon: BL, MS Additional 15222.

<sup>49</sup> Ker, *Catalogue*, pp. 177–78; N. R. Ker, 'The Handwriting of Archbishop Wulfstan', in *England Before the Conquest: Studies in Primary Sources Presented to Dorothy Whitelock*, ed. by Peter Clemoes and Kathleen Hughes (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971), pp. 315–31.

<sup>50</sup> Patrick Wormald argues that the pontifical was not in use by the time the lawcode was added: Wormald, *MEL*, pp. 190–95 (p. 190).

<sup>51</sup> See also Éric Palazzo, 'Arts somptuaires et liturgie: le testament de l'évêque d'Elne, Riculf (915)', in *Retour aux sources: textes, études et documents d'histoire médiévale offerts à Michel Parisse*, ed. by Sylvain Gouguenheim and others (Paris: Picard, 2004), pp. 711–17, for the argument that Continental early medieval bishops' gifts of liturgical vessels, vestments, and books to their sees helped provide a focus for memory and therefore identity.

<sup>52</sup> Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, MS Lit. 59, fol. 47<sup>v</sup> (episcopal consecration); see also the litany on fol. 99<sup>v</sup>.

Pontifical includes the addition, in Old English, that 'Bishop Lyfinc owns this book'. This was most probably Leofric's predecessor, Bishop Lyfing of Crediton and Cornwall, and later Worcester (1027–46), although Lyfing, the early tenth-century Bishop of Wells (998/99–1013), has also been suggested; clearly whichever bishop it was, the book was viewed as a personal object.<sup>53</sup> There is nothing about ownership as clear cut amongst the other English pontificals (except for the Leofric Missal), although other related types of books, such as the benedictional made for Bishop Æthelwold, are witness to such personal ownership.<sup>54</sup>

Yet the personal nature of such books had later resonances for the cathedral communities which preserved them. Perhaps the best example of a personal pontifical is that commissioned by Bishop Gundekar of Eichstätt (1057–75) in the last years of his pontificate *c.* 1072–75.<sup>55</sup> This includes the remarkable autobiographical text in which Gundekar records the circumstances in which as a court chaplain to the empress Agnes, mother and regent for Henry IV, he was designated bishop in the imperial palace at Tribur on 20 August 1057, invested at Speyer on 5 October, and enthroned at Eichstätt on 17 October.<sup>56</sup> This text has a link to the pontifical's liturgical contents: for this pontifical included, as many did, a 'Mass for the bishop on the anniversary of his ordination' and two Masses to be said by the

<sup>53</sup> *Pontificale Lanaletense (Bibliothèque de la ville de Rouen A.27, Cat. 368): A Pontifical Formerly in Use at St Germans, Cornwall*, ed. by G. H. Doble, HBS, 74 (London: HBS, 1936), p. 143. On dating and for attribution to Crediton, see *Sacramentary of Ratoldus*, ed. by Orchard, p. ciii; Dumville, *Liturgy*, argues for Wells, pp. 86–87. For hints that Lyfing of Crediton should be viewed as a reformer, see Frank Barlow, 'Lyfing, Abbot of Tavistock and Bishop of Worcester', in *ODNB*.

<sup>54</sup> *The Benedictional of St Æthelwold: A Masterpiece of Anglo-Saxon Art. A Facsimile*, intro. by Andrew Prescott (London: British Library, 2002), fols 4<sup>v</sup>–5<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>55</sup> *Das 'Pontifikale Gundekarianum': Faksimile-Ausgabe des Codex B.4 im Diözesanarchiv Eichstätt*, ed. by Andreas Bauch and Ernst Reiter, 2 vols (Wiesbaden: Ludwig Reichert Verlag, 1987). Folio references in the following notes are all to this facsimile. On its liturgical contents, see Walter Dürig, 'Die liturgischen Texte des Pontifikale Gundekarianum', in *Das 'Pontifikale Gundekarianum'*, ed. by Bauch and Reiter, II, 88–103, and Andrieu, *Ordines Romani*, I, 117–34. See also the descriptions in *Das Reich der Salier 1024–1125: Katalog zur Ausstellung des Landes Rheinland-Pfalz veranstaltet vom Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseum Mainz, Forschungsinstitut für Vor- und Frühgeschichte, in Verbindung mit dem Bischöflichen Dom- und Diözesanmuseum Mainz* (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1992), p. 456; *Canossa 1077: Erschütterung der Welt. Geschichte, Kunst und Kultur am Aufgang der Romanik*, vol. II: *Katalog*, ed. by Christoph Stiegemann and Matthias Wemhoff (Munich: Hirver, 2006), pp. 47–49.

<sup>56</sup> Fol. 56<sup>v</sup>. See also the short autobiography on fol. 13<sup>r</sup>.

priest in the bishop's absence.<sup>57</sup> All three Mass texts can be found as far back as the eighth-century Gelasian sacramentaries, but circulated widely in the Romano-German Pontifical.<sup>58</sup> A similar Mass to be said for the bishop was added to the Leofric Missal at Exeter under Leofric, possibly in Leofric's own writing,<sup>59</sup> and another to be said by the Bishop of Exeter on (the anniversary of) his ordination, possibly composed by Leofric himself.<sup>60</sup> Such Masses mark the fact that such books were personal to their owners but also act as hooks for their own and their clergy's memories of important events in the see's history. The calendar in the Gundekar codex records in the main hand the obits of the Bishop's father, mother, and sister and the investiture and ordination of the Bishop himself; a later hand added Gundekar's own obit.<sup>61</sup> But Gundekar also commissioned a set of portraits of all the bishops of his see to date, beginning with its founder, the Anglo-Saxon missionary Willibald, and culminating with a portrait of himself (Figure 37).<sup>62</sup> These portraits, together with prayers in which Gundekar petitioned prayers for both himself and his predecessors, and the inclusion of a list of previous bishops, thus linked Gundekar to the institutional history of his church.<sup>63</sup> The pontifical also included a record of all the altars and churches Gundekar had consecrated during his pontificate, spreading out from his cathedral church to encompass the wider diocesan

<sup>57</sup> Fols 113<sup>v</sup>–114<sup>v</sup>: 'Missa episcopo pro se in die ordinationis suae anniversario', 'In natalicio episcopo si infirmus aut absens fuerit, qualiter presbiter missas celebrare debeat pro eo', 'Item alia missa in natalicio episcopi'.

<sup>58</sup> *Pontifical romano-germanique*, ed. by Vogel and Elze, I, 242–44 (nos LXVIII, LXIX, LXX, and LXVIII).

<sup>59</sup> 'Missa pro episcopo', *Leofric Missal*, ed. by Orchard, II, 31–33 (nos 155–64); the script is by scribe 1 whom Eleanor Drage suggested was Leofric himself: 'Bishop Leofric and the Exeter Cathedral Chapter (1052–72): A Reassessment of the Manuscript Evidence' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Oxford, 1978), pp. 149–50.

<sup>60</sup> 'Missa propria pontificis in ordinatione ipsius', *Leofric Missal*, ed. by Orchard, II, 506–08 (nos 2889–98); on authorship, see *ibid.*, I, 219. This text was written by an Exeter scribe, *ibid.*, I, 211; Drage's attribution has been corrected here by Lapidge, 'Ealdred of York', p. 23.

<sup>61</sup> Fols 114<sup>r</sup> (mother, Irmingart's obit), 114<sup>v</sup> (Gundekar's obit), 115<sup>v</sup> ('Gundekar episcopus virgam suscepit' and obit of father, Reginher), 116<sup>r</sup> (sister, Touta's obit), 116<sup>v</sup> (Gundekar's ordination).

<sup>62</sup> Fols 16<sup>r</sup>–18<sup>r</sup>. On these depictions, see Johann Konrad Eberlein, 'Die bildliche Ausstattung des "Pontifikale Gundekarianum"', in *Das 'Pontifikale Gundekarianum'*, ed. by Bauch and Reiter, II, 39–87 (pp. 58–61). The portraits also, of course, suggest that the codex was intended for display to a wider audience than the ministering clergy.

<sup>63</sup> Fols 14<sup>v</sup>–15<sup>r</sup> and 56<sup>r-v</sup>.



Figure 37. Depiction of Gundekar with his predecessors. Eichstatt, Diözesanarchiv, MS B.4 (Pontificale Gundekarianum), fol. 18<sup>r</sup>. Reproduced with permission.

community.<sup>64</sup> A century after Gundekar's death this pontifical metamorphosed into a vehicle for recording the history of the diocese: from the end of the twelfth century the portraits of his successors, many with *vitae*, were added, concluding with the sixteenth-century bishop Gabriel von Eyb (1496–1535).<sup>65</sup>

Gundekar's pontifical helps explain the additions made to both the Dunstan Pontifical and the Leofric Missal. The Dunstan Pontifical is attributed to Archbishop Dunstan because of the inclusion, in the original hand of the principal scribe of the text, of a letter from Pope John XII to Dunstan granting him the pallium as Archbishop of Canterbury in 960.<sup>66</sup> Later in the century it was at Sherborne, however, for other hands added a letter from the Archbishop of Canterbury to Bishop Wulfsize of Sherborne (993–1001),<sup>67</sup> two formulae letters on penance,<sup>68</sup> a letter by Bishop Æthelric of Sherborne (1002–09),<sup>69</sup> a list of the bishops of Sherborne up to Ethelric, bishop in 1001,<sup>70</sup> as well as various benedictions,<sup>71</sup> a record of the religious practices agreed by a synod of bishops to be undertaken on notification of the death of a fellow bishop, part of a Mass for the dead, and a letter announcing the death of a monk,<sup>72</sup> and two sermons in Old English on the dedication of a church.<sup>73</sup> The benedictions and, perhaps, the sermons in Old English look very much like pragmatic additions, along the lines of the excommunication formula added a century later when the manuscript had moved to Normandy:<sup>74</sup> the sort of text used on a one-off occasion and added for the record to such a manuscript. The letter from Pope John XII to Dunstan granting him the pallium was added in the hand of the scribe who wrote the main part of the manuscript: it was as personal

<sup>64</sup> Fols 57<sup>v</sup>–60<sup>r</sup>. The list was later extended to include those of Bishop Otto. Brun Appel, 'Die Altar-und Kirchen weihen der Bischöfe Gundekar und Otto', in *Das Pontifikale Gundekarianum*, ed. by Bauch and Reiter, II, 148–74.

<sup>65</sup> Fols 18<sup>v</sup>–44<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>66</sup> BnF, MS lat. 943, fols 7<sup>v</sup>–8<sup>v</sup>; *Councils and Synods*, I, 90–92.

<sup>67</sup> BnF, MS lat. 943, fols 2<sup>v</sup>–3<sup>v</sup>; *Councils and Synods*, I, 228–29.

<sup>68</sup> BnF, MS lat. 943, fols 170<sup>r</sup>–173<sup>v</sup>; partially edited in *Councils and Synods*, I, 231.

<sup>69</sup> BnF, MS lat. 943, fol. 170<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>70</sup> BnF, MS lat. 943, fol. 1<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>71</sup> BnF, MS lat. 943, fols 3<sup>r</sup>–4<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>72</sup> BnF, MS lat. 943, fols 163<sup>v</sup> and 170<sup>r</sup>; record of synod edited in *Councils and Synods*, I, 403–06.

<sup>73</sup> BnF, MS lat. 943, fols 156<sup>r</sup>–160<sup>r</sup> and 164<sup>r</sup>–169<sup>v</sup>; Ker, *Catalogue*, pp. 437–39.

<sup>74</sup> BnF, MS lat. 943, fol. 1<sup>v</sup>.



a text as Gundekar's account of his election and consecration. Once the pontifical had passed to Sherborne, however, it soon became a book associated with the see, rather than an individual, as the list of bishops of Sherborne testifies.

In mid-eleventh-century Exeter, amongst the various additions made to the Leofric Missal by scribes working in the Exeter scriptorium under Leofric, are a series of texts which, as Patrick Conner recognized, amount to a narrative history of the see and Leofric's pontificate.<sup>75</sup> Two scribes writing on the blank folios of a quire already added to the codex in Leofric's scriptorium recorded a series of texts beginning with a letter supposedly sent by Pope Formosus to Edward the Elder on the division of the see of Sherborne in 909, a text which gave legitimacy to Crediton's lordship over estates in Cornwall, and an account of Leofric's appointment to the see, by one scribe.<sup>76</sup> A second scribe added an account of Leofric's request to Pope Leo IX to write to King Edward asking that the see be moved to Exeter, the text of the letter of Pope Leo IX, an account of how King Edward gave the monasterium of St Mary and St Peter in Exeter to Leofric and how he was installed as bishop there by the king and queen, a text praising Leofric's work in Exeter, especially his restoration of the see's lands, and an obit note (Figure 38) of Leofric's death and burial and a request for the reader's prayers.<sup>77</sup> Leofric took over an existing codex, rather than commissioning one to be copied, as Gundekar did, but had revisions made to it; it was thus a personal book for the Bishop and, after his gift of the book to the cathedral, became a book belonging to the institution.

Pontificals were not merely pragmatic texts: they had multiple uses, a reflection of their different users. Their contents reflected the interests and identities of both bishops and their cathedral communities. It is important therefore to see them not just as practical guides, nor as solely didactic texts, but also as repositories for institutional memories: they display episcopal authority, but they also embody episcopal memory. Nor were they merely bishop's books: they often passed to and were used by the clergy. Stephanie Coué has demonstrated how clerical communities of German cathedrals commissioned and wrote episcopal *vitae* of previous bishops in order to negotiate with incoming bishops about the practices and

<sup>75</sup> Patrick W. Conner, *Anglo-Saxon Exeter: A Tenth-Century Cultural History*, Studies in Anglo-Saxon History, 4 (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1993), pp. 215–20 (commentary), pp. 221–25 (edition); the texts have also been edited in *Leofric Missal*, ed. by Orchard, II, 2–6.

<sup>76</sup> This account circulated more widely: Brooks, *Early History*, pp. 211–12.

<sup>77</sup> Oxford, Bodleian, MS Bodley 579, fols 2<sup>r</sup>–3<sup>v</sup>, written by Drage's scribe 9 and 10 who worked extensively in the Exeter scriptorium.

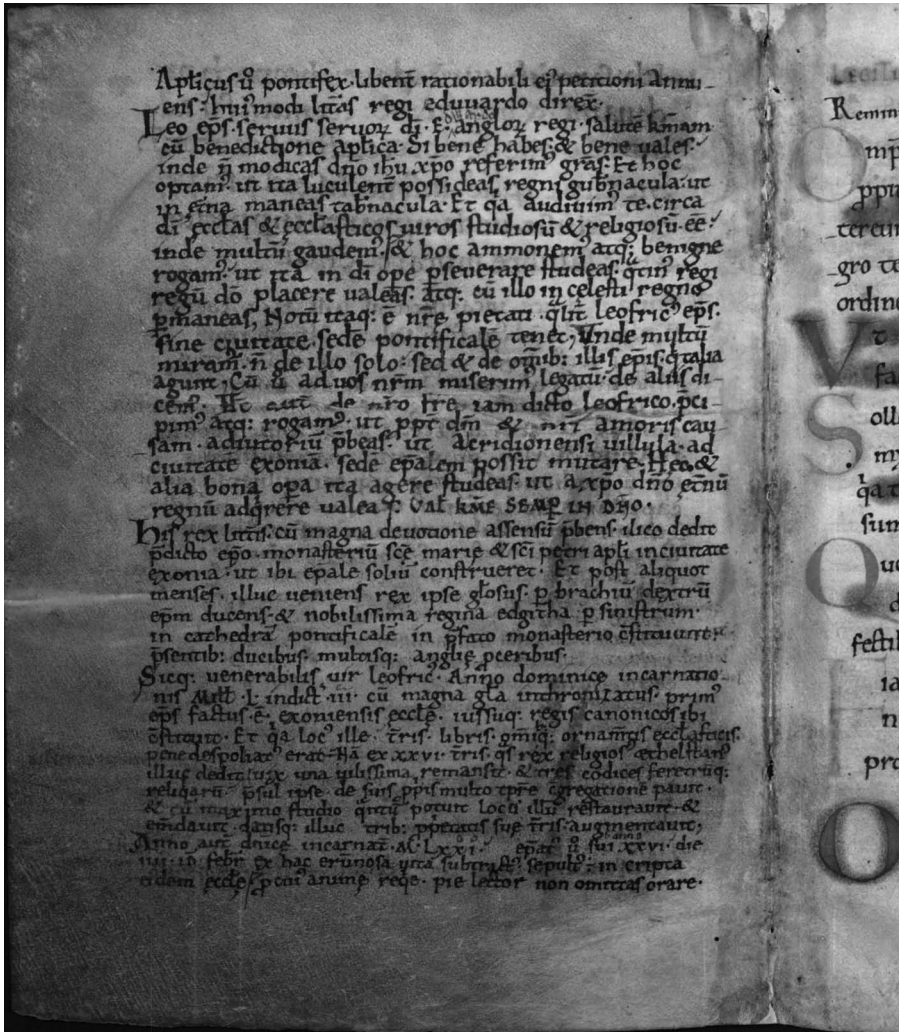


Figure 38. The Leofric Missal's record of Leofric's obit. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 579, fol. 3<sup>v</sup>. Reproduced with permission.

identity of their see;<sup>78</sup> cathedral-owned pontificals perhaps fulfilled a similar function but that is a matter for a different paper.

University of Exeter

<sup>78</sup> Stephanie Coué, *Hagiographie im Kontext: Schreibenanlass und Funktion von Bischofsviten aus dem 11 und vom Anfang des 12. Jahrhunderts*, Arbeiten zur Frühmittelalterforschung, 24 (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1997).

## THE DIVINE OFFICE AND THE SECULAR CLERGY IN LATER ANGLO-SAXON ENGLAND

Jesse D. Billett

The Divine Office is the round of liturgical services of psalmody, readings, and prayer, separate from the Mass, that punctuates daily life in religious communities. In the medieval liturgy, performance of the Divine Office was one of the traits distinguishing secular clerics from monks (and nuns). Whereas a priest would celebrate Mass in the same way whether or not he was a monk, seculars and monastics recited distinctive forms, or *cursus*, of the Office. The two forms are historically related and therefore very similar.<sup>1</sup> Both derive from the unwritten customs of the monasteries serving the great Roman basilicas. The basic shape of what became the medieval monastic *cursus* is accessible in the sixth-

A version of this paper was read at a one-day symposium, 'The Anglo-Saxon Church in the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries', organized by Prof. Joyce Hill at the Leeds Humanities Research Institute (10 January 2008). I am grateful to Prof. Richard Gameson for suggesting it as an appropriate contribution to the present volume, and to the editors for accepting it. Susan Rankin, Joyce Hill, Julia Barrow, and Rosamond McKitterick all read earlier drafts of this paper, and their generous comments and corrections have greatly improved it. My thanks go also to Gill Cannell and the staff of the Parker Library at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, for their assistance.

<sup>1</sup> The most immediately obvious difference between the two Offices is in the number of lessons read during the Night Office on Sundays and major feast days: the monastic *cursus* has twelve lessons, the secular only nine. A number of guides to the two medieval forms of the Office are available, of varying quality and accuracy. Among the best is John Harper, *The Forms and Orders of Western Liturgy from the Tenth to the Eighteenth Century: A Historical Introduction and Guide for Students and Musicians* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), pp. 73–108.

century Rule of St Benedict.<sup>2</sup> No such foundational document exists for the secular *cursus*: we must wait until the ninth century before we find a full written guide.<sup>3</sup> It is often assumed that monks from the sixth century onwards performed the Benedictine Office: in fact, as students of Continental monastic liturgy now agree, a rigid distinction between secular and monastic forms of the Office was not widely recognized until the era of Carolingian reform, and as shall be argued in the course of this paper, the Benedictine Office was not used by English monks before the second half of the tenth century. This has important implications for the history of the Office as it was performed by the secular clergy in England.

So far as the question of the Office and the Anglo-Saxon secular clergy has been considered at all, it has been framed with reference to a perceived programme by Benedictine reformers to restore a full round of Office liturgy to England's secular

<sup>2</sup> *Regula S. Benedicti*, cc. 8–18, ed. and trans. in *RB 1980: The Rule of St. Benedict in Latin and English with Notes*, ed. by Timothy Fry and others (Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 1981) (English translation of *Regula S. Benedicti*, using Neufville's text; see next note), pp. 202–15. An excellent summary of the Rule's liturgical prescriptions is given in *The Monastic Breviary of Hyde Abbey, Winchester: MSS. Rawlinson Liturg. e. 1\**, and *Gough Liturg. 8*, in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, ed. by J. B. L. Tolhurst, 6 vols, HBS, 69, 70, 71, 76, 78, 80 (London: HBS, 1932–42), vi: *Introduction to the English Monastic Breviaries* (1942; repr. 1993), pp. 7–18.

<sup>3</sup> On the early history of the Roman Office, see *La Règle de Saint Benoît*, ed. and French trans. by Adalbert de Vogüé, Latin text ed. by Jean Neufville, 7 vols, *Sources chrétiennes*, 181–86, vol. VII *extra seriem* (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1971–77), I, 181–86, and V, 383–616. De Vogüé's synthesis and extension of previous scholarship informs the more succinct account in Paul F. Bradshaw, *Daily Prayer in the Early Church: A Study of the Origin and Development of the Divine Office*, Alcuin Club Collections, 63 (London: SPCK, 1981), pp. 124–49. The character of the early Roman monasticism in which the Roman Office developed is described in Guy Ferrari, *Early Roman Monasteries: Notes for the History of the Monasteries and Convents at Rome from the V through the X Century*, *Studi di antichità cristiana*, 23 (Vatican City: Pontificio Istituto di Archeologica Cristiana, 1957), pp. 379–407. The earliest full descriptions of what became the 'secular Office' are found in the writings of Amalarius of Metz (d. c. 853): *Amalarii episcopi opera liturgica omnia*, ed. by Ioannes Michael Hanssens, 3 vols, *Studi e testi*, 138–40 (Vatican City: BAV, 1948–50); see his *Liber officialis*, IV, 1–17 (*ibid.*, II, 403–65), and *Liber de ordine antiphonarii*, cc. 1–7 (*ibid.*, III, 18–37). Hanssens provides convenient tables summarizing the information about the form of the Office that can be extracted from Amalarius's allegorical expositions (III, 110–224). A useful summary of the shape of the secular Office in the Carolingian period is given in Pierre Salmon, *L'Office divin au Moyen Âge: histoire de la formation du bréviaire du IX<sup>e</sup> au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle*, *Lex orandi*, 43 (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1967), pp. 32–43. The secular Office as it was recited in the later Middle Ages was described by William Durandus of Mende (c. 1230–96), *Rationale divinum officiorum*, V, ed. by A. Davril and T. M. Thibodeau, 3 vols, CCCM, 140, 140A–B (Turnhout: Brepols, 1995–2000), II, 9–119.

churches after the trauma of the ninth century.<sup>4</sup> This view is most fully expressed in the classic history of English monasticism by David Knowles:

From the first the leaders of the revival, in full agreement with the monastic tradition of recent centuries, had set the solemn performance of the liturgy in the forefront of their design. One of the chief motives for the expulsion of the secular clerks from the Old and New Minsters [in Winchester in 964] was that the offices might be more worthily accomplished.<sup>5</sup>

The present paper offers a critical assessment of this theory, proposing that the Benedictine reformers themselves had direct experience of a lively and robust tradition of the secular Office liturgy whose character, though now largely obscure, can still be appreciated through indirect witnesses.

### *The Benedictine Reform and the Secular Office*

Reformed Benedictine concern to ensure high standards of Office liturgy among the secular clergy is apparent in the pastoral letters of Ælfric of Eynsham,<sup>6</sup> especially in his first pastoral letter for Archbishop Wulfstan (of York, 1002–23, with Worcester, 1002–16), which attributes the establishment of the secular *cursus* to the Council of Nicaea:

<sup>4</sup> It is often forgotten that the Divine Office was not the sole preserve of monks and nuns. In the early Middle Ages, with relatively few of the secular clergy ordained to the priesthood, the main responsibility of the more numerous clerics in lower orders, who could not preside at the Mass, was to perform the Office. See Julia Barrow, 'Grades of Ordination and Clerical Careers, c. 900–c. 1200', in *Anglo-Norman Studies 30: Proceedings of the Battle Conference 2007*, ed. by Chris Matthews (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2008), pp. 41–61 (p. 46).

<sup>5</sup> David Knowles, *The Monastic Order in England: A History of its Development from the Times of St Dunstan to the Fourth Lateran Council, 940–1216*, 2nd edn (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1963), p. 60.

<sup>6</sup> *Die Hirtenbriefe Ælfrics in altenglischer und lateinischer Fassung*, ed. by Bernhard Fehr, Bibliothek der angelsächsischen Prosa, 9 (Hamburg: Henri Grand, 1914); repr. with a Supplement to the Introduction by Peter Clemoes (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1966). In Fehr's system, the three Old English letters are designated by Roman numerals (I = Wulfsgie; II = Wulfstan 1st Old English; III = Wulfstan 2nd Old English), and the two Latin letters by Arabic numerals (2 = Wulfstan 1st Latin; 3 = Wulfstan 2nd Latin). Reference is made to Fehr's section numbers and page numbers. Translations by Dorothy Whitelock of *Brief I* and *Brief II* are given in *Councils and Synods*, I, 191–226 (Wulfsgie) and 255–302 (Wulfstan 1st Latin).

They [the Council Fathers] appointed seven canonical hours for us to sing daily in praise of our Lord, just as the prophet David said in his prophecy: 'Seven times, Lord, I have given praise to you in one day, for the righteousness of your judgements.' The first canonical hour is the Night Office with Lauds, then Prime, Terce, Sext, None, Vespers, Compline. You must sing these canonical hours with much care, daily in church, in praise of our Lord, and likewise celebrate Mass.<sup>7</sup>

Ælfric's letter for Wulfsgie III of Sherborne (993x95) refers to the existence of a 'rule' for the secular clergy in which, if they would only read it, clerks would see that they were obliged to recite the Office, just as monks were.<sup>8</sup> There are a number of texts with which this 'rule' might be identified. The most attractive possibility, first suggested by Dorothy Whitelock, is a capitulary of 'laws that priests ought to keep' issued by Charlemagne at Aachen in 802, but which in England in the tenth century was interpolated after the prologue of the penitential attributed to Ecgbert of York (d. 766), with the prologue and capitulary sometimes circulating separately as if they were a single text.<sup>9</sup> A portion of this capitulary

<sup>7</sup> Ælfric, *Brief II*, 69–74 (Fehr, pp. 98–100, *MS O*): 'Seofan tidsangas hi gesettan us to singanne dæghwamlíce urum drihtne to lofe. Swa swa se witega Dauid on his witegunge cwæð: Seofan syþan, drihten, ic sæde þe lóf on anum dæge for þinra doma rihtwisnyssa. Se forma tydsang is: Uhtsang mid þam æfter-sange, þonne prim-sang and Undern-sang, Middægsang, Nonsang, Æfensang, Nihtsang. Pas seofon tidsangas ge sceolon syngan mid mycelre gymenne eowrum drihtene to lofe, dæghwamlíce on cyricean. And eac swylce mæssian.' Translation modified slightly from *Councils and Synods*, I, 276–77.

<sup>8</sup> Ælfric, *Brief I*, 102 (Fehr, p. 23; trans. *Councils and Synods*, I, 216–17).

<sup>9</sup> See Whitelock's comments in *Councils and Synods*, I, 195; and also C. E. Hohler, 'Some Service Books of the Later Saxon Church', in *Tenth-Century Studies: Essays in Commemoration of the Millennium of the Council of Winchester and 'Regularis Concordia'*, ed. by David Parsons (London: Phillimore, 1975), pp. 60–83, notes pp. 217–27 (pp. 72 and 223, n. 47). One of the English manuscripts transmitting the Aachen capitulary as a work of Ecgbert, the 'Dunstan Pontifical', BnF, MS lat. 943 (Christ Church, Canterbury, s. x<sup>2</sup>), may in fact have been given to Wulfsgie on his accession to Sherborne, where it certainly resided in the first years of the eleventh century. See David N. Dumville, *Liturgy and the Ecclesiastical History of Late Anglo-Saxon England: Four Studies*, Studies in Anglo-Saxon History, 5 (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1992), pp. 85–86; and Simon Keynes, 'Wulfsgie, Monk of Glastonbury, Abbot of Westminster (c. 990–93), and Bishop of Sherborne (c. 993–1002)', in *St Wulfsgie and Sherborne: Essays to Celebrate the Millennium of the Benedictine Abbey 998–1998*, ed. by Katherine Barker, David A. Hinton, and Alan Hunt, Bournemouth University School of Conservation Sciences Occasional Papers, 8 (Oxford: Oxbow, 2005), pp. 53–94 (pp. 62–63). The only edition of the prologue and capitulary as a unitary text in an English manuscript is in *Pontificale Lanaletense (Bibliothèque de la ville de Rouen A. 27. CAT. 368): A Pontifical formerly in use at St. German's, Cornwall*, ed. by G. H. Doble, HBS, 74 (London: HBS, 1937), pp. 125–28, where the capitulary portion begins 'Haec sunt iura quæ sacerdotes

relating to the Office is quoted by Wulfstan in his so-called Canons of Edgar (1005x08):

And it is right that the hours [of the Divine Office] be rung at the right time, and every cleric is then to go to his service in the church and there with the fear of God they are to pray eagerly and intercede for all people.<sup>10</sup>

Both the letter for Wulfsgie and the first for Wulfstan give lists of 'weapons' with which the priest may complete this 'spiritual work'. These include books for the Divine Office: a psalter, a *sangboc* containing chants for the Office, and a *rædingboc* containing the lessons read during the Night Office.<sup>11</sup>

debent habere' (p. 127). (The title in the Continental manuscripts of the capitulary is 'Haec sunt capitula ex divinarum scripturarum scriptis, quae electi sacerdotes custodienda atque adimplenda censuerunt' (*Capitula a sacerdotibus proposita* (Aachen, 802), ed. by Alfredus Boretius, MGH, Capit. reg., 1 (Hannover: Hahn, 1883), p. 106).) If this text was the primary source for Ælfric's views on the secular Office, the prologue's promise to draw on the 'canons of the holy fathers' (*canones sanctorum patrum*, see *Pontificale Lanaletense*, ed. by Doble, p. 127) could explain why Ælfric thought the Divine Office had been devised by the Fathers of the early ecumenical councils.

<sup>10</sup> Wulfstan, 'Canons of Edgar', sec. 45, ed. and trans. in *Councils and Synods*, I, 313–38 (p. 329): 'ȝ riht is þæt man on rihtne timan tida hrince, ȝ preosta gehwylc þonne his tidsang on cyrcan gesece, ȝ ðær mid Godes ege hi georne gebiddan ȝ for eall folc þingian.' (Translation modified slightly.) Compare the text in the *Pontificale Lanaletense*, ed. by Doble, p. 127: 'Ut omnes sacerdotes horis competentibus dieiac [*sic*] noctis suarum sonent ecclesiarum signa et sacra tunc deo celebrent officia . et populos erudiant quomodo aut quibus deus adorandus est horis .' This is identical to the 802 Aachen *Capitula a sacerdotibus proposita*, c. 8, ed. by Boretius, p. 106 (no. 36); and also the *Capitula Vesulensia* (c. 800), c. 1, ed. by Rudolf Pokorný, MGH, Capit. episc., 3 (Hannover: Hahn, 1995), pp. 346–53 (p. 346).

<sup>11</sup> Ælfric, *Brief I*, 52 (Fehr, p. 13; trans. *Councils and Synods*, I, 206–07); cf. *Brief II*, 137 (Fehr, p. 51) and *Brief II*, 157 (Fehr, pp. 126–27). *Sangbec* (plural in some versions) appears to be the Old English equivalent of *nocturnale* and *gradale* referred to in *Brief II*, by which should probably be understood books containing the chants for both the Mass and the day- and nighttime offices; see Helmut Gneuss, 'Liturgical Books in Anglo-Saxon England and their Old English Terminology', in *LLASE*, pp. 91–141 (pp. 102–04, 116–18); on the meaning of *gradale*, embracing the chants of the daytime hours and of the Mass, see Helmut Hucke, 'Graduale', *Ephemerides liturgicae*, 69 (1955), 262–64. *Rædingboc* corresponds to *librum cum lectionibus ad nocturnas* in the same place in *Brief II*. This is probably a book of the sermons and homilies to be read in the Night Office (Gneuss, 'Liturgical Books', pp. 120–21). A similar list of 'weapons' (*arma*) is found in the penitential attributed to Ecgerht of York (d. 766), *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents Relating to Great Britain and Ireland*, ed. by Arthur West Haddan and William Stubbs, 3 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1869–78), III, 417; also printed by Fehr, notes to p. 51. The penitential as we have it has usually been judged to be a Frankish composition, or perhaps a Frankish elaboration (including this list of books) of an English original; see Allen J. Frantzen, 'The Penitentials Attributed to Bede',

That Wulfstan himself was a monk is not certain. But a number of texts linked with his circle, including those in his 'commonplace book', are concerned with the adaptation of monastic liturgical and exegetical texts, like the *Regularis concordia*, for use by the secular clergy.<sup>12</sup> One of the texts associated with Wulfstan in this respect is known as the 'Old English Benedictine Office', Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Junius 121 (Worcester, s. xi<sup>3/4</sup>). This is not a liturgical text in itself, but rather a vernacular exposition of the invariable parts of the daytime offices.<sup>13</sup>

*Speculum*, 58 (1983), 573–97 (pp. 584–85). Nevertheless, some evidence for an eighth-century English origin is offered by Donald A. Bullough, *Alcuin: Achievement and Reputation* (Leiden: Brill, 2004), pp. 234–36, who notes that the earliest manuscripts of the penitential are at least contemporary with, and perhaps earlier than, the (previously misidentified) Continental sources on which it supposedly draws. Even if the penitential is an eighth-century English composition, Ælfric may still have learned his list of 'weapons' from a later Frankish text. There are no early manuscripts of the penitential that are certainly English, though Bernhard Bischoff was willing to countenance an English origin for the copy in BAV, MS Pal. lat. 554 (s. viii/ix): see Reinhold Haggenmüller, *Die Überlieferung der Beda und Egbert zugeschrieben Bußbücher*, Europäische Hochschulschriften, ser. 3, 461 (Frankfurt a. M.: Lang, 1991), pp. 108, 150; and Bullough, *Alcuin*, p. 235, n. 322. It is perhaps most probable that Ælfric encountered it in the version of Egbert's prologue found joined with the 802 Aachen capitulary, as in the *Pontificale Lanaletense*, ed. by Doble, p. 126: 'qui uoluerit sacerdotalem auctoritatem accipere in primis propter deum cogitet et preparet arma eius antequam manus episcopi tangat caput . Id est psalterium . lectionarium . antiphonarium . missale . baptisterium . martyrologium [*sic*] In anni circulum ad predicationem cum bonis operibus et compotum cum cyclo . hoc est ius sacerdotum . postea autem penitentialem.' Whether all priests would have access to the books listed by Ælfric is a separate question: Jonathan Wilcox, 'Ælfric in Dorset and the Landscape of Pastoral Care', in *Pastoral Care in Late Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. by Francesca Tinti, Anglo-Saxon Studies, 6 (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2005), pp. 52–62 (pp. 56–60). Sceptics, however, seldom offer an explanation of how the liturgy could have been performed without access to such books.

<sup>12</sup> Christopher A. Jones, 'The Book of the Liturgy in Anglo-Saxon England', *Speculum*, 73 (1998), 659–702 (p. 681); and C. A. Jones, 'Wulfstan's Liturgical Interests', in *Wulfstan, Archbishop of York*, ed. by Townend, pp. 325–52 (pp. 347–48). On the question of Wulfstan's state, see Dorothy Whitelock, 'Archbishop Wulfstan: Homilist and Statesman', *TRHS*, 4th ser., 24 (1942), 25–45 (p. 39); Joyce Hill, 'Monastic Reform and the Secular Church: Ælfric's Pastoral Letters in Context', in *England in the Eleventh Century: Proceedings of the 1990 Harlaxton Symposium*, ed. by Carola Hicks, Harlaxton Medieval Studies, 2 (Stamford: Paul Watkins, 1992), pp. 103–17 (p. 105); Patrick Wormald, 'Archbishop Wulfstan: Eleventh-Century State-BUILDER', in *Wulfstan, Archbishop of York: Proceedings of the Second Alcuin Conference*, ed. by Matthew Townend, *Studies in the Early Middle Ages*, 10 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2004), pp. 9–27 (pp. 62–63); and in the same volume, Joyce Hill, 'Archbishop Wulfstan: Reformer?', pp. 309–24 (pp. 311–12).

<sup>13</sup> *The Benedictine Office: An Old English Text*, ed. by James M. Ure, Edinburgh University Publications, Language and Literature, 11 (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1957). See



The text is usually interpreted as a monastic composition for use in teaching the secular clergy how to recite the Office.<sup>14</sup> To the existing arguments supporting this view may be added the observation that the text's description of Vespers includes a *responsorium breue* chant after the *capitulum* and that its form of Compline omits the canticle *Nunc dimittis*: both of these traits suggest the monastic *cursus*.<sup>15</sup> Whatever the text's intended audience, its author was a Benedictine.

All this — Ælfric's pastoral letters, Wulfstan's 'Canons of Edgar', the 'Old English Benedictine Office' — tends to affirm the existence of a monastic programme to secure, or reform, the daily recitation of the whole of the Divine Office in secular churches. These legislative and didactic texts depend heavily on various ninth-century Frankish texts, as would be expected of the English Benedictines.<sup>16</sup> That all priests, even those not living in community, ought to recite the whole Office daily was a Frankish expectation.<sup>17</sup> Comparable texts are absent from English sources of the first half of the tenth century. For example, the 'Constitutions' of Archbishop Oda (942x46) make no mention of the Divine Office, even though they cite the Legatine Synods of 787, which had explicitly required the public recitation of the Office in all churches.<sup>18</sup>

Alicia Corrêa, 'Daily Office Books: Collectars and Breviaries', in *The Liturgical Books of Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. by Richard W. Pfaff, Old English Newsletter, Subsidia, 23 (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, 1995), pp. 45–60 (pp. 55–56).

<sup>14</sup> John William Houghton, 'The *Old English Benedictine Office* and its Audience', *American Benedictine Review*, 45 (1994), 431–45.

<sup>15</sup> *The Benedictine Office*, ed. by Ure, p. 99, lines 12–13, and p. 100 (where 'Nunc dimittis' would be expected after line 14).

<sup>16</sup> Patrick Wormald, 'Æthelwold and his Continental Counterparts: Contact, Comparison, Contrast', in *Bishop Æthelwold: His Career and Influence*, ed. by Barbara Yorke (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1988), pp. 13–42 (pp. 30–34).

<sup>17</sup> The classic exposition of the evolution of the universal clerical obligation to recite the Office is that of Pierre Salmon, *The Breviary Through the Centuries*, trans. by Sister David Mary (Collegeville: Liturgical Press, 1962), pp. 1–27 (pp. 6–11) (originally pub. in French as *L'Office divin: histoire de la formation du bréviaire*, Lex orandi, 27 (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1959)).

<sup>18</sup> Oda's 'Constitutions' are ed. in *Councils and Synods*, I, 67–74 (no. 20). Compare the canons of the Legatine Synods, c. 7, in *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents*, ed. by Haddan and Stubbs, III, 451: 'Ut omnes Ecclesiae publice canonicis horis cursum suum cum reverentia habeant.' Some legal texts do impose a burden of intercessory psalmody on priests, as in the requirement of *V Æthelstan* 3 (c. 927–37) that fifty psalms should be chanted for the benefit of king and people every Friday in all minsters, though this should not be confused with the Office itself (ed. in Liebermann, *Gesetze*, I, 158–59).

That this putative monastic reform of the secular Office was ever actually implemented cannot, however, be proved through the identification of monastic influences within secular Office books. Suitable sources from the time of Wulfstan and Ælfric are lacking. The only English specimen of an antiphoner (the book of Office chants) from before the middle of the eleventh century survives in small fragments dispersed through several Norwegian archives.<sup>19</sup> Nevertheless, a substantial secular Office chant book of a somewhat later period survives in the Exeter manuscript known as the 'Leofric Collectar', BL, MS Harley 2961 (Exeter, 1050x72).<sup>20</sup> It contains chants, prayers, and short readings for the daytime hours. W. H. Frere noted the appearance in the Leofric Collectar of 'newer and rarer musical pieces' also found in a contemporary Office book from the monastic priory of Worcester Cathedral, the 'Portiforium of St Wulfstan', CCCC, MS 391 (Worcester, c. 1065).<sup>21</sup> This led him to suspect that 'the two antiphonals that lie behind them' must have been related to each other.<sup>22</sup> The Wulfstan Portiforium seems to have been copied from Winchester exemplars, now lost.<sup>23</sup> Winchester, like Æthelwold's other houses, probably derived its chant tradition from Corbie, whence teachers had been sought to establish a unified practice at Abingdon.<sup>24</sup>

<sup>19</sup> See Lilli Gjerløw, *Antiphonarium Nidrosiensis ecclesiae*, Libri liturgici provinciae Nidrosiensis medii aevi, 3 (Oslo: Norsk historisk kjeldeskrift-institutt, Den Rettshistoriske kommisjon, 1979), pp. 21–23. Several later fragments held in Norway are noted in Helmut Gneuss, *Handlist of Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts: A List of Manuscripts and Manuscript Fragments Written or Owned in England up to 1100*, Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 241 (Tempe: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2001), nos 873, 873.5, 874. Other earlier specimens may come to light as these archives are better catalogued.

<sup>20</sup> *The Leofric Collectar* (Harl. ms. 2961), ed. by E. S. Dewick, 2 vols (vol. II ed. and completed by W. H. Frere), HBS, 45, 56 (London: HBS, 1914–21). The manuscript is discussed in *The Durham Collectar*, ed. by Alicia Corrêa, HBS, 107 (London: HBS, 1992), pp. 123–29. Of potentially great significance is another manuscript from Leofric's pontificate that awaits close liturgical study, BL, MS Harley 863 (Exeter, 1050x72). The main text is a Gallican psalter divided liturgically with neumed ferial antiphons. A new scribal venture on fols 117<sup>r</sup>–123<sup>v</sup> has some breviary-style material, beginning simply with the rubric *Sabbato ad Vesperas*, ending with an incomplete Office of the Dead.

<sup>21</sup> *The Portiforium of Saint Wulstan: Corpus Christi College, Cambridge MS. 391*, ed. by Anselm Hughes, 2 vols, HBS, 89–90 (Leighton Buzzard: Faith Press, 1958–60).

<sup>22</sup> *The Leofric Collectar*, ed. by Dewick, II, p. xlvii.

<sup>23</sup> Hohler, 'Some Service Books', p. 73.

<sup>24</sup> *Historia ecclesie Abendonensis: The History of the Church of Abingdon*, ed. and trans. by John Hudson, 2 vols, OMT (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2002–07), I, 54–57 (par. 37). See Knowles, *The Monastic Order*, pp. 552–53.

Frere's suspicion of a connection between the (secular) Leofric Collectar and the monastic antiphoner behind the Wulfstan Portiforium is confirmed by inspection of their repertory of antiphons for Lauds and Vespers on Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday in Holy Week. Table 5 gives the antiphons intended to be sung with the two Gospel canticles recited daily at Lauds (*Benedictus*, Luke 1. 68–79) and Vespers (*Magnificat*, Luke 1. 46–55) in the Leofric Collectar, the Wulfstan Portiforium, and a late eleventh- or early twelfth-century noted breviary-missal from Corbie, now BnF, MS latin 11522.<sup>25</sup> The Wulfstan Portiforium is clearly dependent on the Corbie tradition here, giving identical chants for Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday. *Cenantibus autem accepit*, the Magnificat antiphon of Maundy Thursday, though absent from the Corbie breviary, is found as an optional chant in other manuscripts influenced by the Corbie tradition.<sup>26</sup>

There are signs in the Leofric Collectar that this Corbie monastic material has been adapted for use in the secular *cursus*. One of the differences between the secular and monastic *cursus* is that the secular *cursus* requires five psalm antiphons at Vespers, and the monastic only four. Using the same Holy Week antiphons given for the Gospel canticles in the Corbie and Worcester books, the Leofric Collectar always designates the second antiphon of each day for use *super psalmos* at Vespers (marked as 'P' in Table 5), thereby making up the extra antiphon needed for the secular *cursus*. The order in which the antiphons are copied remains identical to that found in the Wulfstan Portiforium. This is precisely the sort of adaptation that would be necessary to turn a monastic Office book into a secular one. The Corbie/Worcester tradition provides only two antiphons for Monday, so the

<sup>25</sup> The antiphons of Holy Week are also preserved in a tenth-century fragment from an English Benedictine breviary (BL, MS Royal 17.C.XVII, fols 2–3 and 164–66). The Holy Week provisions in BnF, MS lat. 11522 correlate distinctively with two other Continental books: the 'Antiphoner of Mont-Renaud', a s. x monastic antiphoner adapted (it seems) from a Corbie exemplar for use in Noyon, now in a private collection (facsimile: *Antiphonaire du Mont-Renaud*, ed. by the Monks of Solesmes, 2nd edn, Paléographie musicale, 16 (Solesmes: Abbaye Saint-Pierre, 1989)); and a s. xii monastic antiphoner of Saint-Denis, now BnF, MS lat. 12584, which has a very strong and not fully explained relationship with the liturgy of Corbie (see Anne Walters Robertson, *The Service-Books of the Royal Abbey of Saint-Denis: Images of Ritual and Music in the Middle Ages* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), pp. 432–33). This Corbie tradition directly informs the repertory preserved in the Royal fragment, and lies behind the Holy Week repertories of extant later medieval monastic antiphoners and breviaries from Coldingham, Ely, Evesham, Peterborough, Winchester (Hyde Abbey), and Worcester.

<sup>26</sup> Including the tenth-century English fragment BL, MS Royal 17.C.XVII, where it is given as an alternative to *Cena facta*.

Table 5. Antiphons for Lauds and Vespers during Holy Week in Office Books of Corbie, Worcester, and Exeter.

Corbie breviary-missal BnF, MS lat. 11522 (s. xi/xii)	Portiforium of St Wulfstan CCCC, MS 391 (c. 1065)	Leofric Collectar BL, MS Harley 2961 (1050x72)
MONDAY IN HOLY WEEK		
E1 <i>Non haberes</i>	B <i>Non haberes</i>	B <i>Non haberes</i>
E2 <i>Recordare mei</i>	M <i>Recordare mei</i>	P <i>Recordare mei</i> M <i>Ancilla dixit Petro</i>
TUESDAY IN HOLY WEEK		
E1 <i>Nemo tollit</i>	B <i>Nemo tollat</i> [sic]	B <i>Nemo tollit</i>
E2 <i>Quia ego tecum</i>	M1 <i>Quia ego tecum</i>	P <i>Quia ego tecum</i>
E3 <i>Potestatem habeo</i>	M2 <i>Potestatem habeo</i>	M <i>Potestatem habeo</i>
E4 <i>Consilium fecerunt</i>	M3 <i>Consilium fecerunt</i>	
WEDNESDAY IN HOLY WEEK		
E1 <i>Symon dormis</i>	B <i>Symon dormis</i>	B <i>Simon dormis</i>
E2 <i>Tanto tempore</i>	M1 <i>Tanto tempore</i>	P <i>Tanto tempore</i>
E3 <i>Cotidie apud uos</i>	M2 <i>Cotidie apud uos</i>	M <i>Cotidie apud uos</i>
MAUNDY THURSDAY		
B <i>Traditor autem</i>	B —	B —
M1 <i>Cena facta</i>	M <i>Cenantibus autem</i>	M <i>Cenantibus autem</i>
M2 <i>Accepto pane</i>		

Key:

B = For use with the *Benedictus* at Lauds

M = For use with the *Magnificat* at Vespers

E = ‘*in Euangelio*’ (i.e. for either *Benedictus* or *Magnificat*)

P = Antiphon *super psalmos* for use at Vespers

When a manuscript provides more than one chant for a single position, leaving the selection to the cantor/officiant, each chant is numbered according to the order of copying in the manuscript (M1, M2, etc.).

Leofric Collectar has introduced an extra antiphon from another source, *Ancilla dixit*.<sup>27</sup> On Tuesday, the Leofric Collectar omits as superfluous the extra chant *Consilium fecerunt*. On Maundy Thursday, the Leofric Collectar mirrors the

<sup>27</sup> This antiphon may have been taken from a Cluniac Office book; it occurs uniformly as the Benedictus antiphon for Wednesday in Holy Week in the following four manuscripts in which the influence of Cluny has been observed: Amiens, BM, MS 115 (noted breviary, Corbie, s. xii); BL, MS Additional 29253 (breviary, Gent, s. xiv); BL, MS Additional 30850 (antiphoner, Silos, s. xi); BnF, MS lat. 12584 (noted antiphoner, Saint-Maur-des-Fossés, s. xi/xii). It is nevertheless found as an extra chant in several non-Cluniac antiphoners as early as c. 1000.

Wulfstan Portiforium exactly in providing no antiphon for the Benedictus at Lauds. Both manuscripts provide only a collect, *Deus a quo et Iudas proditor*.

The musical notation in the Leofric Collectar is also related to that found in English monastic books, which is ultimately derived from northern French models (quite probably from Corbie).<sup>28</sup> And as in the Wulfstan Portiforium and later English monastic sources, the chants in the Leofric Collectar have melodic variants distinctive to the Corbie tradition.<sup>29</sup> This has been obvious to musicologists for a long time. But the significance of a late Anglo-Saxon secular cathedral's manifest dependence on reformed monastic sources for the texts and melodies of its chant tradition has not, it seems, been remarked upon.

Trained as a clerk in Lotharingia and working long after the heyday of the Benedictine reform, Leofric would not have needed one of Ælfric's pastoral letters (still less one in the vernacular) to tell him how his canons should sing the Divine Office.<sup>30</sup> But the apparent inadequacy and obsolescence of the liturgical books supposedly found by Leofric at Exeter in 1050 ('no more books than one capitulary, and one very old nocturnale and one epistulary and two very old lectionaries much decayed'), even if not necessarily an accurate description of the books to which Leofric will have had access earlier at Crediton or in his own possession, may well have obtained in the libraries of many unreformed minsters around the turn of the millennium, whose clergy were Ælfric's intended audience.<sup>31</sup> Such clerics may have adapted

<sup>28</sup> The relationship between Anglo-Saxon musical notations and those of Corbie is assessed in Susan Rankin, 'Neumatic Notations in Anglo-Saxon England', in *Musicologie médiévale: notations et séquences*, ed. by Michel Huglo, Actes de la Table Ronde du CNRS à l'Institut de recherche et d'histoire des textes, 6–7 septembre 1982 (Paris: Champion, 1987), pp. 129–44 and Plates XIV–XXI (pp. 131–32). See now Susan Rankin, *The Winchester Troper: Facsimile Edition and Introduction*, Early English Church Music, 50 (London: Stainer and Bell, 2007), pp. 22–23. On musical notation at Exeter, see Susan Rankin, 'From Memory to Record: Musical Notations in Manuscripts from Exeter', *ASE*, 13 (1984), 97–112 and Plates IX–XI.

<sup>29</sup> The Leofric Collectar's melodic relatedness to Corbie sources is illustrated in David Hiley, 'Thurstan of Caen and Plainchant at Glastonbury: Musicological Reflections on the Norman Conquest', *Proceedings of the British Academy*, 72 (1987 for 1986), 57–90 (p. 67, n. 1, p. 69, and Examples 3–6).

<sup>30</sup> On what can be known of Leofric's background and career, see Frank Barlow, *The English Church 1000–1066: A History of the Later Anglo-Saxon Church*, 2nd edn (London: Longman, 1979), pp. 83–84, 213–15; and by the same author, 'Leofric and his Times', in Frank Barlow and others, *Leofric of Exeter: Essays in Commemoration of the Foundation of Exeter Cathedral Library in AD 1072* (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 1972), pp. 1–16.

<sup>31</sup> From the list of Leofric's book donations to Exeter, now Exeter, Cathedral Library, MS 3501, fols 0, 1–7, 'The Donations of Leofric to Exeter', in *The Exeter Book of Old English Poetry*,

monastic books for use in the secular Office, just as may be discerned in the Leofric Collectar. But if this kind of renewal of the secular Office took place at all (and there are no other manuscripts with which to prove that it did), it would still be unsafe to assume a direct monastic impetus. As Joyce Hill has observed, the manuscript tradition of Ælfric's letters offers only slight encouragement to think that they ever circulated outside episcopal libraries.<sup>32</sup> They are, moreover, internally contradictory in their assumptions about clerical standards, taking for granted considerable liturgical competence and resources, but at the same time lamenting the clergy's lack of Latinity and admonishing against drunkenness and other lapses. They may say more about monastic ideals and prejudices than about contemporary liturgical realities.<sup>33</sup>

### *The State of the Secular Office in the Tenth Century*

Given the ambiguity of the evidence for a monastic programme to reform the Office in 'secular' minsters, it is worth asking whether such a reform was even necessary. The notion that the Divine Office was basically extinct in England at the outset of the tenth century, as some writers have assumed, is untenable.<sup>34</sup> A

ed. by Max Förster with introductory chapters by R. W. Chambers, Max Förster, and Robin Flower (London: Lund, 1933), pp. 10–32 (p. 28): 'ȝ he ne funde on þam minstre, þa he to-feng, boca na ma buton .i. capitulariē ȝ .i. for-ealdod niht-sang ȝ .i. pistel-boc ȝ .ii. for-ealdode ræding-bec swiðe wake ȝ .i. wac mæssereaf'; this passage (trans. by Peter Clemoes) in Rankin, 'From Memory to Record', p. 100.

<sup>32</sup> Hill, 'Monastic Reform and the Secular Church', pp. 112–15; though as Hill shows, there is some evidence that the letter for Wulfsgie did at least circulate as an independent text.

<sup>33</sup> Hill, 'Monastic Reform and the Secular Church', pp. 109–11.

<sup>34</sup> This view rests on the disputed assertion, most forcefully argued by Knowles (*The Monastic Order*, pp. 554, 695), that monasticism itself, and therefore the monastic Office, was extinct in England by c. 900. Other writers have been unaware that the secular clergy too recited the Divine Office and that a tradition of the Office may therefore have survived the ninth century, irrespective of the fate of 'true' monasticism. A large body of literature has since undercut Knowles's arguments, though misunderstandings about the Divine Office persist. See now John Blair, *The Church in Anglo-Saxon Society* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), pp. 81, 292; and Sarah Foot, *Monastic Life in Anglo-Saxon England, c. 600–900* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), who offers a brief survey of references to the Divine Office in early Anglo-Saxon literary sources (pp. 191–205) and assesses the impact of the ninth-century decline (pp. 339–49). Useful unpublished material may still be sought in Foot, 'Anglo-Saxon Minsters AD 597–ca 900: The Religious Life in England Before the Benedictine Reform' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Cambridge, 1989), pp. 333–53.

number of ninth-century sources refer to an ongoing tradition of the Divine Office in at least a few places. When Ealdorman Ælfred redeemed the 'Golden Gospels' (Stockholm, Kungliga Biblioteket, MS A.135) from a Danish army, he inscribed the book to 'the religious community which daily raises praise to God in Christ Church'.<sup>35</sup> In an 848 charter Berhtwulf, king of the Mercians, required of the church of Breedon-on-the-Hill in Leicestershire 'that the memory of Berhtwulf and of the prince Humberht, and of all the nobles of the Mercian people, be mentioned in their holy prayers in the days and in the nights'.<sup>36</sup> The reference to diurnal and nocturnal prayers almost certainly means the Divine Office. A charter of Ealdorman Æthelred and Æthelflæd (884x901) conferring rights on the cathedral church in Worcester confirms that the full cycle of daily offices was observed by the secular community there.<sup>37</sup> Closer investigation of the charter evidence might produce more references to the performance of the Office during the period in which it is sometimes supposed to have disappeared.

Occasionally, direct continuity between the ninth and tenth centuries can be established, as in a mid-ninth-century will of a certain Ealzburg granting rents to St Augustine's, Canterbury, on the condition that Psalm 19, *Exaudiat te dominus*, be recited daily for the benefit of the donor.<sup>38</sup> This corresponds precisely to the *Regularis concordia*'s prescription that Psalm 19 be sung every day after the Night

<sup>35</sup> *Cartularium Saxonicum: A Collection of Charters Relating to Anglo-Saxon History*, ed. by Walter de Gray Birch, 3 vols and Index (London: Whiting and Co., 1885–99), no. 634: 'ȝ ðæm godcundan geferscipe to brūcen[ne] ðe in Cristes circan ðæghræmlice Godes lof rærað'; trans. in *EHD*, I, 539 (no. 98).

<sup>36</sup> Sawyer, no. 197 (*Cartularium Saxonicum*, ed. by Birch, no. 454): 'Et ut memoria regis Beorhtuulfi ac Humberhti principis et omnium optimatum gentis Merciorum in eorum sacris orationibus diebus ac noctibus memoretur.' The text of this charter is also found, with substantial alteration, in Sawyer, no. 193 (*Cartularium Saxonicum*, ed. by Birch, no. 434), where it is made to support Worcester's claim to ownership of Bredon, Worcestershire: Julia Barrow, 'The Chronology of Forgery Production at Worcester from c. 1000 to the Early Twelfth Century', in *St Wulfstan and his World*, ed. by Julia S. Barrow and Nicholas P. Brooks, Studies in Early Medieval Britain, 4 (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005), pp. 105–22 (p. 108).

<sup>37</sup> Sawyer, no. 223, ed. and trans. as no. 12 in *Select English Historical Documents of the Ninth and Tenth Centuries*, ed. by F. E. Harmer (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1914), text pp. 22–25, trans. pp. 54–55, notes pp. 106–07 (this passage pp. 23, 55). Also trans. in *EHD*, I, 540–41 (no. 99), though the use here of the term 'matins' to translate *uhtsong* (the Night Office) is unhelpfully ambiguous.

<sup>38</sup> Sawyer, no. 1198 (*Cartularium Saxonicum*, ed. by Birch, no. 501 (undated, but c. 831–33)): 'tha hiwan asingan ælce dæge . æfter hyra ferse thane sealm for hia . "Exaudiat te dominus".'

Office 'for the King, Queen and benefactors (*familiares*)', and seems to confirm the opinion of the *Concordia's* editor, Thomas Symons, that the *Concordia's* special prayers for the king and other benefactors were derived from long-standing English traditions, not a Continental monastic model.<sup>39</sup>

Continuity is also evident in the Junius Psalter, Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Junius 27, probably copied at Winchester in the 920s.<sup>40</sup> The psalter is organized according to 'liturgical divisions', with the first psalm sung at the Night Office on each day of the week given special decoration.<sup>41</sup> The divisions in the Junius Psalter follow the expected pattern of the secular *cursus*, with the exception of Psalm 17, which is decorated here but normally has no special significance. This emphasis on Psalm 17 appears elsewhere only in two eighth-century English psalters, the Vespasian Psalter, BL, MS Cotton Vespasian A I (St Augustine's, Canterbury, s. viii<sup>2/4</sup>), and the Salaberga Psalter, Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, MS

<sup>39</sup> *Regularis concordia*, ed. and trans. by Thomas Symons (London: Nelson, 1953), par. 18 (p. 13): 'Peractis Nocturnis dicant duos psalmos, Domine ne in furore tuo (i) et Exaudiat te Dominus, unum uidelicet pro rege specialiter, alterum uero pro rege et regina ac familiaribus.' On the *Concordia's* use of *familiares* to mean 'benefactors', see *Regularis concordia*, ed. by Symons, p. 12, n. 1. On the *Concordia's* preservation of native English traditions, see Thomas Symons, 'Sources of the Regularis Concordia', *Downside Review*, o.s., 59, n.s., 40 (1941), 14–36, 143–70, 264–89 (pp. 146–49); *Regularis concordia*, ed. by Symons, p. lxvi; and Thomas Symons, 'Regularis concordia: History and Derivation', in *Tenth-Century Studies*, ed. by Parsons, pp. 37–59, notes pp. 214–17 (p. 44).

<sup>40</sup> Falconer Madan, *A Summary Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford*, 6 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1895–1953), II.2, 971–72 (no. 5139). The manuscript's *Romanum* psalter text and Old English gloss are printed in *Der altenglische Junius-Psalter: Die Interlinear-Glosse der Handschrift Junius 27 der Bodleianer zu Oxford*, ed. by Eduard Brenner, *Anglistische Forschungen*, 23 (Heidelberg: Winter, 1908). On the date and origin of the manuscript, see F. Wormald, 'The "Winchester School" before St. Æthelwold', in *England Before the Conquest: Studies in Primary Sources Presented to Dorothy Whitelock*, ed. by Peter Clemoes and Kathleen Hughes (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971), pp. 305–12 (p. 305), citing Edmund Bishop, *Liturgica historica* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1918), pp. 254–55; *The Salisbury Psalter*, ed. by Celia Sisam and Kenneth Sisam, EETS, o.s., 242 (London: Oxford University Press, 1959), p. 48; and T. A. M. Bishop, 'An Early Example of the Square Minuscule', *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society*, 4 (1964–68), 246–52 (p. 247).

<sup>41</sup> Liturgical divisions of the psalter are discussed in K. Wildhagen, 'Studien zum *Psalterium Romanum* in England und seinen Glossierungen', in *Festschrift für Lorenz Morsbach*, ed. by F. Holthausen and H. Spies, *Studien zur englischen Philologie*, 50 (Halle: Max Niemeyer, 1913), pp. 418–72 (pp. 423–25); *The Salisbury Psalter*, ed. by Sisam and Sisam, p. 4 and n. 1. Liturgical divisions in Anglo-Saxon psalters are compared in Phillip Pulsiano, 'Psalters', in *The Liturgical Books of Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. by Pfaff, pp. 61–85 (pp. 72–73).



Hamilton 553 (Northumbria, probably Lindisfarne, s. viii<sup>1</sup>).<sup>42</sup> This has been seen as an inexplicable English peculiarity.<sup>43</sup> But it is more likely a survival in England of a version of the *cursus* current in Rome in the seventh century, and perhaps even at the time of the Augustinian mission in 597, in which the Sunday Night Office had only two nocturns instead of three, with Psalm 17 the first psalm of the second nocturn.<sup>44</sup> The divisions of the Junius Psalter suggest that this early tradition survived intact at Winchester into the tenth century. King Alfred may have complained that there were very few men south of the Humber who could understand their divine services in English, but points of evidence like these corroborate what Alfred himself implied, namely that these services continued to be performed, understood or not.<sup>45</sup>

According to David Knowles, the clerks were expelled from the Old and New Minsters so that 'the offices might be more worthily accomplished'.<sup>46</sup> Other motives

<sup>42</sup> *Codices Latini antiquiores: A Palaeographical Guide to Latin Manuscripts Prior to the Ninth Century*, ed. by E. A. Lowe, 12 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1934–71), II (2nd edn, 1972), no. 193 (Vespasian); VIII (1959), no. 1048 (Salaberga). Psalm 17 may also have been decorated in the Blickling Psalter, PML, MS M. 775 (southern England?, s. viii med.), which has a lacuna at this point (*Codices Latini antiquiores*, ed. by Lowe, IX (1959), no. 1661).

<sup>43</sup> *The Vespasian Psalter: British Museum, Cotton Vespasian A.I*, ed. by D. H. Wright, EEMF, 14 (Copenhagen: Rosenkilde and Bagger, 1967), p. 179.

<sup>44</sup> This conclusion, which must be argued elsewhere, is foreshadowed in Raymond Le Roux, 'Les Repons "De Psalmis" pour les matines de l'épiphanie à la septuagésime selon les cursus romain et monastique', *Études grégoriennes*, 6 (1963), 39–148 (p. 49), where the English evidence is not taken into account. Catherine Cubitt acknowledged the possibility that the unusual English psalter divisions 'could stem from ancient or otherwise unknown Roman traditions' (*Anglo-Saxon Church Councils c. 650–c. 850* (London: Leicester University Press, 1995), p. 147, n. 105).

<sup>45</sup> *King Alfred's West-Saxon Version of Gregory's Pastoral Care*, ed. by H. Sweet, 2 vols, EETS, o.s., 45 and 50 (London: Oxford University Press, 1871–72), I, 3; *Alfred the Great: Asser's 'Life of King Alfred' and Other Contemporary Sources*, trans. by Simon Keynes and Michael Lapidge (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1983), p. 125. The liturgy should be exempt from Michael Lapidge's criterion for evaluating Latin learning in ninth-century England, namely 'evidence of skilled original composition in Latin or, at least, of scholarly activity of some sort': 'Latin Learning in Ninth-Century England', in Lapidge, *A-LL*, pp. 409–39 (p. 433). Cf. Notker Balbulus, *Gesta Karoli magni imperatoris*, I, 7, in *Notker der Stammler, Taten Kaiser Karls des Grossen*, ed. by Hans F. Haefele, MGH, SS rer. Germ., n.s., 12 (Berlin: Weidmann, 1959), p. 10: 'etsiamsi non intellegent, omnes in eius palatio lectores optimi fuissent' ('all those in the p[a]lace became excellent readers, even if they did not understand what they read'; *Two Lives of Charlemagne*, trans. by Lewis Thorpe (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1969), p. 101).

<sup>46</sup> Quoted above at p. 431.

have been proposed for this drastic step on Æthelwold's part, none quite so pious as this.<sup>47</sup> But liturgical concerns should not be discounted, since the Rule of St Benedict gives the Divine Office the highest place in the life of a monastery, and next to this 'Work of God' (*Opus Dei*) nothing is to be preferred.<sup>48</sup> Two texts do indeed lead us to believe that the tenth-century reformers thought the secular clergy had failed to perform the Office faithfully and competently. Byrhtferth's *Vita S. Oswaldi* (997x1002) tells of King Edgar's reaction to a performance of Vespers by the assembled monks and nuns of the kingdom prior to a great Easter council:

And King Edgar, surveying this large number of excellent fathers and venerable mothers with all their sons and daughters, is said to have shouted out to the Lord and to have said to Him from the very depths of his heart: 'I give thanks to You, Jesus Christ, Great King, [...] Who have granted it to me to assemble so many serving-men and serving-women, who can render Your praise with due honour.' This king, who took such delight in their divine services, ordered more than forty monasteries to be established with monks. [...] Æthelwold urged the king above all to expel the clerics from the monasteries and to bestow them on our order.<sup>49</sup>

Byrhtferth here traces the origins of the whole monastic revival to King Edgar's desire to see the Divine Office performed 'with fitting honours', of which the secular clerks were (Byrhtferth implies) incapable: he refers elsewhere to Edgar's having rid the monasteries of the 'childish ditties' (*nenia*) of the clerks.<sup>50</sup> A second

<sup>47</sup> Most recently by Patrick Wormald, 'The Strange Affair of the Selsey Bishopric, 953–963', in *Belief and Culture in the Middle Ages: Studies Presented to Henry Mayr-Harting*, ed. by Richard Gameson and Henrietta Leyser (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), pp. 128–41 (p. 140).

<sup>48</sup> *Regula S. Benedicti*, c. 43. 3. Julia Barrow, analysing the justifications for 'reform' in the writings of Æthelwold, identifies the motifs of 'purity' and 'cleansing', of which monks' obedience to the Rule, in contrast to the rebelliousness of secular clerks, was an important dimension: 'The Ideology of the Tenth-Century English Benedictine "Reform"', in *Challenging the Boundaries of Medieval History: The Legacy of Timothy Reuter*, ed. by Patricia Skinner, Studies in the Early Middle Ages, 22 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2009), pp. 141–54.

<sup>49</sup> *Vita S. Oswaldi*, III. 11, pp. 76–79: 'At ille tot patres egregios et uenerandas matres cum filiis et filiabus suis circumspiciens, exclamasse fertur ad Dominum atque ex intimo cordis affectu dixisse ad eum: "Gratias tibi ago, Iesu Christe, rex magne, [...] qui michi concessisti tot famulos famulasque congregari, qui tuas laudes possunt debitis honoribus persolvere." Delectatus uero rex in eorum sacris officiis, plus quam quadraginta iussit monasteria constitui cum monachis, [...] Iste [Æthelwold] enim uero ipsum regem ad hoc maxime prouocauit, ut clericos a monasteriis expulit et ut nostris ordinibus contulit.' This passage is also printed and discussed by Whitelock in *Councils and Synods*, I, 113–18.

<sup>50</sup> *Vita Oswaldi*, III. 10, pp. 74–75. Lapidge translates *nenia* as 'trifles' (see his remarks on p. 34, n. 17). The liturgical aspect of Byrhtferth's account makes a musical translation — cf. *chant de*

text, an undated charter of Edgar for Winchester, enumerates the failings of the clerks of the Old Minster:

Undoubtedly, the canons, disfigured by every blemish of vices, exalted with vain glory, putrifying with the malice of envy, blinded by the blemishes of avarice, taking pleasure in the fires of wantonness, entirely devoted to gluttony, subject to the earthly king not to the bishop, were wonted to feast themselves by ancient custom in modern time on the food of the aforementioned land. Since indeed, following drunkenness with murder, and embracing their wives in an unseemly manner with an excessive and uncommon lust, very few wished to visit God's church, and rarely, they did not deign to keep the canonical hours.<sup>51</sup>

It is typical of a reformed Benedictine outlook, in which the *Opus Dei* takes precedence over all things, that in this catalogue of deadly sins failure to attend the Divine Office ranks closest to Hell.

Leaving aside whether any of these attacks were justified,<sup>52</sup> it is significant that the monks' polemic never criticizes the actual liturgical forms used by the clerks. In the two early *Lives* of Æthelwold, when the monks arrive at the Old Minster to expel the clerks they find them celebrating Mass, and even singing the correct chants for the day.<sup>53</sup> Tacitly conceding the clerks' liturgical competence, the monks

*nourrice* in Albert Blaise, *Dictionnaire latin-français des auteurs chrétiens* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1954), s.v. *nenia* — perhaps plausible.

<sup>51</sup> 'Confirmation by King Edgar of the endowment and privileges of the Old Minster' (964x75), sec. 14 (Sawyer, no. 818), ed. and trans. by Alexander R. Rumble, *Property and Piety in Early Medieval Winchester: Documents Relating to the Topography of the Anglo-Saxon and Norman City and its Minsters*, Winchester Studies, 4.3 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2002), p. 131: 'Certe canonici omni uiciorum neuo deturpati . inani gloria tumidi . inuidiæ luore tabidi philargiriæ maculis obcecati . luxuriæ facibus libidi . gulæ omnimodo dediti . regi terreno non episcopo subiecti . prefati ruris usu ueterano moderno tempore pascebantur alimentis . Ebrietatem siquidem et homicidia sectantes . coniuges suas turpiter nimia et inusitata libidine amplectentes . ecclesiam Dei raro et perpauci frequentare uolebant . nec horas celebrare canonicas dignabantur .' See Rumble's comments on p. 18. Compare a similar indictment in Wulfstan's *Vita S. Æthelwoldi*, c. 16, in Wulfstan of Winchester, *The Life of St Æthelwold*, ed. and trans. by Michael Lapidge and Michael Winterbottom, OMT (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), pp. 30–31, where the canons are said to have neglected to say Mass in turn.

<sup>52</sup> Compare the assessment of John of Salerno's disparagement of pre-reform Fleury in John Nightingale, 'Oswald, Fleury and Continental Reform', in *Oswald LI*, pp. 23–45 (p. 40): 'he reveals, as in so many reform narratives, that it was felt necessary to paint as black a picture of the unreformed as possible in order to cover up the shaky legal grounds on which the external parties had intervened'.

<sup>53</sup> Wulfstan, *Vita S. Æthelwoldi*, c. 17 (ed. and trans. by Lapidge and Winterbottom, pp. 30–33); Ælfric's parallel account in his *Vita S. Æthelwoldi* c. 13 is edited in an appendix by Lapidge

instead attacked their moral inadequacies as obstacles to their prayers for king and people.<sup>54</sup> Never is the secular *cursus* itself judged defective. Nor would this be expected. Reformed monks accepted that monks and seculars should recite different forms of the Office. When Ælfric, in the second Old English letter for Wulfstan, adapted the prescriptions of the *Regularis concordia* to explain how the secular clergy should sing the Office during the Holy Triduum and Easter, he was not suggesting that seculars use the monastic *cursus*.<sup>55</sup> On the contrary, the *Concordia*, in agreement with contemporary Continental reformed monastic customs, requires monks to use the secular *cursus* on these days.<sup>56</sup> The proposal that monks abandon the Office of the Rule during Holy Week had met considerable monastic opposition on the Continent in the early ninth century.<sup>57</sup> Ælfric, by contrast,

and Winterbottom, pp. 71–80 (p. 75). See Mary Berry, 'What the Saxon Monks Sang', in *Bishop Æthelwold*, ed. by Yorke, pp. 149–60 (p. 152).

<sup>54</sup> See Edgar's 'Foundation Charter' for the New Minster, probably drafted by Æthelwold (966), sec. 6 (Sawyer, no. 745; Rumble, *Property and Piety*, p. 81): 'Quod nullis mihi intercessionibus prodesse poterant' ('Because they [the clerks] had been of no benefit to me [Edgar] with their intercessory prayers'). Likewise his confirmation of the endowment and privileges of the Old Minster, sec. 3 (Sawyer, no. 817(4); Rumble, *Property and Piety*, p. 113): 'spa spa he hit mid Godes ælmihtiges fultume gesette . þa þa he hit þa modigan preostas for heora mandædon þanan ut adrefde . 7 þerinne munecas gelogode þæt hi Godes þeopedom æfter sancte Benedictes tæcinge . 7 dægþamlice to Gode cleopodon for ealles Cristenes folces alidsednesse' ('but that it [the Old Minster] should remain always as he established it with monks with the help of Almighty God when he drove out from there the proud priests because of their evil deeds and lodged monks therein so that they might [perform] God's service according to the teaching of Saint Benedict and might daily call on God for the salvation of all Christian people'). See D. J. Dales, 'The Spirit of the Regularis Concordia and the Hand of St Dunstan', in *Dunstan LTC*, pp. 45–56 (pp. 51–52).

<sup>55</sup> Ælfric, *Brief III*, 23–63 (Fehr, pp. 154–71); cf. *Regularis concordia*, pars 37–49 (pp. 36–48). See Hill, 'Monastic Reform and the Secular Church', p. 106.

<sup>56</sup> Symons, 'Sources of the Regularis Concordia', pp. 15–21; cf. *Regularis concordia*, ed. by Symons, p. 36, n. 3.

<sup>57</sup> Hildemar of Corbie/Civate, *Expositio Regulae*, c. 14, in *Vita et Regula SS. P. Benedicti, una cum Expositione Regulae*, vol. III, ed. by Rupertus Mittermüller (Regensburg: Pustet, 1880), pp. 301–02: 'De his quatuor diebus diffinitum est in concilio, ut officium secundum romanam ecclesiam canitur pleniter, et non secundum regulam a monachis. [...] Nam, sicut mihi videtur, melius est, ut in istis quatuor diebus regulare officium canatur quam secundum romanos, eo quod, sicut S. Gregorius dicit, nihil nocet in fide catholica et in bonis moribus consuetudines diversae. Verumtamen pro ista ratione, i. e. pro istis quatuor diebus facta est synodus in Francia, ut non aliter, i. e. non regulariter facerent monachi, sed sicut ecclesia romana. Nam piissimus imperator Ludovicus voluit, ut monachi secundum regulam facerent officium; sed quia episcopi dicebant, non esse bonum, ut in his diebus se discordent a romana ecclesia in officiis canendis, deinde fuerunt abbates

accepted the secular *cursus* as entirely suitable for monks on this occasion; and as has already been seen, he invested the secular *cursus* with the authority of the early ecumenical councils of the Church.

Respect for the secular *cursus* among the first reformed English monks would be natural, since — and this has gone entirely unnoticed — up until at least the mid-950s, the secular clergy and the newly reformed monks were probably using identical forms of the Office. On the Continent, widespread use by monks of the Benedictine *cursus* only came about through Benedict of Aniane's attempts to reform Frankish monasticism during the reign of Louis the Pious.<sup>58</sup> Under Charlemagne, Frankish monks had sung the Office, not according to the Rule of St Benedict, but according to a pattern learned from Roman monasteries.<sup>59</sup> This was wholly compatible with the spirit of the Rule of St Benedict, which allows some

quidam, qui consenserunt episcopis.' A decree of the synod to which Hildemar refers may be referred to in an interpolation in two late copies of the digest of Frankish monastic legislation known as the *Collectio capitularis* or *Regula S. Benedicti Anianensis* (818/819(?)), in *Corpus consuetudinum monasticarum*, vol. 1: *Initia consuetudinis Benedictinae: consuetudines saeculi octavi et noni*, ed. by Kassius Hallinger (Siegburg: Schmitt, 1963) (hereafter *CCM*, I), p. 535: 'In Cena Domini, in Parasceue, in Sancto Sabbato Sancto Pasche cursum sancti Petri in choro sicuti in nocte more canonico-rum persoluant. Paschalis festiuitas Romane et vniuersalis ecclesie more a nobis debet celebrari.'

<sup>58</sup> *Synodi primae Aquisgranensis decreta authentica* (23 August 816), c. 3, ed. by J. Semmler in *CCM*, I, 457–68 (p. 458): 'Ut officium iuxta quod in regula sancti Benedicti continentur celebrent.' That this was a departure from existing practice has been shown by Josef Semmler, 'Die Beschlüsse des Aachener Konzils im Jahre 816', *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, 74 (1963), 15–82 (pp. 23–29); and 'Pippin III. und die fränkischen Klöster', *Francia*, 3 (1975), 88–146 (pp. 139–42). See also Arnold Angenendt, *Monachi peregrini: Studien zur Pirmin und den monastischen Vorstellungen des frühen Mittelalters*, Münstersche Mittelalterschriften, 6 (Munich: Fink, 1972), pp. 213–15. A very fine summary of the process with reference to the liturgical history of one Frankish monastery is given in Robertson, *Service-Books*, pp. 19–49 (pp. 34–42).

<sup>59</sup> Theodemar, Abbot of Monte Cassino, *Epistula ad Karolum regem* (787x97), sec. 3, ed. by K. Hallinger and M. Wegener in *CCM*, I, 137–75 (p. 162): 'Nec debent cogi monachi, si tamen vestro sapientissimo cordi ita placet, qui nunc Romano more psallunt, iuxta institutionem sacre huius regule psalmos dividere; sed possunt, si vobis ita videtur, solito more canentes, arcioris vite normam suscipere' (also in *Epistolae Karolini aevi*, vol. II, ed. by Ernst Dümmler, MGH, *Epistolae*, 4 (Berlin: Weidmann, 1895), pp. 509–14 (p. 511)); see Kassius Hallinger, *Gorze-Kluny: Studien zu den monastischen Lebensformen und Gegensätzen im Hochmittelalter*, 2 vols, *Studia Anselmiana*, 22–25 (Rome: Herder, 1950–51), II, 906. The continued use of the Roman Office by monks is referred to in the *Statuta Murbacensia* (816 AD), c. 3, ed. by J. Semmler in *CCM*, I, 441–50 (p. 442). The Roman Office seems to have begun to displace Gallican and Irish liturgies on the Continent during the reign of Pippin III; see the *Ratio de cursu quae fuerunt eius auctores (ante 767)*, ed. by J. Semmler in *CCM*, I, 77–91, which defends the apostolic authority of a *cursus Scottorum*.

latitude in the Divine Office within certain limits.<sup>60</sup> Even in houses where the Rule of St Benedict was the dominant monastic legislation, the use of the 'Roman' *cursus* would be licit, all the more so given the Rule's stated dependence on Roman customs.<sup>61</sup> The monks reformed under Benedict of Aniane, however, taught total obedience to the Rule's every teaching, including its liturgical code, as the surest way to salvation.<sup>62</sup> As more and more monasteries began to adopt the Benedictine *cursus* (a process that lasted into the early eleventh century),<sup>63</sup> the Roman *cursus*

<sup>60</sup> *Regula S. Benedicti*, c. 18. 22–23.

<sup>61</sup> See *Regula S. Benedicti*, c. 13. 10. Patrick Wormald argued memorably for the Rule's already established pre-eminence in Charlemagne's reign ('Æthelwold and his Continental Counterparts', p. 18). But a distinction should be made between *regula* and *cursus*, that is, between the administrative and moral teachings of a monastic rule and its liturgical code, as in the AD 666 privilege of Bishop Drauscus for Notre-Dame de Soissons ('*regulam et cursum sancti Benedicti*'), no. 355 in *Diplomata, chartae, epistolae, leges aliaque instrumenta ad res Gallo-Francicas spectantia*, ed. by J. M. Pardessus [rev. of the 1791 edn by Louis-Georges-Oudard-Feudrix de Bréquigny and Gabriel de La Porte Du Theil], 2 vols (Paris: Ex Typographeo Regis, 1843–49), II, 138–41 (p. 139); repr. in *PL*, LXXXVIII, col. 1184. See Robertson, *Service-Books*, p. 21.

<sup>62</sup> Smaragdus of Saint-Mihiel, *Expositio in Regulam S. Benedicti* (post 816), c. 3, ed. by Alfredus Spannagel and Pius Englebert, *Corpus consuetudinum monasticarum*, 8 (Siegburg: Schmitt, 1974), pp. 207–08; Hildemar, *Expositio Regulae*, c. 18 (ed. by Mittermüller, pp. 310–13). The assignment of the Roman *cursus* to seculars and the Benedictine *cursus* to monks seems first to have been mandated at a synod of 802, though apparently with little immediate effect: *Chronicon Moissiacense* (post 818), s.a. 802, ed. by Georgius Heinrichus Pertz, *MGH, SS*, 1 (Hannover: Hahn, 1826), pp. 282–313 (pp. 306–07): 'Mandavit autem, ut unusquisque episcopus in omni regno vel imperio suo, ipsi cum presbyteris suis, officium, sicut psallit ecclesia Romana, facerent. [...] Similiter et in monasteriis sancti Benedicti servantibus regulam, ut officium ipsius facerent, sicut regula docet.' (See Josef Semmler, 'Reichsidee und kirchliche Gesetzgebung bei Ludwig dem Frommen', *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, 71, 4th ser., 9 (1960), 37–65 (pp. 64–65).) This would appear to be a development beyond Charlemagne's *Admonitio generalis* of 789 (c. 80), where the Roman liturgy is proposed for universal use; ed. by Boretius, *MGH, Capit. reg.*, 1, pp. 52–62 (p. 61): 'Omni clero. Ut cantum Romanum pleniter discant, et ordinabiliter per nocturnale vel gradale officium peragatur.'

<sup>63</sup> The Francia devoid of reformed monasticism depicted in John of Salerno's *Vita S. Odonis abbatis Cluniacensis secundi* (I. 22–23, ed. by Mabillon, repr. in *PL*, CXXXIII, cols 43–86 (cols 53–54)) is no doubt an exaggeration; but the effect of the reforms was often simply to turn monasteries into secular canonries (as at Tours in 817: Mayke de Jong, 'Carolingian Monasticism: The Power of Prayer', in *NCMH*, II, 622–53 (p. 632)). The early evidence, before the first fragments from apparently complete Benedictine Office books appear in the tenth century, suggests a piecemeal conversion to the Benedictine *cursus*, as in the case of a single feast in BnF, MS lat. 17436, the 'Compiègne Antiphoner'; see *Corpus antiphonarium officii*, ed. by Renatus-Ioannes Hesbert, 6 vols, *Rerum ecclesiasticarum documenta*, Series maior: Fontes, 7–12 (Rome: Herder,

formerly sung by both monks and seculars was left to the secular clergy alone, coming to be known as the secular *cursus*.<sup>64</sup>

Despite the early importance of the Rule of St Benedict in Anglo-Saxon religious life,<sup>65</sup> there is no evidence at all for the use of the Benedictine form of the Office in England before second half of the tenth century, when the liturgical divisions of the Benedictine *cursus* informed the decoration of the Bosworth Psalter, BL, MS Additional 37517 (s. x<sup>2</sup>, prov. St Augustine's, Canterbury). Such evidence as survives points to the use of the Roman *cursus*, perhaps, as has already been suggested, in an early form.<sup>66</sup> The Frankish innovation of a separate monastic *cursus* was probably first countenanced in England by Dunstan and his circle at

1963–79) (hereafter *CAO*), I, p. xix; Jacques Froger, 'Le Lieu de destination et de provenance du "Compendiensis"', in *Ut mens concordet voci: Festschrift Eugène Cardine zum 75. Geburtstag*, ed. by Johannes Berchmans Göschl (S[ank]t Ottilien: EOS-Verlag, 1980), pp. 338–53 (p. 346); and see also Robertson, *Service-Books*, p. 36.

<sup>64</sup> *Institutio canonicorum* (816), cc. 126–31, in *Concilia aevi Karolini (742–842)*, ed. by Albertus Werminghoff, 2 vols, MGH, Concilia, 2 (Hannover: Hahn, 1906–08), I, 308–421 (pp. 406–08). The 'secular' *cursus* was eventually (and incorrectly) seen by monks as a lighter obligation designed as a concession to clergy with pressing pastoral duties: Hildemar, *Expositio Regulae*, c. 18 (ed. by Mittermüller, p. 313): 'Canonici enim aliquando propter populorum turbam et feminarum atque infantum non possunt prolongare suum officium, a quibus impedimentis monachi liberi et expediti existunt.'

<sup>65</sup> The oldest surviving copy of the Rule is English: Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Hatton 48 (Madan, *Summary Catalogue*, II.2, 849–50, no. 4118; s. vii–viii, Worcester provenance). And the Rule was studied at Canterbury in the seventh century; see Michael Lapidge, 'The School of Theodore and Hadrian', in Lapidge, *A-LL*, pp. 141–68 (pp. 151, 156) (first publ. in *ASE*, 15 (1986), 45–72). As Patrick Wormald noted, no other written monastic rule is ever mentioned in English sources ('Æthelwold and his Continental Counterparts', p. 18 and refs in n. 13). On the practical eclecticism of early Anglo-Saxon monasticism, however, see Patrick Wormald, 'Bede and Benedict Biscop', in *Famulus Christi: Essays in Commemoration of the Thirteenth Centenary of the Birth of the Venerable Bede*, ed. by Gerald Bonner (London: SPCK, 1976), pp. 141–69 (pp. 141–45); and Christopher Holdsworth, 'Saint Boniface the Monk', in *The Greatest Englishman: Essays on St Boniface and the Church at Crediton*, ed. by Timothy Reuter (Exeter: Paternoster, 1980), pp. 47–67 (pp. 54–57).

<sup>66</sup> A study of this question is included in my *The Divine Office in Anglo-Saxon England, 597–c.1000*, to be published in the Henry Bradshaw Society subsidia series. Apart from the psalters with liturgical divisions (referred to above), the key text is the fifteenth decree of the 747 Council of *Clofesho*, which explicitly enjoins the recitation of the full Roman *cursus* on both monks and seculars (ed. by Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents*, III, 367). See Cubitt, *Anglo-Saxon Church Councils*, pp. 125–52. A number of narrative sources also mention details suggestive of the Roman *cursus*.

Glastonbury in the 940s and 950s, who first encountered it in ninth-century Frankish monastic reform texts.<sup>67</sup> At first, this was purely academic. The Benedictine *cursus* was almost certainly not used at Glastonbury before Dunstan's exile to Gent in 957. Æthelwold's desire to leave Glastonbury for the Continent 'to receive a more perfect grounding in a monk's religious life' may well have been informed in part by a growing conviction that true obedience to the Rule included faithful recitation of the Benedictine *cursus*, impossible in a mixed community of clerks and monks like Glastonbury.<sup>68</sup> It is possible that Dunstan himself did not begin to follow the Benedictine *cursus* until after his elevation to Canterbury. No Office books of Glastonbury have survived; but an eleventh-century fragment and a complete thirteenth-century breviary from a Glastonbury dependency, Muchelney Abbey in Somerset, show that the previously secular *cursus* in use there was 'Benedictinized' through the selective addition of chants from the Corbie tradition, which, as has been seen, was imitated in Æthelwold's houses.<sup>69</sup> The same is true of a fragment from a Benedictine Office chant book copied at St Augustine's,

<sup>67</sup> The Frankish reform texts available to the new English Benedictines are examined in Mechthild Gretsch, 'Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 57: A Witness to the Early Stages of the benedictine Reform in England?', *ASE*, 32 (2003), 111–46 (pp. 114–25, 137–40).

<sup>68</sup> Wulfstan, *Vita S. Æthelwoldi*, c. 10, ed. by Lapidge and Winterbottom, pp. 18–19: 'monastica religione perfectius informari'. That Glastonbury was still mixed in 954, when Æthelwold left to establish his new community at Abingdon, is inferred from Wulfstan's *Vita S. Æthelwoldi*, c. 11 (ibid. p. 20), which states that Æthelwold was followed by a number of *clerici*, but that in a short time he was abbot over a *grex monachorum* (see Nicholas Brooks, 'The Career of St Dunstan', in *Dunstan LTC*, pp. 1–23 (p. 11)). But for the possibility that these *clerici* were in fact monks in minor orders, see *The Liber Vitae of the New Minster and Hyde Abbey, Winchester: British Library Stowe 944 together with Leaves from British Library Cotton Vespasian A.VIII and British Library Cotton Titus D.XVII*, ed. by Simon Keynes, EEMF, 26 (Copenhagen: Rosenkilde and Bagger, 1996), p. 64, n. 133.

<sup>69</sup> BL, MS Additional 56488, fols i and 1–6 (noted breviary fragment, Muchelney, s. xi<sup>1</sup>); see K. D. Hartzell, *Catalogue of Manuscripts Written or Owned in England up to 1200 Containing Music* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2006), pp. 222–25 (no. 124). BL, MS Additional 43405 and MS Additional 43406 (two-volume breviary, Muchelney, s. xiii); see *The Ordinal and Customary of the Abbey of Saint Mary, York*, ed. by the Abbess of Stanbrook (Laurentia McLachlan) and J. B. L. Tolhurst, 3 vols, HBS, 73, 75, 84 (London: HBS, 1936–51), III, p. iv; Jesse D. Billett, 'The Muchelney Breviary and Anglo-Saxon Monastic Liturgy in the Eleventh Century' (unpublished master's dissertation, University of Cambridge, 2003); David Chadd, 'Liturgical Books: Catalogues, Editions and Inventories', in *Die Erschließung der Quellen des mittelalterlichen Gesangs*, ed. by David Hiley, Wolfenbütteler Mittelalter-Studien, 18 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2004), pp. 43–74 (pp. 57–59).



Canterbury, in the second half of the tenth century.<sup>70</sup> This suggests that Dunstan's houses did not adopt a fully Benedictine *cursus* until Æthelwold's had already done so, perhaps in the 960s.

The point of this monastic digression is to show that throughout the tenth century the reformed monks' activities in relation to the Office were mostly tentative and inward looking. The establishment of a separate monastic Office observance meant overcoming practical problems, including the acquisition or production of liturgical books arranged for the Benedictine *cursus*. When the leaders of the reform were promoted to the episcopate, they faced the added dilemma of how to satisfy their monastic obligations in a secular cathedral. Æthelwold cut this Gordian knot. Dunstan, by contrast, is the subject of a nice (if apocryphal) story in Byrhtferth's *Vita S. Oswaldi*, describing how he would sneak across to St Augustine's by night to chant what was apparently the Benedictine Night Office with 'a certain small boy' (echoes of Ceolfrith and his *puerulus* at Jarrow). The first reformers had their initial liturgical formation within an existing Office tradition that would only later be called (in the *Regularis concordia*) the *mos canonicorum* and the *cursus canonicus*, the Office of clerks.<sup>71</sup>

Ælfric betrays his own past experience of the secular *cursus* by referring to only seven daily offices instead of eight. In the secular *cursus*, the Night Office and

<sup>70</sup> Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Rawlinson D. 894, fols 62–63. See Hartzell, *Catalogue of Manuscripts*, pp. 494–95 (no. 286). I disagree on palaeographical grounds with Hartzell's assignment of this manuscript to Christ Church, Canterbury; see my forthcoming *Divine Office in Anglo-Saxon England*.

<sup>71</sup> *Vita Oswaldi*, v. 7, ed. and trans. by Lapidge, pp. 162–63: 'Cumque ad locum ueniret predictum, nocturnis psallebat horis cum quodam puerulo more pii Benedicti; <solebat> ire ad coenobium sancti Augustini atque ibidem orationibus diutius persistere' ('When Dunstan came to this aforementioned place, he used to chant the night offices in the company of a young boy, in the manner of St Benedict; it was his custom to go to St Augustine's monastery and there to remain a long while in prayer'). The story is an adaptation of a miraculous episode in B.'s *Vita S. Dunstani* that involves neither the Office nor a small boy (*Dunstan Memorials*, pp. 48–49). Lapidge notes that, in Gregory's *Dialogi*, St Benedict once spent a night in prayer with a small boy (p. 162, n. 78); there is a parallel with the story of the plague at Jarrow in 686 recorded in the *Vita Ceolfrithi* (*Historia abbatum auctore anonymo*), c. 14, in *Venerabilis Baedae opera historica*, ed. by Charles Plummer, 2 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1896), I, 393 (the small boy may have been Bede himself, who would have been about thirteen years old; see Plummer, I, p. xii). We may be allowed, however, to read 'more pii Benedicti' as applying also to the manner of singing the Night Office. Byrhtferth, writing from a staunchly Benedictine point of view (cf. Michael Lapidge, 'Byrhtferth and Oswald', in *Oswald LI*, pp. 64–83 (pp. 81–82)), may have been trying to address a genuine question of reconciling episcopal duties with monastic liturgical obligations.

Lauds are usually counted as one bipartite hour. The Rule of St Benedict separates them.<sup>72</sup> In both the Latin and Old English versions of the first letter for Wulfstan, Ælfric groups the Night Office and Lauds together as the first office of the day:

*Latin (MS O)*: The first is the nocturnal office.

*Latin (MS C)*: The first is the nocturnal or early morning office.<sup>73</sup>

*Old English (MS O)*: The first office is 'dawn-song' with 'after-song' [Night Office with Lauds].

*Old English (MS D)*: The first office is 'dawn-song' with 'after-song', which belongs to it.<sup>74</sup>

Ælfric could not have learned this rationale from any of the Frankish texts studied by the Benedictine reformers.<sup>75</sup> It probably came from personal experience.<sup>76</sup> While the Benedictine reformers may have been legitimately concerned about the standard of the Divine Office in certain secular minsters, there seems no reason to

<sup>72</sup> This is partly a question of interpreting Psalm 118. 164, 'Septies in die laudem dixi tibi', which in the *Regula S. Benedicti* (c. 16. 4) is applied only to the day hours, with the Night Office justified by a second scriptural passage, Psalm 118. 62, 'Media nocte surgebam ad confitendum tibi'. For the Roman (secular) rationale, see the remarks of the seventeenth-century commentator on the *Institutiones* of John Cassian, Alardus Gazaeus (*PL*, XLIX, notes to cols 129–31).

<sup>73</sup> Ælfric, *Brief II*, 63 (Fehr, p. 43): 'Quarum prima est nocturnal [siue matutinalis, *add. MS C*] sinaxis.'

<sup>74</sup> Ælfric, *Brief II*, 72 (Fehr, pp. 98–101, *MS O*): 'Se forma tydsang is: Uhtsang mid þam æfter-sange [þe þar-to ge-birað, *add. MS D*].' Cf. Whitelock's translation, *Councils and Synods*, I, 276. On the Old English terminology for the various offices, see Helmut Gneuss's review of Ure's edn of *The Benedictine Office*, in *Anglia*, 77 (1959), 226–31 (pp. 227–28).

<sup>75</sup> Neither Chrodegang's *Regula canonicorum* nor the *Institutio canonicorum*, which draws on it, gives a comparable rationale for a sevenfold secular Office *horarium*. Nor does the Enlarged Rule of Chrodegang, which was known in Old English translation (the chapters relating to the Office are cc. 13–24): Brigitte Langefeld, *The Old English Version of the Enlarged Rule of Chrodegang Edited together with the Latin Text and an English Translation*, *Texte und Untersuchungen zur Englischen Philologie*, 26 (Frankfurt a. M.: Peter Lang, 2003), pp. 200–01 (text) and 366–69 (translation). Two other ninth-century commentators on the Office offer their own interpretations. Amalarius of Metz explains Compline as the completion and fulfilment of the other seven offices: *Liber de ordine antiphonarum*, c. 7. 1 (*Amalarii episcopi opera liturgica omnia*, ed. by Hanssens, III, 35). Hrabanus Maurus offers a scriptural justification for each of the eight offices, beginning with Lauds and ending with the Night Office, showing that he regarded them as fully separate: *De institutione clericorum*, II. 1–9, *PL*, CVII, cols 325–29; Hrabanus is quoted at length in the *Benedictine Office*, ed. by Ure, pp. 15–16.

<sup>76</sup> Æthelwold likewise revealed his familiarity with the secular *cursus* in the *Regularis concordia*, par. 50, ed. by Symons, p. 49 and n. 4, referring to 'septem canonicae horae' and calling what is apparently the Night Office 'matutinae', normally the name for Lauds.

believe that the Office of the secular clergy as a whole needed to be rescued from desuetude.

*Two Witnesses to the Secular Office Chant Repertory of the Tenth Century*

While it is pretty clear that an independent secular Office tradition existed in England before and during the Benedictine reform, a lack of surviving secular Office books (and monastic books are hardly more numerous) makes it very difficult to determine its actual content and the Continental traditions that may have influenced it. Important sources of this kind of information are, however, preserved in two manuscripts in which lists of Office chants were copied as additions to the original contents. The Durham Collectar (DCL, MS A.IV.19), in its original layer, contains prayers and short readings for the daytime offices. It was copied in southern England in the late ninth or early tenth century and is itself an important witness to certain parts of the Divine Office at the turn of the tenth century.<sup>77</sup> It was eventually owned by the community of St Cuthbert at Chester-le-Street, where varied texts were copied into the book on three extra quires around the year 970, when (according to a colophon added after several prayers for St Cuthbert copied by Aldred, prior of the community) the manuscript accompanied the retinue of Bishop Ælfsige (968–90) on a journey through Wessex.<sup>78</sup> Among the additions are lists of chant incipits for the period from August to September when the biblical books of Kings, Wisdom, and Job are read at the Night Office (fol. 76 [69]), and the period from September to November when Tobit, Judith, Maccabees, and the Minor Prophets are read (fols 64<sup>v</sup>–65<sup>r</sup>).<sup>79</sup> Added elsewhere in the extra leaves, in

<sup>77</sup> *The Durham Collectar*, ed. by Corrêa; facsimile: *The Durham Ritual: A Southern English Collectar of the Tenth Century with Northumbrian Additions*, ed. by T. J. Brown, with contributions by F. Wormald, A. S. C. Ross, and E. G. Stanley, EEMF, 16 (Copenhagen: Rosenkilde and Bagger, 1969).

<sup>78</sup> The additional material is not included in Corrêa's edition (but see the very helpful discussion on pp. 76–80). The additions are edited in *Rituale ecclesiae Dunelmensis. The Durham Collectar: A New and Revised Edition of the Latin Text with the Interlinear Anglo-Saxon Version*, ed. by U. Lindelöf with an intro. by A. Hamilton Thompson, Surtees Society, 140 (London: Quaritch, 1927). Aldred is best known as the glossator of the Lindisfarne Gospels (BL, MS Cotton Nero D IV). The Cuthbert additions (fol. 84<sup>r</sup>) are ed. by Lindelöf, p. 185; and see Hamilton Thompson's comments on pp. xiv–xix.

<sup>79</sup> On the contents of fol. 76 [69], see *The Durham Ritual*, ed. by Brown, p. 49. The page is almost illegible and is not printed in Lindelöf's edition. (The numbering of the folio is that of the

a different but contemporary hand, is an incomplete list of antiphon and responsory incipits for the four Sundays of Advent (fol. 84<sup>v</sup>).<sup>80</sup>

The second manuscript, CCCC, MS 41, has as its main text the Old English version of Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica*, copied in the first half of the eleventh century at an unidentified southern English scriptorium.<sup>81</sup> Its margins are crammed with additional texts, mostly liturgical, written in a single idiosyncratic hand dated by Neil Ker to the first half or the middle of the eleventh century, apparently before it came into the possession of Bishop Leofric, who donated the book to Exeter.<sup>82</sup> The marginal additions include incipits of Office chants for various occasions: Advent (pp. 61–70), Christmas (pp. 70–71 and 75), the feasts of St Stephen and St John (p. 75), the period from September to November when Job, Judith, and the Minor Prophets are read (pp. 475–77), the feast of St Martin (p. 478), and (in a very tiny script filling all the available space on p. 482) Pentecost, the feasts of John the Baptist, of SS John and Paul, and of SS Peter and Paul, and the Commemoration of St Paul.

facsimile, which takes into account the transposition of one quire when the manuscript was rebound: the first number is the 'correct' one for the manuscript's original state.) The contents of fols 64<sup>v</sup>–65<sup>r</sup> are ed. by Lindelöf, pp. 132–35. Both fol. 76 [69] and fols 64<sup>v</sup>–65<sup>r</sup> were copied by Julian Brown's 'Scribe F' (*The Durham Ritual*, ed. by Brown, pp. 33–34 and 48). On the annual cycle of scriptural readings at the Night Office current in later Anglo-Saxon England, see M. McC. Gatch, 'The Office in Late Anglo-Saxon Monasticism', in *LLASE*, pp. 341–62 (pp. 352–56).

<sup>80</sup> *Rituale ecclesiae Dunelmensis*, ed. by Lindelöf, pp. 185–87. Brown's 'Scribe E' in *The Durham Ritual*, ed. by Brown, pp. 33, 50.

<sup>81</sup> The manuscript is no. 32 in Mildred Budny, *Insular, Anglo-Saxon, and Early Anglo-Norman Manuscript Art at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge: An Illustrated Catalogue*, 2 vols (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, 1997), I, 501–24, and II, pls 396–444 (for origin and provenance, see I, 507–09).

<sup>82</sup> N. R. Ker, *Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1957; re-issued with supplement, 1990), p. 45. A list of the additions is given in M. R. James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge*, 2 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1912), I, 82–85 (to avoid confusion, it should be noticed that James uses the term 'office' to refer to material for use at the Mass; chants for the Divine Office are described instead as 'antiphons' or 'responses'). See also now Hartzell, *Catalogue of Manuscripts*, pp. 18–22 (no. 20). Some of the contents are printed and discussed in Raymond J. S. Grant, *Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 41: The Loricis and the Missal*, Costerus: Essays in English and American Language and Literature, n.s., 17 (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1979), and in Sarah Larratt Keefer, 'Margin as Archive: The Liturgical Marginalia of a Manuscript of the Old English Bede', *Traditio*, 51 (1996), 147–77. But the best analysis of the additions remains the concise and devastating review of Grant's book by Christopher Hohler in *Medium Aevum*, 49 (1980), 275–78.

As the most substantial witnesses to the repertory of Office chants in England before *c.* 1060, the lists of chants in DCL, MS A.IV.19 and CCCC, MS 41 deserve a full, separate study. What follows here considers only their Advent responsories, which may be evaluated with the benefit of René-Jean Hesbert's monumental *CAO*, in which the Advent responsories of eight hundred antiphoners and breviaries are collected and analysed.<sup>83</sup> The Advent responsories in DCL, MS A.IV.19 and CCCC, MS 41 are printed in Table 6, at the end of this essay. Each Sunday has nine responsories (DCL, MS A.IV.19 is incomplete on the fourth Sunday). This is the pattern of the secular *cursus*; twelve responsories would be expected for each Sunday in the monastic *cursus* — though an origin in a monastic community that had not yet adopted the Benedictine form of the Office cannot be ruled out. The numbers and letters printed to the right of each list in Table 6 give Hesbert's shorthand siglum for each responsory refrain (a number) and its verse (a letter).

The repertories of chants in Office books vary considerably from city to city and manuscript to manuscript. Hesbert's eight hundred sources contain between them a repertory of 234 different responsories sung on the four Sundays of Advent and during the December 'Ember Days' (*Quattuor Tempora*).<sup>84</sup> The liturgical requirements of this season would be satisfied by a repertory of just forty-five responsories for the secular *cursus*, or sixty for the monastic. The superabundant variety of chants contained in the sources makes repertorial comparison of responsory series an effective way either to localize an Office book or to identify various channels of influence in its ancestry.<sup>85</sup>

Using the data collected by Hesbert, it is possible to set the lists in DCL, MS A.IV.19 and CCCC, MS 41 within their wider European context. Hesbert's working methods impose certain limitations. His sources are usually (and necessarily)

<sup>83</sup> *CAO*, vols I–IV comprise a comparative edition of the complete contents of twelve early antiphoners; vols V–VI compare and analyse the responsories for Advent in eight hundred sources.

<sup>84</sup> *CAO*, v, 32–33.

<sup>85</sup> The significance of local variation in responsory repertories was first noted in print by Victor Leroquais in his *Les Bréviaires manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France*, 6 vols (Paris [Mâcon]: [Protat], 1934); see the third section of his introduction in vol. I ('Comment identifier un bréviaire manuscrit') and esp. pp. lxii, lxxx. On the earlier unpublished methods of Beyssac, see Hartmut Möller, 'Research on the Antiphoner: Problems and Perspectives', *Journal of the Plainsong and Mediaeval Music Society*, 10 (1987), 1–14 (p. 8). Further historical and methodological comment is given in the introduction to Knud Ottosen, *The Responsories and Versicles of the Latin Office of the Dead* (Århus: Aarhus University Press, 1993). See also David Hiley, *Western Plainchant: A Handbook* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), pp. 336–38.

of a late date, though this need not automatically preclude reasonable inferences about earlier periods.<sup>86</sup> He analysed these sources through statistical tabulation of the sequential juxtaposition of the chants in each manuscript, with the aim of linking the majority pairings into an 'archetypal' series of responsories for each Sunday. The underlying assumptions of this method have been seriously questioned, not least because cases of substantial repertorial variety are given less weight than potentially insignificant accidents of transmission.<sup>87</sup> In its current form, Hesbert's *Corpus* is suited only to the identification of sources in which the same chants occur in the same arrangement. It would be preferable to know all the sources that contain the same repertory of chants as DCL, MS A.IV.19 and CCCC, MS 41, irrespective of arrangement. Bearing this in mind, some preliminary conclusions may nevertheless be drawn.<sup>88</sup>

DCL, MS A.IV.19 shares its series of responsories — up to the point where it breaks off — with twenty-seven of the *CAO* sources (listed in Table 7a, at the end of this essay). The list in CCCC, MS 41 does not match any of Hesbert's eight hundred manuscripts, but it is in close agreement with DCL, MS A.IV.19. The two lists in Table 6 differ in only two places: the ninth responsory of Advent I (DCL, MS A.IV.19: *Laetentur caeli* V. *Ecce dominator*, *CAO* 19A; CCCC, MS 41: *Alieni non* V. *Veniam dicit*, *CAO* 62A), and the ninth responsory of Advent III (DCL, MS A.IV.19: *Docebit nos* V. *Ex Sion*, *CAO* 70B; CCCC, MS 41: *Ecce radix* V. *A solis*, *CAO* 39F). Otherwise, the same responsories appear in the same positions, and with identical verses. This raises the possibility that both are related to a common exemplar.

Tables 7b–c display, using Hesbert's shorthand, the responsories and verses for the four Sundays of Advent as they are found in DCL, MS A.IV.19, CCCC, MS 41, and each manuscript in Table 7a.<sup>89</sup> For Advent III, several sources in Table 7d

<sup>86</sup> Hohler, 'Some Service Books', pp. 80–81; Chadd, 'Liturgical Books', p. 53.

<sup>87</sup> See in particular Jacques Froger, 'La Méthode de Dom Hesbert dans le volume v du *Corpus antiphonarium officii*', *Études grégoriennes*, 18 (1979), 97–143; and by the same author, 'La Méthode de Dom Hesbert dans le volume vi du *Corpus antiphonarium officii*', *Études grégoriennes*, 19 (1980), 185–96. In a review of vol. v, Michel Huglo notes Hesbert's omission of several important early witnesses (*Revue de musicologie*, 63 (1977), 164–68). A full list of substantial reviews is given in Möller, 'Research on the Antiphoner', p. 11, n. 14. See also Chadd, 'Liturgical Books', p. 56.

<sup>88</sup> Victor Leroquais's work affirmed repeatedly that there is generally reliable continuity in both repertorial selection and arrangement in most centres.

<sup>89</sup> Space prohibits a complete list of the texts signified by each number and letter (for which see *CAO*, v, 32–33, vi, 7–55). It is sufficient for the present discussion to note how the *CAO* manuscripts may differ from DCL, MS A.IV.19 and CCCC, MS 41.

(nos 177, 180, 186, 206, 471, and 496) include CCCC, MS 41's ninth responsory, 39 (*Ecce radix*), as a supernumerary alternative to the DCL, MS A.IV.19 responsory, 70 (*Docebit nos*). It is common, and the norm in earlier antiphoners, to find responsories surplus to requirements on certain occasions.<sup>90</sup> The Advent III chants in DCL, MS A.IV.19 and CCCC, MS 41 could conceivably have been drawn from a single original series, differing in their ninth responsories only because of different decisions about which nine chants were to be used.

It is unlikely that the appearance of responsory 62 (*Alieni non*) in CCCC, MS 41 as the ninth responsory of Advent I can be explained in the same way. Perusal of Hesbert's data suggests that this is essentially a 'western' chant, and that it was probably introduced to the CCCC, MS 41 repertory — which, as shall be seen, is more aligned with 'eastern' sources — through some secondary channel of influence.<sup>91</sup> But it does appear as one of the three extra 'monastic' chants (making up the monastic complement of twelve responsories) in a breviary from the Benedictine monastery of St Maximin in Trier, where it is paired with responsory 18 (*Obsecro Domine*), just as in CCCC, MS 41.<sup>92</sup> It is not impossible that it was native to a, now lost, eastern Frankish responsory series.

Examination of the responsory verses (represented by letters in Hesbert's shorthand) permits a more narrow localization of the origin of the Advent responsory repertory shared by DCL, MS A.IV.19 and CCCC, MS 41. The order in which rows in Tables 7b–e are listed is based on the number of times each source gives the same verse assignment as DCL, MS A.IV.19 and CCCC, MS 41. No one manuscript has an identical set of verses, but several have thirty-five out of thirty-eight possible matches (the combined repertory of the Durham and Corpus lists). Looking down the left-hand column of the tables, it becomes clear that manuscripts with the same geographical origin tend to have comparable numbers of matching verses. This is most striking in the five books from Aosta, counted as having 12.5 matches to take into account their consistent use of two variable verses with

<sup>90</sup> These extra responsories may sometimes be for use on weekdays, but they may equally be included for discretionary use by the cantor or out of an archival tendency on the part of the scribe: László Dobszay, 'Reading an Office Book', in *The Divine Office in the Latin Middle Ages: Methodology and Source Studies, Regional Developments, Hagiography*, ed. by Margot E. Fassler and Rebecca A. Baltzer (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), pp. 48–60 (p. 53).

<sup>91</sup> Compare occurrences of responsory 62 in Hesbert's Germanic 'deuxième groupe' (*CAO*, VI, 122) with those in his Latin 'premier groupe' (VI, 131).

<sup>92</sup> Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibliothek, MS Aug. CCLXVI (s. xiv). See *CAO*, v, 39 (no. 638).

responsory 11 (*Aspiciens a longe*).<sup>93</sup> The major centres most closely related to DCL, MS A.IV.19 and CCCC, MS 41 are Trier, Mainz, and Würzburg. Indeed, the verse assignments in DCL, MS A.IV.19 and CCCC, MS 41 agree almost perfectly with Hesbert's reconstruction of the typical 'Germanic' (as opposed to 'Latin') set of responsory verses.<sup>94</sup>

The two English lists depart from Hesbert's Germanic *liste-type* at two points. An intriguing link is observed with the thirteenth- or fourteenth-century breviary of the Augustinian canons of Sankt Florian, near Linz in Austria (no. 496), which not only includes the extra responsory 39, but also, like CCCC, MS 41, assigns to it verse 'F' (*A solis ortu*).<sup>95</sup> This verse assignment is found in only one other *CAO* source, no. 206 in Table 7a, localized by Hesbert to 'Bavaria'. (It was included in Table 7 for this reason, despite several departures from the arrangement in DCL, MS A.IV.19, underscoring the limitations of Hesbert's purely mechanistic approach.<sup>96</sup>) The Sankt Florian book would be an even closer match but for its unique verse in responsory 38.<sup>97</sup> This point of agreement could indicate that the repertory behind DCL, MS A.IV.19 and CCCC, MS 41 should be localized somewhere east of the Rhine.

In a second departure from Hesbert's Germanic *liste-type*, in both DCL, MS A.IV.19 and CCCC, MS 41 responsory 37 (*Descendet dominus*) has the verse *Ex Sion* (Hesbert's verse 'E'). This appears in only one manuscript in *CAO*: the

<sup>93</sup> *Aspiciens* is always found with two invariable verses (*Quique* and *Qui regis*), followed by at least one variable verse (*CAO*, vi, 2). Only the variable verses are noted in Hesbert's shorthand. The order of verses in CCCC, MS 41 is unorthodox.

<sup>94</sup> *CAO*, vi, 141. The verses would seem to rule out an otherwise possible connection with Metz, whose Office books (along with the Cistercian books derived from them) transmit the whole repertory Advent responsories in DCL, MS A.IV.19 and CCCC, MS 41 (including the pairings 19–62 and 39–70), but with different verse assignments (*CAO*, nos 321, 600, 667, 714, 716).

<sup>95</sup> Sankt Florian, Chorherren-Stiftsbibliothek, MS X 384. Hesbert dates this manuscript to the twelfth century and calls it an antiphoner. But see its entry, with digital images, in the online catalogue of the Hill Monastic Manuscript Library; catalogue, <[http://www.hmml.org/research08/catalogue/mss\\_search.asp](http://www.hmml.org/research08/catalogue/mss_search.asp)>; images: <<http://www.hmml.org/vivarium/>> [both accessed 17 May 2008].

<sup>96</sup> Copenhagen, Kongelige Bibliotek, MS Ny kgl. S. 137 40. Ellen Jørgensen, *Catalogus codicum Latinorum medii aevi Bibliothecae regiae Hafniensis* (Copenhagen: Gyldendal, 1926), p. 214, dates the manuscript to the fourteenth century and describes it as 'Codex mutilus. Breviarium. Prov. Germania.' (Hesbert's localization: *CAO*, v, 7; no. 206.)

<sup>97</sup> Verse 'D', *Deus a Libano* (*CAO*, vi, 30).



thirteenth-century breviary from Muchelney Abbey, already mentioned.<sup>98</sup> This would appear to be an insular variant in an otherwise eastern Frankish responsory series, though it is again possible that it derives from a lost Frankish model. Although the Muchelney Advent responsory series seems to be the product of considerable editorial rearrangement, it does include the responsory pairings 19–62 and 39–70.<sup>99</sup> Its verse assignments are eclectic; but Hesbert noted that the proportion of ‘Germanic’ verses (over half) was unusually large for an English monastic breviary.<sup>100</sup> The repertory represented in DCL, MS A.IV.19 and CCCC, MS 41 may therefore have been one of the major sources of the monastic Office liturgy of Muchelney, and perhaps also of Glastonbury.

How and when did this eastern Frankish repertory of Advent responsories reach England? The earliest scenario that can be conceived (if only to be dismissed) would see this repertory as English in origin, attributing its introduction on the Continent to the activities of Boniface. One of the dioceses that he founded, Passau, embraced Sankt Florian and perhaps the Bavarian church that produced the related responsory series in Copenhagen, MS Ny kgl. S. 137 40.<sup>101</sup> But so far as the repertory of Advent Office chants in eighth-century England can be known at all — the main witness is a selection of chant texts from the York antiphoner included by Alcuin in his devotional florilegium *De laude Dei* (ante 786) — it seems to have borne only an imperfect likeness to the repertory in surviving Continental books.<sup>102</sup> Indeed, Advent was probably observed in England in

<sup>98</sup> See note 69 above.

<sup>99</sup> Advent I: 11- 12A 13A 14A 17A 15B 18A 16A 19A 62A 60A 63A; Advent II: 21A 22A 24A 25B 26A 27A 28B 29A 64B 80C 72- 81A; Advent III: 31B 32B 33A 34B 35B 38B 36A 37E 39A 70A 73A 92A; Advent IV: 41A 42A 43A 44A 45B 46B 47A 48A 49A 25B 93A 91A.

<sup>100</sup> *CAO*, vi, 224; and René-Jean Hesbert, ‘Les Antiphonaires monastiques insulaires’, *Revb*, 92 (1982), 358–75 (pp. 363–66, 370–71).

<sup>101</sup> See p. 458 and note 96 above.

<sup>102</sup> Radu Constantinescu, ‘Alcuin et les “libelli precum” de l’époque carolingienne’, *Revue d’histoire et de la spiritualité*, 50 (1974), 17–56; Donald A. Bullough, ‘Alcuin and the Kingdom of Heaven: Liturgy, Theology, and the Carolingian Age’, in his *Carolingian Renewal: Sources and Heritage* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1991), pp. 161–240 (pp. 164–69) (first publ. in *Carolingian Essays: Andrew W. Mellon Lectures in Early Christian Studies*, ed. by Uta-Renate Blumenthal (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 1983), pp. 1–69); Bullough, *Alcuin*, pp. 193–99; David Ganz, ‘Le *De Laude Dei* d’Alcuin’, in *Alcuin, de York à Tours: écriture, pouvoir et réseaux dans l’Europe du haut Moyen Âge*, ed. by Philippe Depreux and Bruno Judic, *Annales de Bretagne*, 111.3 (Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2004), pp. 387–91; and Susan Rankin, ‘Alcuin’s *De laude Dei* and other early sources of Office chants’, a paper given at the

Alcuin's lifetime as a season of six Sundays, not the four found in Continental chant books after *c.* 800.<sup>103</sup> At the latest end of the possible chronological range (established by the date of the Chester-le-Street additions to DCL, MS A.IV.19, *c.* 970), an example of cultural contact with Trier is found in the well-known Benna, a canon of St Paulinus. Summoned to be tutor to King Edgar's daughter Edith (*ante* 975), he later decorated her church at Wilton (*c.* 984) and, on a return visit to Trier, secured for Wilton a relic of the Holy Nails.<sup>104</sup>

A date of transmission somewhere between these extremes seems most likely. DCL, MS A.IV.19 and CCCC, MS 41 seem to have drawn on material from one or more churches in the South-West of England, which could be suggestive of Alfred's reign or, indeed, of Æthelstan's. Chester-le-Street's links with Wessex in the tenth century are well known, and it is paleographically and codicologically possible that the lists of Office chants in the Durham Collectar were copied on the same journey through Wessex during which Aldred copied the prayers for St Cuthbert.<sup>105</sup> The Cuthbert prayers may have been copied at the same centre that produced CCCC, MS 183, the famous copy of the Life and rhymed Office of Cuthbert, commissioned by Æthelstan, 934x39.<sup>106</sup> Simon Keynes has suggested

2001 York Quodlibet Conference, which will no longer appear in the delayed proceedings of that conference, but instead in a volume in honour of Thomas Forrest Kelly to be published by Harvard University Press (I am grateful to Susan Rankin for allowing me to read this paper in typescript). The Office was the subject of a number of revisions by Carolingian liturgists in the ninth century; see Michel Huglo, 'Les Remaniements de l'antiphonaire grégorienne au IX<sup>e</sup> siècle: Hélishachar, Agobard, Amalaire', in *Cultu cristiano, politica imperile carolinga, 9–12 ottobre 1977*, Convegno del Centro di studi sulla spiritualità medievale, Università degli studi di Perugia, 18 (Todi: Presso l'Accademia Tudertina, 1979), pp. 87–120. This is not to deny that Boniface may have introduced other English liturgical texts at his Continental foundations; cf. Christopher Hohler (with Anselm Hughes), 'The Durham Services in Honour of St. Cuthbert', in *The Relics of Saint Cuthbert*, ed. by C. F. Battiscombe (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1956), pp. 155–91 (p. 158).

<sup>103</sup> Bullough, *Alcuin*, p. 194. On the early medieval development of Advent, see Margot E. Fassler, 'Sermons, Sacramentaries, and Early Sources for the Office in the Latin West: The Example of Advent', in *Divine Office in the Latin Middle Ages*, ed. by Fassler and Baltzer, pp. 15–47.

<sup>104</sup> According to the *Life* of Edith by Goscelin of Saint-Bertin (*c.* 1080): A. Wilmart, 'La Légende de Ste Edith en prose et vers par le moine Goscelin', *Analecta Bollandiana*, 56 (1938), 5–101, 265–307 (pp. 73, 86–87). For brief notice and further references, see Michael Hare, 'Abbot Leofsige of Mettlach: An English Monk in Flanders and Upper Lotharingia in the Late Tenth Century', *ASE*, 33 (2004), 109–44 and Plates I and II (pp. 140–41 and n. 174).

<sup>105</sup> See p. 453 and note 78 above.

<sup>106</sup> The prayers copied by Aldred use the versions in CCCC, MS 183. The conventional belief that this manuscript was commissioned as a gift for Chester-le-Street has been challenged by David

Glastonbury and Wells (but not Winchester) as possible origins of CCCC, MS 183.<sup>107</sup> Wells was also suggested by Christopher Hohler as the probable source of the hymns and Mass material in CCCC, MS 41.<sup>108</sup> Liturgical books with Trier connections were apparently available in England in the latter years of Alfred's reign: the original layer of the so-called Leofric Missal (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 579), probably made for Alfred's archbishop, Plegmund, includes the names of three saintly archbishops of Trier in one of its litanies.<sup>109</sup> The introduction of the repertory of Office chants preserved in DCL, MS A.IV.19 and CCCC, MS 41 could be attributed to one of Alfred's Continental advisers. Asser's description of Grimbold of Saint-Bertin as *cantator optimus* could, as David Knowles thought, imply a musical-liturgical dimension to Alfred's educational and ecclesiastical reforms, and it has been suggested that Grimbold brought to England the exemplar from which the original layer of the Durham Collectar was copied.<sup>110</sup> The link between CCCC, MS 41 and later manuscripts from Sankt Florian and Bavaria could point instead to John the Old Saxon, whose sobriquet suggests an origin east of the Rhine.<sup>111</sup> Nothing so specific implicates Æthelstan's clergy, but his circle was certainly in touch with Continental liturgical developments.<sup>112</sup>

The date of this repertory's transmission must remain for now a matter for speculation. But the chant lists in DCL, MS A.IV.19 and CCCC, MS 41 nevertheless imply the availability in England in the tenth century of books containing the 'Gregorian' repertory of Office chants first codified in Frankish Gaul under the

Rollason, 'St Cuthbert and Wessex: The Evidence of Cambridge, Corpus Christi College Ms 183', in *St Cuthbert, his Cult and his Community to AD 1200*, ed. by Gerald Bonner, David Rollason, and Clare Stancliffe (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 1989), pp. 413–24. The office was, in any case, composed for the court chapel (Hohler, 'The Durham Services', p. 159).

<sup>107</sup> Simon Keynes, 'King Athelstan's Books', in *LLASE*, pp. 143–201 (pp. 184–85).

<sup>108</sup> Hohler's review of Grant in *Medium Aevum*, 49, p. 275.

<sup>109</sup> As noted by Hohler, 'Some Service Books', p. 78. *The Leofric Missal*, ed. by Nicholas Orchard, 2 vols, HBS, 113–14 (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2002), II, 390 (Maximinus and Paulinus) and 391 (Modestus). See also Orchard's discussion of the litany (I, 66).

<sup>110</sup> Asser (Stevenson), c. 78 (p. 63); *The Durham Collectar*, ed. by Corrêa, pp. 121–22.

<sup>111</sup> Michael Lapidge, 'John the Old Saxon (*fl.* c.885–904)', in *ODNB*, xxx, 204.

<sup>112</sup> The Cuthbert rhymed office in CCCC, MS 183 is itself a witness to this kind of contact, being the earliest English example of a rhymed office, and indeed 'one of the earliest four or five known of its kind' (Hohler, 'The Durham Services', p. 156). Christopher Hohler judged it to be probably the work of 'a clerk from the Low Countries' (*ibid.*, p. 157); see also Rollason, 'St Cuthbert and Wessex', p. 417.

Carolingians. This tradition of Office chant was introduced through a channel apparently outside those usually associated with the tenth-century English Benedictine reform, and quite possibly before Dunstan's appointment as Abbot of Glastonbury (940x46). To judge from the evidence of the later Muchelney breviary, this secular Office tradition was not wholly replaced, but adapted for use in a strictly Benedictine Office liturgy. It was perhaps this secular tradition that gave the future leaders of the Benedictine reform their first liturgical formation, even if Æthelwold would later reject it in favour of a different Continental model, Corbie. Reformed monastic propaganda notwithstanding, the evidence of DCL, MS A.IV.19 and CCCC, MS 41 suggests that the Office liturgy of the English secular clergy in the tenth century was still vigorous, open to innovation, and aware of Continental developments. All this may explain why it was only in the generation of Ælfric and Wulfstan that the reformed Benedictines first presumed to offer instruction to their secular colleagues in the performance of the Office.

Having set out to test the traditional view that the Benedictine reformers should be credited with the renewal of the Divine Office among the English secular clergy, we find that the slight available evidence for such a campaign around the turn of the millennium belies the true tenth-century situation. The real innovation of the monastic reformers was the adoption of the Benedictine *cursus* in their own Office liturgy, inspired by their reading of Frankish monastic literature of the ninth century. England had previously known only one form of the Office, used by monks and clerks alike, and this form continued in use through the ninth century and into the tenth. The new English Benedictines of the tenth century established their reformed monastic Office on the foundation of this earlier tradition, for which they maintained profound respect. Tenth-century England offers a salutary warning against treating ninth-century Frankish liturgical ideas as normative for the whole history of the Office in the West. That the repertory of chants for the secular *cursus* in DCL, MS A.IV.19 and CCCC, MS 41 derives from an apparently eastern Frankish source adds to the growing body of evidence for productive liturgical exchanges between the English Church and the Continent in the first half of the tenth century, exchanges surely more indicative of the vitality of the native tradition than of its stagnation.

St John's College, University of Cambridge

Table 6. Advent Responsories and Verses in DCL, MS A.IV.19 and CCCC, MS 41.

DCL, MS A.IV.19				CCCC, MS 41			
Responsory	Verse	CAO		Responsory	Verse	CAO	
ADVENT I				ADVENT I			
1	Aspiciens a longe	Quique terrigenae	–	1	Aspiciens	Quique	–
		Qui regis Israel	–			Tollite	11B
		Tollite portas	11B			Qui regis Israel	–
2	Aspiciebam	Ecce dominator	12B	2	Aspiciebam	Ecce dominator	12B
3	Missus est Gabriel	Aue Maria	13A	3	Missus est Gabriel	Aue Maria	13A
4	Aue Maria	Tollite portas	14B	4	Aue Maria	Tollite	14B
5	Saluatorem	Preo[c]cupemus	15B	5	Saluatorem	Preo[c]cupemus	15B
6	Audite uerbum	A solis ortu	16B	6	Audite uerbum	A solis ortu	16B
7	Ecce uirgo con[cipiet]	Tollite	17B	7	Ecce uirgo	Tollite	17B
8	Obsecro Domine	A solis ortu	18A	8	Obsecro Domine	A solis ortu	18A
9	Laetentur caeli	Ecce dominator	19A	9	Alieni non	Veniam dicit	62A
ADVENT II				ADVENT II			
1	Hierusalem cito	Israel si me audieris	21A	1	Hierusalem cito	Israel si me	21A
2	Ecce Dominus ueniet et omnes sancti	A solis ortu	22B	2	Ecce Dominus	A solis ortu	22B
3	Ierusalem surge	Leua in circuitu	23A	3	Hierusalem	Leua in circu[itu] oculos	23A
4	Ciuitas Ierusalem	Ecce dominator	24B	4	Ciuitas Hierusalem	Ecce dominator	24B
5	Ecce ueniet Dominus	Ecce dominator	25B	5	Ecce ueniet [Dominator] protec[tor]	Ecce domi[nator]	25B
6	Sicut mater	Deus a Libano	26B	6	Sicut mater	Deus a Libano	26B
7	Ierusalem plantabis	Deus a Libano	27B	7	Hierusalem plan[tabis]	Deus a Libano	27B
8	Egredietur Dominus	Deus a Libano	28B	8	Egredietur Dominus de Samaria	Deus a Liba[no]	28B
9	Rex noster adueni	Ecce agnus Dei	29A	9	Rex noster	Ecce agnus Dei	29A

DCL, MS A.IV.19			CCCC, MS 41		
Responsory	Verse	CAO	Responsory	Verse	CAO
ADVENT III			ADVENT III		
1 Ecce apparebit	Ecce dominator	31B	1 Ecce a[p]parebit	Ecce dominator	31B
2 Betl[e]em ciuitas	Deus a Libano	32B	2 Beth[le]em ciuitas	Deus a Libano	32B
3 Qui uenturus est	Ex [S]ion species	33B	3 Qui uenturus	Ex [S]ion	33B
4 Suscipe uerbum	Aue Maria	34B	4 Suscipe uerbum	Aue Maria	34B
5 Egipte noli	Ecce dominator	35B	5 Egiptae noli	Ecce dominator	35B
6 Prope est	Qui uenturus est	36A	6 Prope est	Qui uenturus	36A
7 Descendet Dominus	Ex [S]ion	37E	7 Descendit Dominus	Ex [S]ion species	37E
8 Ueni Domine et noli	A solis ortu	38B	8 Ueni Domine	A solis	38B
9 Docebit nos	Ex [S]ion	70B	9 Ecce radix	A solis	39F
ADVENT IV			ADVENT IV		
1 Canite tuba in Sion	A solis ortu	41B	1 Canite tuba	A solis	41B
2 Octaua decima	Ego sum Dominus Deus uester	42A	2 Octaua decima	Ego sum Dominus Deus	42A
3 Non auferetur	Pulchriores sunt	43A	3 Non auferetur	Pulchriores	43A
4 Me oportet	Hoc est testimonium	44A	4 Me oportet	Hoc est testimonium	44A
5 Ecce iam uenit		45-	5 Ecce iam uenit	Prope est ut	45B
			6 Uirgo Israel	A solis ortu	46B
			7 Iurauit dicit Dominus	A solis ortu	47B
			8 Non discedimus	Domine Deus uirtutum	48A
			9 Intuemini	Et dominator	49A

Table 7a. Sources in *CAO* with Advent Responsory Lists Identical to that in DCL, MS A.IV.19.

<i>CAO</i>	Shelfmark	Origin	Date	Verses
109	Aosta, Cattedrale, MS <i>s.n.</i>	Aosta	s. xiii	12.5
110	Aosta, Cattedrale, MS <i>s.n.</i>	Aosta	s. xiv	12.5
111*	Aosta, Collegio Sant'Orso, MS <i>s.n.</i>	Aosta, St Jacquême	s. xiii	9/18
113	Aosta, Biblioteca del Seminario maggiore, MS <i>s.n.</i>	Augustinian	s. xiii	15
114	Aosta, Biblioteca del Seminario maggiore, MS <i>s.n.</i>	Aosta	s. xiv	12.5
177	Karlsruhe Badische Landesbibliothek, MS Schwarzach 17	Germany	s. xiv	33
180	Kassel, Landesbibliothek, MS Theol. fol. 121	Fritzlar, St Peter	s. xiv	33
186	Kassel, Landesbibliothek, MS Theol. fol. 161	Fritzlar, St Peter	s. xiv	34
199	Koblenz, Staatsarchiv, MS 109	Trier	s. xiv med.	35
206†	Copenhagen, Kongelige Bibliotek, MS Ny kgl. S. 137 40	Bavaria	s. xiv	34
251	Grand-Saint-Bernard MS <i>s.n.</i>	Grand-Saint-Bernard	s. xiv	17
255	Hannover, Landesbibliothek, MS I. 101 b	Unlocalized	s. xv ex.	32
355	Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Lat. lit. e 5	Geneva	s. xv	26
356	Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Laud. misc. 284	Würzburg	s. xii–xiii	34
358	Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Laud. misc. 382	Germany	s. xv	31
395	Paris, BnF, MS lat. 781	Limoges?	s.xii	7
407	Paris, BnF, MS lat. 1062	Mainz	s. xv	34
432	Paris, BnF, MS lat. 16307	Geneva	s. xiii <sup>2</sup>	28
471	Raigern, Klášterní Knihovna benediktin, MS F/K 1 α 1	Trebič	1395	33
474	Rome, Biblioteca Angelica, MS 440	Grand-Saint-Bernard	s. xiv	11
475	Rome, Biblioteca Vaticana, MS lat. 4751	Krakow	s. xv	22
496	Sankt Florian, Chorherren-Stiftsbibliothek, MS X 384	Sankt Florian	s. xiv	35
537	Toledo, Biblioteca capitular, MS 37.2	Aosta	1433	12.5
547	Trier, Bistumsarchiv, MS 523	Trier	s. xiv	34
549	Trier, Dombibliothek, MS 180 F	Trier?	s. xiv	34
553	Trier, Stadtbibliothek, MS 427	Trier	s. xiv <sup>2</sup>	35

<i>CAO</i>	Shelfmark	Origin	Date	Verses
580	Vercelli, Biblioteca capitolare, MS CCX	Aosta	s. xiv	12.5
596	Würzburg, Universitätsbibliothek, MS Mp th. f. 168	Würzburg, St Kylian	c. 1304	<i>n.v.</i>

\* No. 111 (Aosta, Collegio Sant'Orso) is lacunary at the first and fourth Sundays of Advent.

† No. 206 (Copenhagen, MS Ny kgl. S. 137 40) inverts the order of responsories 25 and 26 on Advent II (see Table 7c below). On Advent III it shares with CCCC, MS 41 the responsory and verse '39F', found elsewhere only in no. 496 (Sankt Florian, MS X 384).



Table 7b. Responsories and Verses of Advent I, Listed in Order of their Sources' Relatedness to DCL, MS A.IV.19 and CCCC, MS 41.

<i>CAO</i>	Origin (Verse matches)									
	DCL, MS A.IV.19	11B	12B	13A	14B	15B	16B	17B	18A	19A
	CCCC, MS 41	11B	12B	13A	14B	15B	16B	17B	18A	62A
496	Sankt Florian (35)	11B	12B	13A	14B	15B	16B	17B	18A	19A
199	Trier (35)	11B	12B	13A	14B	15B	16B	17B	18A	19A
553	Trier (35)	11B	12B	13A	14B	15B	16B	17B	18A	19A
547	Trier (34)	11B	12B	13A	14A	15B	16B	17B	18A	19A
549	Trier? (34)	11B	12B	13A	14A	15B	16B	17B	18A	19A
206	Bavaria (34)	11B	12B	13A	14B	15B	16B	17B	18A	19A
186	Fritzlar, St Peter (34)	11A	12B	13A	14B	15B	16B	17B	18A	19A
407	Mainz (34)	11A	12B	13A	14B	15B	16B	17B	18A	19A
356	Würzburg (34)	11B	12B	13A	14B	15B	16B	17B	18A	19A
596	Würzburg, St Kylian ( <i>n.v.</i> )	11-	12-	13-	14-	15-	16-	17-	18-	19-
180	Fritzlar, St Peter (33)	11A	12B	13A	14B	15B	16B	17B	18A	19A
177	Germany (33)	11A	12B	13A	14B	15B	16B	17B	18A	19A
471	Trebič (33)	11A	12B	13A	14B	15B	16B	17B	18A	19A
255	Unlocalized (32)	11A	12B	13A	14B	15B	16B	17B	18A	19A
358	Germany (31)	11A	12B	13A	14B	15B	16B	17B	18A	19A
432	Geneva (28)	11A	12A	13A	14B	15B	16A	17B	18A	19A
355	Geneva (26)	11A	12A	13A	14A	15B	16A	17B	18A	19A
475	Krakow (22)	11B	12A	13A	14A	15A	16B	17B	18A	19A
111	Aosta, St Jacquême (9/18)	00	00	00	00	00	00	00	00	00
251	Grand-Saint-Bernard (17)	11B	12A	13A	14A	15A	16A	17C	18A	19A
113	Augustinian (15)	11A	12B	13A	14A	15A	16B	17A	18B	19B
109	Aosta (12.5)	11AB	12A	13A	14A	15A	16A	17C	18A	19B
110	Aosta (12.5)	11AB	12A	13A	14A	15A	16A	17C	18A	19B
114	Aosta (12.5)	11AB	12A	13A	14A	15A	16A	17C	18A	19B
537	Aosta (12.5)	11AB	12A	13A	14A	15A	16A	17C	18A	19B
580	Aosta (12.5)	11AB	12A	13A	14A	15A	16A	17C	18A	19B
474	Grand-Saint-Bernard (11)	11A	12A	13A	14A	15A	16A	17A	18A	19B
395	Limoges? (7)	11A	12A	13B	14A	15A	16A	17A	18A	19B

Table 7c. Responsories and Verses of Advent II, Listed in Order of their Sources' Relatedness to DCL, MS A.IV.19 and CCCC, MS 41.

CAO	Origin (Verse matches)									
	DCL, MS A.IV.19	21A	22B	23A	24B		25B	26B	27B	28B 29A
	CCCC, MS 41	21A	22B	23A	24B		25B	26B	27B	28B 29A
496	Sankt Florian (35)	21A	22B	23A	24B		25B	26B	27B	28B 29A
199	Trier (35)	21A	22B	23A	24B		25B	26B	27B	28B 29A
553	Trier (35)	21A	22B	23A	24B		25B	26B	27B	28B 29A
547	Trier (34)	21A	22B	23A	24B		25B	26B	27B	28B 29A
549	Trier? (34)	21A	22B	23A	24B		25B	26B	27B	28B 29A
206	Bavaria (34)	21A	22A	23A	24B	26B	25B		27B	28B 29A
186	Fritzlar, St Peter (34)	21A	22B	23A	24B		25B	26B	27B	28B 29A
407	Mainz (34)	21A	22B	23A	24B		25B	26B	27B	28B 29A
356	Würzburg (34)	21A	22B	23A	24B		25B	26B	27B	28B 29A
596	Würzburg, St Kylian ( <i>n.v.</i> )	21-	22-	23-	24-		25-	26-	27-	28- 29-
180	Fritzlar, St Peter (33)	21B	22B	23A	24B		25B	26B	27B	28B 29A
177	Germany (33)	21A	22B	23A	24B		25A	26B	27B	28B 29A
471	Trebič (33)	21A	22B	23A	24B		25B	26B	27B	28B 29A
255	Unlocalized (32)	21A	22B	23A	24B		25B	26B	27B	28B 29A
358	Germany (31)	21A	22B	23A	24B		25B	26B	27B	28B 29A
432	Geneva (28)	21A	22B	23A	24B		25B	26B	27B	28B 29A
355	Geneva (26)	21A	22B	23A	24B		25B	26B	27B	28B 29A
475	Krakow (22)	21A	22A	23A	24B		25A	26A	27A	28B 29A
111	Aosta, St Jacquême (9/18)	21A	22B	23A	24B		25A	26B	27A	28A 29A
251	Grand-Saint-Bernard (17)	21A	22B	23A	24A		25B	26B	27C	28A 29A
113	Augustinian (15)	21A	22A	23A	24A		25A	26B	27A	28A 29A
109	Aosta (12.5)	21A	22A	23A	24A		25A	26A	27A	28A 29A
110	Aosta (12.5)	21A	22A	23A	24A		25A	26A	27A	28A 29A
114	Aosta (12.5)	21A	22A	23A	24A		25A	26A	27A	28A 29A
537	Aosta (12.5)	21A	22A	23A	24A		25A	26A	27A	28A 29A
580	Aosta (12.5)	21A	22A	23A	24A		25A	26A	27A	28A 29A
474	Grand-Saint-Bernard (11)	21A	22A	23A	24A		25A	26A	27A	28A 29A
395	Limoges? (7)	21A	22B	23A	24A		25A	26A	27A	28A 29B

Table 7d. Responsories and Verses of Advent III, Listed in Order of their Sources' Relatedness to DCL, MS A.IV.19 and CCCC, MS 41.

CAO	Origin (Verse matches)											
	DCL, MS A.IV.19	31B	32B	33B	34B	35B	36A	37E	38B	70B		
	CCCC, MS 41	31B	32B	33B	34B	35B	36A	37E	38B		39F	
496	Sankt Florian (35)	31B	32B	33B	34B	35B	36A	37B	38D	70B	39F	
199	Trier (35)	31B	32B	33B	34B	35B	36A	37B	38B	70B		
553	Trier (35)	31B	32B	33B	34B	35B	36A	37B	38B	70B		
547	Trier (34)	31B	32B	33B	34B	35B	36A	37B	38B	70B		
549	Trier? (34)	31B	32B	33B	34B	35B	36A	37B	38B	70B		
206	Bavaria (34)	31B	32B	33B	34B	35B	36A	37B		70B	39F	
186	Fritzlar, St Peter (34)	31B	32B	33B	34B	35B	36A	37B	38B	70B	39B	81B
407	Mainz (34)	31B	32B	33B	34B	35B	36A	37B	38B	70B		
356	Würzburg (34)	31B	32B	33B	34B	35B	36A	37B	38B	70B		
596	Würzburg, St Kylian ( <i>n.v.</i> )	31-	32-	33-	34-	36-	36-	37-	38-	70-		
180	Fritzlar, St Peter (33)	31B	32B	33B	34B	35B	36A	37B	38B	70B	39B	
177	Germany (33)	31B	32B	33B	34B	35B	36A	37B	38B	70B	39A	
471	Trebič (33)	31B	32B	33B	34B	35B	36A	37A	38A	70B	39B	
255	Unlocalized (32)	31B	32B	33B	34B	35B	36A	37B	38A	70B		
358	Germany (31)	31B	32B	33B	34B	35B	36A	37B	38B	70B		
432	Geneva (28)	31B	32D	33B	34B	35B	36A	37C	38B	70B		
355	Geneva (26)	31B	32D	33B	34B	35B	36A	37C	38B	70B		
475	Krakow (22)	31A	32A	33A	34A	35B	36A	37A	38B	70A		
111	Aosta, St Jacquême (9/18)	31B	32A	33A	34A	35B	36A	37A	38A	70A		
251	Grand-Saint-Bernard (17)	31C	32A	33A	34A	35A	36A	37C	38B	70C		
113	Augustinian (15)	31A	32A	33B	34A	35A	36A	37A	38A	70A		
109	Aosta (12.5)	31C	32D	33C	34A	35A	36A	37C	38B	70C		
110	Aosta (12.5)	31C	32D	33C	34A	35A	36A	37C	38B	70C		
114	Aosta (12.5)	31C	32D	33C	34A	35A	36A	37C	38B	70C		
537	Aosta (12.5)	31C	32D	33C	34A	35A	36A	37C	38B	70C		
580	Aosta (12.5)	31C	32D	33C	34A	35A	36A	37C	38B	70C		
474	Grand-Saint-Bernard (11)	31A	32A	33A	34A	35A	36A	37A	38A	70A		
395	Limoges? (7)	31A	32A	33A	34A	35A	36A	37A	38A	70A		



<i>CAO</i>	Origin (Verse marches)												
111	Aosta, St Jacqu�me (9/18)	00	00	00	00	00	00	00	00	00	00	00	00
251	Grand-Saint-Bernard (17)	41D	42A	43A	44A	45B	46C	47C	48A	49B			
113	Augustinian (15)	41A	42A	43A	44A	45B	46C	47E	48A	49A			
109	Aosta (12.5)	41D	42A	43A	44A	45B	46C	47C	48A	49B			
110	Aosta (12.5)	41D	42A	43A	44A	45B	46C	47C	48A	49B			
114	Aosta (12.5)	41D	42A	43A	44A	45B	46C	47C	48A	49B			
537	Aosta (12.5)	41D	42A	43A	44A	45B	46C	47C	48A	49B			
580	Aosta (12.5)	41D	42A	43A	44A	45B	46C	47C	48A	49B			
474	Grand-Saint-Bernard (11)	41A	42A	43A	44A	45A	46A	47A	48A	49A			
395	Limoges? (7)	41A	42A	43A	44B	45A	46A	47A	48B	91B			

\* Hesbert grouped a number of rare responsories under the generic sigla ‘01’ and ‘02’. For the texts of the chants found in no. 358, see *CAO*, VI, 7, n. 7, and p. 11, n. 45.



# THE POLICY ON RELIC TRANSLATIONS OF BALDWIN II OF FLANDERS (879–918), EDWARD OF WESSEX (899–924), AND ÆTHELFLAED OF MERCIA (D. 924): A KEY TO ANGLO-FLEMISH RELATIONS?

Brigitte Meijns

In the last decades, historical research into the cult of relics has more than once focused on the implications and the exploitation of relics by secular rulers.<sup>1</sup> Numerous studies have convincingly shown that kings, dukes, counts, and local rulers were indeed engaged in a veritable relic policy or ‘politique des reliques’. They strove to obtain relics in order to anchor their territorial power. Relics were established in centres of power with much pomp and circumstance, not only to

I am most grateful to the organizers of this conference, David Rollason and Conrad Leyser, and to the participants for their valuable comments on this paper. I also wish to thank Jean Goossens (Katholieke Universiteit Leuven) and Julia M. H. Smith (University of Glasgow) for reading earlier drafts of this text.

<sup>1</sup> A small selection of the literature on the political implications of the relic cult: Patrick Geary, *Furta sacra: Thefts of Relics in the Central Middle Ages* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1978); David Rollason, *Saints and Relics in Anglo-Saxon England* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1989); Cécile Treffort, ‘Le Comte de Poitiers, duc d’Aquitaine, et l’Église aux alentours de l’an mil (870–1030)’, *Cahiers de Civilisation médiévale*, 43 (2000), 395–445; Gwenaëlle Augry, ‘Reliques et pouvoir ducal en Aquitaine (fin X<sup>e</sup> s.–1030)’, in *Reliques et sainteté dans l’espace médiéval*, ed. by Jean-Luc Deuffic, Pecia: Ressources en médiévistique, 8–11 (Saint-Denis: Pecia, 2005), pp. 261–80; and Lucile Trân-Duc, ‘Les Princes normands et les reliques (X<sup>e</sup>–XI<sup>e</sup> siècles): contribution du culte des saints à la formation territoriale et identitaire d’une principauté’, in *Reliques et sainteté*, ed. by Deuffic, pp. 525–61; Edina Bozóky, ‘Les Reliques et le pouvoir des princes territoriaux, IX<sup>e</sup>–XII<sup>e</sup> siècles: politique et représentation’, *Hagiographica*, 13 (2006), 73–94; Edina Bozóky, *La Politique des reliques de Constantin à Saint Louis: Protection collective et légitimation du pouvoir* (Paris: Beauchesne, 2006).

ensure that the *virtus* of the saint would produce some miracles, but also in the hope that the physical presence of the saintly remains would guarantee the prosperity, peace, and safety of the location, its inhabitants, and its environment. Relics also played an important part in solemn ceremonies organized by the rulers to preserve the peace and to put an end to violence, to enforce judicial sentences and to stave off calamities of natural origin (epidemics, famines, etc.) or of human origin (such as invasions). Relics were donated by rulers to those with whom they desired to form political, military, or religious alliances, or to strengthen existing relationships. In short, during the Middle Ages, relics formed an integral part of efficient government, since they were considered to be substitutes and guarantees for secular authority. The possession of relics greatly enhanced the prestige of political rulers, since these saintly remains were felt to legitimize the rulers' authority in a supernatural way.

Research has indicated that, around 900, both the Mercian and West Saxon rulers and the Flemish counts wielded relics as political instruments.<sup>2</sup> In this paper, I would like to focus on the surprisingly parallel developments taking place in the Mercian and West Saxon kingdoms and in Flanders at the end of the ninth century and during the first two decades of the tenth century. The installation of relics by King Edward the Elder and his sister Æthelflaed (d. 918) and her husband Æthelred of Mercia (d. 911) bears striking resemblances to the tactics of Baldwin II of Flanders (879–918), their Continental brother-in-law.<sup>3</sup> Apparently, the Flemish

<sup>2</sup> For the literature on the relic policy of the Mercian and West Saxon rulers, see notes 4–9 below; for Flanders, see Edina Bozóky, 'La Politique des reliques des premiers comtes de Flandre (fin du IX<sup>e</sup>–fin du XI<sup>e</sup> siècle)', in *Les Reliques: objets, cultes, symboles. Actes du colloque international de l'Université du Littoral-Côte d'Opale (Boulogne-sur-Mer) 4–6 septembre 1997*, ed. by Edina Bozóky and Anne-Marie Helvétius, *Hagiologia: Studies on Western Sainthood*, 1 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1999), pp. 271–92; Brigitte Meijns, 'Les Premières Collégiales des comtes de Flandre, leurs reliques et les conséquences des invasions normandes (IX<sup>e</sup>–X<sup>e</sup> siècles)', *RbPH*, 85 (2007), 539–75; Bozóky, 'Les Reliques et le pouvoir des princes territoriaux', pp. 80–84.

<sup>3</sup> On the marriage, which is considered to have heralded the beginning of a long series of alliances between English princesses and Continental rulers and the start of the history of Anglo-Flemish relations, see Æthelweard, *Chronicle*, pp. 2–3. This is the only source which gives the names of all four children of the couple. Cf. Antonia Gransden, *Historical Writing in England c. 550 to c. 1307* (London: Routledge, 1974), p. 45; Philip Grierson, 'The Relations between England and Flanders before the Norman Conquest', *TRHS*, 4th ser., 23 (1941), 71–112 (p. 83): 'It is in fact only in the last two decades of the ninth century, during the reign of Count Baldwin II (879–918) of Flanders, that the history of Anglo-Flemish relations really begins'; Ortenberg, *ECC*, pp. 23–25; Jürgen Sarnowsky, 'England und der Kontinent im 10. Jahrhundert', *Historisches Jahrbuch*, 114 (1994), 45–84 (pp. 51–54); Sheila Sharp, 'The West Saxon Tradition of Dynastic



count and his wife, Ælfthryth, chose to make use of relics in order to demonstrate and legitimize their authority in a particular area at just the same time as Edward the Elder and Æthelflæd, who were Ælfthryth's brother and sister, did the same. In what follows, I shall first sketch briefly the relic policy of Æthelflæd of Mercia and of Edward of Wessex. Secondly, I shall turn to the formation of the county of Flanders and I shall concentrate on Baldwin II and his use of saintly remains. Thirdly, I will make a comparison between the relic policy of the Mercian, West Saxon, and Flemish rulers. Finally, I shall consider whether there might have been any direct contact between the Anglo-Saxon and Flemish rulers to explain the, in many aspects, similar undertakings.

The relic policy of the West Saxon and Mercian rulers is well known, thanks to the studies by David Rollason and Alan Thacker. In what follows, I shall summarize succinctly their research results. Æthelflæd, sister to Baldwin's wife Ælfthryth, had married Æthelred, the earldorman of Mercia, in the 880s. Ever since her husband had fallen ill in 902 and died in 911, Æthelflæd had effectively been the sole ruler in Mercia, although in close connection with her brother Edward of Wessex. It is remarkable how, during her reign, the establishment of *burhs* in certain locations went hand in hand with the installation of relics in newly founded *minsters*. This was certainly the case in Gloucester, the strategically situated capital, where in the late ninth century a *burh* was established and a new church was founded, initially dedicated to St Peter, which was named the New Minster to distinguish it from the seventh-century Old Minster.<sup>4</sup> In 909, some relics of St Oswald, Northumbrian king and martyr, were placed in the New Minster. This saint enjoyed the particular veneration of the Mercian couple and of Edward of Wessex. The relics had been captured during a successful raid in Bardney in Lincolnshire, which was situated in Danish-occupied territory, after which they had been brought to Mercia.<sup>5</sup> Æthelflæd also founded a *burh* and a *minster* in Chester,

Marriage: With Special Reference to the Family of Edward the Elder', in *Edward the Elder, 899–924*, ed. by N. J. Higham and D. H. Hill (London: Routledge, 2001), pp. 79–88.

<sup>4</sup> Rollason, *Saints and Relics*, p. 154; Alan Thacker, 'Kings, Saints, and Monasteries in Pre-Viking Mercia', *Midland History*, 10 (1985), 1–25 (pp. 2, 18); Thacker, 'Chester and Gloucester: Early Ecclesiastical Organization in Two Mercian Burhs', *Northern History*, 18 (1982), 199–21 (pp. 207–09); Carolyn Heighway, 'Gloucester and the New Minster of St Oswald', in *Edward the Elder*, ed. by Higham and Hill, pp. 102–11; *The Golden Minster: The Anglo-Saxon Minster and Later Medieval Priory of St Oswald at Gloucester*, ed. by Carolyn Heighway and Richard Bryant, CBA Research Report, 117 (London: CBA, 1999), pp. 3–11, 33–36.

<sup>5</sup> David Rollason, 'The Shrines of Saints in Later Anglo-Saxon England: Distribution and Significance', in *The Anglo-Saxon Church: Papers on History, Architecture and Archaeology in*

in 907.<sup>6</sup> The relics of St Wærburh, a seventh-century Mercian princess who originally rested in Hanbury (Staffordshire), were transferred to the latter location.<sup>7</sup> Similar translations possibly took place in Shrewsbury, to which location St Alkmund (Ealhmund), a martyred Northumbrian prince (d. c. 800) was taken from his resting-place in Derby,<sup>8</sup> and in Hereford, where the princely hermit St Guthlac (d. 716) was venerated in the old royal *minster*. In 901, Edward the Elder founded the New Minster in his capital at Winchester, by which action he probably completed his father's plans.<sup>9</sup> The impressive church was built to the north of the cathedral (the Old Minster) and received, as we shall see later, the relics of St Judoc from the Ponthieu. Here also, the construction of the *minster* must be seen in relation to the *burh* established by Alfred.

Something very similar was happening on the other side of the Channel under the reign of Æthelflæd's and Edward's brother-in-law, Count Baldwin II of Flanders. In order to situate his activities within a historical perspective and to understand fully the far-reaching implications of his actions, we should, first of all, briefly sketch the origin of the county of Flanders. Baldwin II was descended from the Carolingian kings, being the son of Baldwin I, a nobleman from the vicinity of Laon, and Judith, the eldest child of Charles the Bald.<sup>10</sup> Moreover, Judith had

*Honour of Dr. H. M. Taylor*, ed. by L. A. S. Butler and R. K. Morris, CBA Research Report, 60 (London: CBA, 1986) pp. 32–43 (pp. 38, 40).

<sup>6</sup> Rollason, *Saints and Relics*, p. 154; Alan Thacker, 'Dynastic Monasteries and Family Cults', in *Edward the Elder*, ed. by Higham and Hill, pp. 248–63 (p. 256); Thacker, 'Kings, Saints, and Monasteries', p. 18; Thacker, 'Chester and Gloucester', pp. 199–206.

<sup>7</sup> Rollason, 'The Shrines', p. 40; Rollason, *Saints and Relics*, p. 154.

<sup>8</sup> Thacker, 'Dynastic Monasteries', p. 256; Thacker, 'Kings, Saints, and Monasteries', p. 18; Thacker, 'Chester and Gloucester', pp. 209–11.

<sup>9</sup> Thacker, 'Dynastic Monasteries', pp. 253–54; Simon Keynes, *The Liber Vitae of the New Minster and Hyde Abbey Winchester*, ed. by G. Harlow, P. Clemoes, and F. C. Robinson, EEMF, 26 (Copenhagen: Rosenkilde and Bagger, 1996), pp. 16–18.

<sup>10</sup> A small selection of studies on the earliest history of the county of Flanders: Jan Dhondt, 'Het ontstaan van het vorstendom Vlaanderen', *RbPH*, 20 (1941), 566–72 and 21 (1942), 53–93; Rosamond McKitterick, *The Frankish Kingdoms under the Carolingians, 751–987* (London: Longman, 1983), pp. 248–52; Jean Dunbabin, *France in the Making, 843–1180* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985), pp. 68–74; Adriaan Verhulst, 'Flandern, Grafschaft', *LdMA*, IV, col. 514; David Nicholas, *Medieval Flanders* (London: Longman, 1992), pp. 14–20; Heather J. Tanner, *Families, Friends and Allies: Boulogne and Politics in Northern France and England c. 879–1160*, *The Northern World*, 6 (Leiden: Brill, 2004), pp. 23–30.

entered history as the first English queen who had certainly been anointed.<sup>11</sup> Before the eighteen-year-old princess eloped with Count Baldwin during the Christmas period of 861, she had already been married twice to Anglo-Saxon rulers: in 856 to the fifty-year-old Æthelwulf of Wessex and after his death, two years later, to his son Æthelbald, Alfred's elder brother. After Æthelbald had also died after a mere two years of marriage, Judith had sold her English possessions and had returned home to her father in West Francia. Lack of sources prevents us from finding out whether Judith kept in touch with the West Saxon royal family after her marriage to Baldwin. Nor do we know how long she lived or where she was buried.<sup>12</sup> Baldwin I had done well out of his drastic career move, the abduction of the king's daughter.<sup>13</sup> Charles the Bald granted him — albeit somewhat reluctantly — several public offices, one of which more than likely was the authority over the district of Flanders (*pagus Flandrensis*). This district with Brugge as its fortified capital mainly consisted of coastal lands between the Yser delta and the area to the east of Brugge. He possibly also acquired some other districts in the interior as well as the lay abbacy of the monastic cell (*cella*) of Torhout and maybe also of the Gent abbey of Saint Peter's. In 877, Charles the Bald appointed Baldwin, his only son-in-law, one of the counsellors who were to keep an eye on the heir to the throne, Louis the Stammerer. This important position testifies to the prestige which had in the meantime been gained by Baldwin I — or Baldwin 'Iron Arm' (*Ferreus*) as he was called from the middle of the eleventh century onwards.<sup>14</sup>

Baldwin I died on New Year's Day 879 and left behind two sons, the barely sixteen-year-old Baldwin and his younger brother Rodulf. Six months later, a band of Danes set foot on the coast between Boulogne and Calais, after having been

<sup>11</sup> Pauline Stafford, 'The King's Wife in Wessex 800–1066', *PP*, 91 (1981), 3–27 (p. 7).

<sup>12</sup> Heinrich Sproemberg, 'Judith, Königin von England, Gräfin von Flandern', *RbPH*, 15 (1936), 397–428, 915–50 (p. 948); Georges Declercq, 'Entre mémoire dynastique et représentation politique: les sépultures des comtes et comtesses de Flandre (879–1128)', in *Sépulture, mort et représentation du pouvoir au Moyen Âge*, ed. by Michel Margue, Martin Uhrmacher, and Hérold Pettiau, Publications de la Section Historique de l'Institut G.-D. de Luxembourg, 118, Publications du CLUDEM, 18 (Luxembourg-Gasperich: Imprimerie Linden, 2006), pp. 323–72 (pp. 326–27).

<sup>13</sup> Sarnowsky, 'England und der Kontinent', pp. 51–52, with a survey of the literature concerning Judith and her Anglo-Saxon marriages; more recent is Sylvie Joye, 'Le Rapt de Judith par Baudoin de Flandre (862): un "clinamen sociologique"?', in *Les Élités au Haut Moyen Âge: crises et renouvellements*, ed. by François Bougard, Laurent Feller, and Régine Le Jan, Collection du Haut Moyen Âge, 1 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2006), pp. 361–79.

<sup>14</sup> The name appears for the first time in sources from the abbey of Saint Peter's in Gent (*Annales Blandinienses* and *Liber traditionum*). Declercq, 'Entre mémoire dynastique', p. 355.

defeated by Alfred at Edington. For four years, they would scourge the valleys along the Rivers Somme, Lys, Scheldt, and Yser and spend their winters in the North of West Francia. During the summer of 883, they pillaged during a period of five months the territory of the district of Flanders (*pagus Flandrensis*). It is unclear how and where young Baldwin spent the turbulent period between 879 and 883, and it is also impossible to say with any degree of certainty which districts he ruled at that time. Only in 888, in the wake of the deposition and the death of Charles the Fat, does Baldwin II enter the *Saint-Vaast Annals* and history. In that year the twenty-five-year-old Count acknowledged vassalage to the new king, the Capetian Odo, formerly Count of Paris, but only after he and Archbishop Fulk of Reims had sounded out the king of East Francia, Arnulf of Carinthia, about the possibility of him accepting the crown of West Francia. This immediately tells us that for the Flemish count loyalty was a rather empty notion, and in the following years switching sides between the Carolingians and the Robertians would become his trademark. However, the *Saint-Vaast Annals* also suggest that Baldwin's territorial power was acknowledged by Odo and by the entourage of the very young rival candidate to the kingship, Charles the Simple.<sup>15</sup>

At that time, the territorial power of Baldwin II extended from Aardenburg in the south of the present-day Netherlands, to the region north of Saint-Omer, and from the North Sea to Courtrai and Gent. His authority in this zone was based on landed property, a conglomeration of benefits from offices, royal domains, and confiscated church property which Baldwin II had taken for his own when he profited from the confusion caused by the Vikings and the political disintegration of the Carolingian realm. That same Baldwin was more than likely also responsible for the construction of a network of fortifications along the edge of the coastal plain. The *Book of Miracles of Saint Bertin* from 891 tells us about 'recently built fortresses' (*castella recens facta*) along the coast, which a band of Vikings attacked in vain.<sup>16</sup> Considering their recent origin, the construction of these fortifications

<sup>15</sup> McKitterick, *The Frankish Kingdoms*, p. 250.

<sup>16</sup> *Monumenta Bertiniana minora*, ed. by Oswald Holder-Egger, MGH, SS, 15.1 (Hannover: Hahn, 1887), p. 512: 'ut in regnum quondam Hlotharii irent, tractantes per maritima transire et castella ibi recens facta optinere incolasque omnes, nisi se dederent, mortificare'. These Flemish fortifications have been the subject of an abundant literature, among others, Albert D'Haenens, *Les Invasions normandes en Belgique au IX<sup>e</sup> siècle: le phénomène et sa répercussion dans l'historiographie médiévale*, UCL, Recueil de travaux d'histoire et de philologie, série 4, 38 (Leuven: Bureaux du Recueil, 1967), pp. 116–22; Johnny De Meulemeester, 'Comment s'est-on défendu au IX<sup>e</sup> siècle?', in *Archaeological and Historical Aspects of West-European Societies: Album amicorum André Van*

must probably be dated shortly after the fierce attacks in 879–83. Their purpose was to keep the Vikings at a distance and to provide protection for the inhabitants of the adjacent countryside. Historical, archaeological, and topographical research has revealed circular structures consisting of an earthen rampart and a wooden palisade in Oostburg, Veurne (Furnes), Bergues, and Bourbourg, thus spanning the coastline from present-day Zeeland to the North of France. At the end of the ninth century, all of these fortified places were situated along the edge of the coastal plain, in districts recently acquired by Baldwin II. No source sheds light on the question whether, when building these, the Flemish count had been inspired by the *burhs* of King Alfred of Wessex (871–99).<sup>17</sup> Baldwin's marriage with Alfred's youngest daughter Ælfthryth only took place sometime in the years 893–99,<sup>18</sup> but it is possible that he already had contact with England before that time (through his mother?). Just like many of the *burhs*, most of the Flemish strongholds developed during the tenth and eleventh centuries into comital centres of government and justice, and into seats of castellanies.

In the last decade of the ninth century, Baldwin II steadily continued his expansion towards the south, for instance by trying to establish control over the wealthy abbeys of Saint-Bertin in Saint-Omer and Saint-Vaast in Arras. He succeeded in holding the lay abbacy of Saint-Vaast from 892 until 898, albeit not without difficulties. From 900 onwards, he was *de iure* master of Saint-Bertin. At about the same time, he extended his territory by acquiring Ternois, the district around the episcopal see of Thérouanne, and the district of Boulogne. When he died in 918, around sixty-five years of age, the southern border of the county was the River Canche in what is now northern France. Even though, strictly speaking, the Count held his comital power in fief from the West Frankish king, royal authority in his

*Doorselaer*, ed. by Marc Lodewijckx, *Acta Archaeologica Lovaniensia, Monographiae*, 8 (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1996), pp. 371–87 (pp. 379–80); Peter A. Henderikx, 'De ringwalburgen in het mondingsgebied van de Schelde in historisch perspectief', in *Vroeg-Middeleeuwse ringwalburgen in Zeeland*, ed. by Robert M. van Heeringen, Peter A. Henderikx, and Alexandra Mars (Goes: De Koperen Tuin, 1995), pp. 71–112 (pp. 94–101); Adriaan Verhulst, *The Rise of Cities in North-West Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), pp. 61–64.

<sup>17</sup> Richard Abels, *Alfred the Great: War, Kingship and Culture in Anglo-Saxon England* (Harlow: Pearson Education, 1998), pp. 194–218; *The Defence of Wessex: The Burghal Hidage and Anglo-Saxon Fortifications*, ed. by David Hill and Alexander R. Rumble (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1996).

<sup>18</sup> Ælfthryth (or Elfrudis as she is called in the Latin sources from Flanders) was still at her father's court when Asser praised her learning in his *Life of King Alfred*, written in 893: *Asser* (Keynes-Lapidge), pp. 90–91.

county had become non-existent. Upon his death the territory was divided among his sons. The eldest, Arnulf, got Flanders, that is, the north with its centres at Brugge, Courtrai, Tournai, and Gent, largely consisting of the Count's landed property. The youngest, Æthelwulf, or Adelolf as he is named in the Latin sources from the Continent, received the southern part with Boulogne, Ternois, the comital strongholds along the coast, and the lay abbacy of Saint-Bertin.

In contradistinction to the relic policy of his eldest son Arnulf, who is described by Folcuin in the contemporary *Deeds of the Abbots of St-Bertin* (960–61) as having been an avid collector of relics,<sup>19</sup> the relic policy of Baldwin II is much harder to reconstruct.<sup>20</sup> The source material mainly consists of hagiographical sources from the tenth or eleventh centuries, local traditions, and circumstantial evidence.<sup>21</sup> On the basis of that, it can be concluded that Baldwin established relics in at least three locations in his vast county: in the fortified stronghold in Bergues (899) and Veurne (916–18) along the coast, and in the comital estate in Drongen, just west of Gent (915) (Map 15).

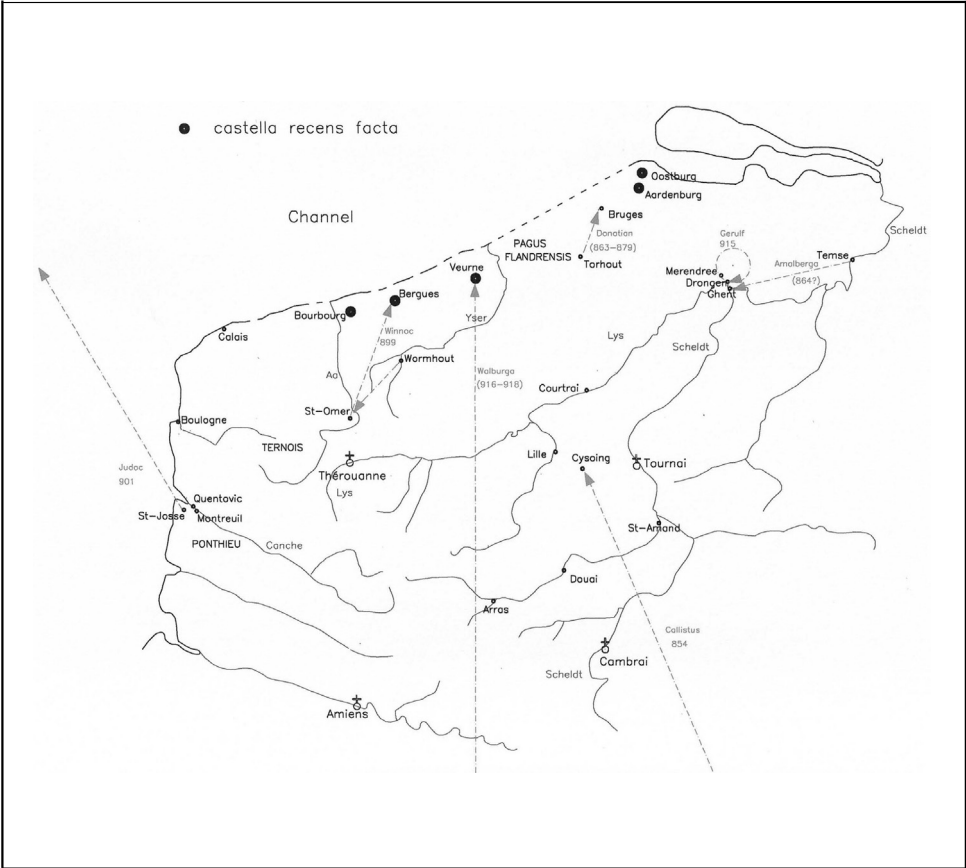
According to the *Second Life of St Winnoc* and the *Miracula recentiora sancti Winnoci*, dating from the middle of the eleventh century, Baldwin II had founded a church within his stronghold of Bergues where he had installed the relics of Winnoc, a Breton missionary and companion of the first Abbot of Saint-Bertin.<sup>22</sup>

<sup>19</sup> Folcuin, *Gesta abbatum S. Bertini Sithiensium*, ed. by Oswald Holder-Egger, MGH, SS, 13 (Hannover: Hahn, 1881), p. 630, sec. 108: 'comes Arnulfus, sanctorum reliquiarum avidus'.

<sup>20</sup> Charles Mériaux, *Gallia irradiata: Saints et sanctuaires dans le nord de la Gaule du haut Moyen Âge*, *Beiträge zur Hagiographie*, 4 (Stuttgart: Steiner, 2006), pp. 220–28; Edina Bozóky, 'La Politique des reliques des premiers comtes de Flandre (fin du IX<sup>e</sup>–fin du XI<sup>e</sup> siècle)', in *Les Reliques: objets, cultes, symboles. Actes du colloque international de l'Université du Littoral-Côte d'Opale (Boulogne-sur-Mer) 4–6 septembre 1997*, ed. by Edina Bozóky and Anne-Marie Helvétius, *Hagiologia, Études sur la Sainteté en Occident*, 1 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1999), pp. 271–92.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. Meijns, 'Les Premières Collégiales', pp. 546–66, where the installation of relics in Bergues, Veurne, and Drongen by Baldwin II — the files under discussion in this contribution — is treated in more detail and with ample references to the sources and literature.

<sup>22</sup> 'De S. Winnoco abbate vel priore Wormholtano', ed. by Charles De Smedt, *Acta sanctorum quotquot toto urbe coluntur*, ed. by J. Bollandus and others, 68 vols (Antwerp: Societè des Bollandistes, 1643–1940), Novembris 3, p. 272, sec. 16; 'Vita Audomari, Bertini et Winnoci', ed. by Wilhelm Levison, in *Passiones vitaeque sanctorum aevi Merovingici*, vol. III, ed. by Bruno Krusch and Wilhelm Levison, MGH, SS rer. Merov., 5 (Hannover: Hahn, 1910), pp. 729–89 (at p. 782, sec. 6); Nicolas Huyghebaert, 'La "Vita Secunda S. Winnoci" restituée à l'hagiographie gantoise', *Revb*, 81 (1971), 216–58; Karine Ugé, *Creating the Monastic Past in Medieval Flanders* (Woodbridge: York Medieval Press, 2005), p. 24; Mériaux, *Gallia irradiata*, pp. 221–22, 252, no. 25; Meijns, 'Les Premières Collégiales', pp. 546–53.



Map 15. Some relic translations in the County of Flanders (second half of the ninth century to 918).

Winnoc had stood at the head of the priory of Wormhout, a dependency of Saint-Bertin, and he was buried there in 716. In order to protect the relics from raiding Vikings, they had been transferred to the fortified church of Our Lady in Saint-Omer, which was also part of the abbey, around 860. They had remained there until Baldwin II had ordered their translation to Bergues on 30 December 899. According to the sources, the Count was convinced that through St Winnoc's merits the inhabitants of Bergues and the surrounding district would be even better protected.<sup>23</sup> The same sources mention the establishment of a community of canons to administer the church within the fortification and the obtaining of a solemn charter with several land grants from King Charles the Simple. An annual procession from Bergues to Wormhout, barely six miles south of Bergues, commemorated the original resting-place of Winnoc.<sup>24</sup>

The political importance of this translation should be underlined. Besides heightening the prestige of his new comital stronghold in a recently conquered area, the translation was to the detriment of the abbey of Saint-Bertin, the previous owner of Winnoc's relics. It is striking that the translation took place at a moment when Baldwin II had for several years been claiming in vain the abbacy of Saint-Bertin.<sup>25</sup> Only after the elimination in 900 of his rival, Archbishop Fulk, who had been Abbot of Saint-Bertin for eight years, could Baldwin call himself lawful master of this wealthy monastery. Nevertheless, he must in the meantime have seen an opportunity to impinge on the abbey's property by transferring some of its valuable assets to his fortification in the coastal plain. But it seems that not only Winnoc's remains ended up in Bergues. Certain possessions of the priory of Wormhout were also handed on to the canons at Bergues, as becomes clear from several eleventh-century sources.<sup>26</sup> In 1022, the secular canons were replaced by Benedictine monks. At some date before 1058, when the monk Drogo wrote his *Life of Oswald*, the abbey of Bergues obtained non-corporeal relics of this seventh-

<sup>23</sup> 'Vita Audomari, Bertini et Winnoci', ed. by Levison, p. 782, sec. 6: 'ut idem locus atque subiaccens pagus cum prefato populo meritis protegeretur preciosi et a Deo dilecti'; 'De S. Winnoco', ed. by De Smedt, p. 273, sec. 16: 'ut Flandria ulterius secunda laborum tanto gauderet protectore.'

<sup>24</sup> 'Vita Audomari, Bertini et Winnoci', ed. by Levison, p. 783, sec. 7; 'De S. Winnoco', ed. by De Smedt, p. 275; Meijns, 'Les Premières Collégiales', pp. 550–51.

<sup>25</sup> Philip Grierson, 'Grimbald of St. Bertin's', *EHR*, 55 (1940), 529–61 (p. 544); Ugé, *Creating*, pp. 30–31 and literature above at note 10.

<sup>26</sup> Meijns, 'Les Premières Collégiales', pp. 552–53.



century Northumbrian king and martyr.<sup>27</sup> Their origin and the name of the benefactor remain a mystery.

In the church of Veurne, one of the other coastal strongholds, the skull of Walburga was — and still is — preserved.<sup>28</sup> Circumstantial evidence seems to suggest that it was a gift from the West Frankish king Charles the Simple to Baldwin in the years 916–18.<sup>29</sup> It is known that Charles had the relics of Walburga transferred from East Francia to his residences in Attigny and Compiègne in 916, where he founded chapels devoted to this saint, and had them served by canons.<sup>30</sup> He might have given some of these relics to the Count of Flanders, perhaps as a diplomatic gift.<sup>31</sup> The timing corresponds with a quieter period in his reign, when the King was trying to reinforce his position by bestowing favours on his powerful vassals.<sup>32</sup> Moreover, between 917 and 919, Charles married the Anglo-Saxon princess Eadgifu (Ogiva), a daughter of Edward the Elder. Besides, Baldwin II and Charles were

<sup>27</sup> Nicolas Huyghebaert, 'Un moine hagiographique: Drogon de Bergues', *Sacris Erudiri*, 20 (1971), 191–256; Huyghebaert, 'Les Deux Translations du roi saint Oswald à Bergues-saint-Winoc', *Revb*, 86 (1976), 83–93; Dagmar Ó Riain-Raedel, 'Edith, Judith, Matilda: The Role of Royal Ladies in the Propagation of the Continental Cult', in *Oswald: Northumbrian King to European Saint*, ed. by Clare Stancliffe and Eric Cambridge (Stamford: Watkins, 1995), pp. 210–29 (pp. 216–22), who explores the different ways in which these remains of Oswald might have ended up in Bergues; Philippe George, 'Les Reliques des saints: publications récentes et perspectives nouvelles (III)', *RbPH*, 85 (2007), 859–80 (p. 862, n. 15).

<sup>28</sup> Mériaux, *Gallia irradiata*, pp. 221–22 and p. 276, no. 78; Meijns, 'Les Premières Collégiales', pp. 553–57. On Walburga, see Hermann Holzbauer, *Die Mittelalterliche Heiligenverehrung: Heilige Walpurgis*, Studien Neue Folge, 5 (Eichstätt: Butzon and Becker, 1972), pp. 53–61; David Parsons, 'Some Churches of the Anglo-Saxon Missionaries in Southern Germany: A Review of the Evidence', *EME*, 8 (1999), 31–67.

<sup>29</sup> Nicolas Huyghebaert, 'Furnes', in *Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques*, 19 (1979), cols 452–53.

<sup>30</sup> Josiane Barbier, 'Palais et fisc à l'époque carolingienne: Attigny', *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, 140 (1982), 133–62; May Vieillard-Troiekouroff, 'La Chapelle du palais de Charles le Chauve à Compiègne', *Cahiers archéologiques*, 21 (1971), 89–108; Reinhold Kaiser, 'Aachen und Compiègne: Zwei Pfalzstädte im frühen und hohen Mittelalter', *Rheinische Vierteljahrsblätter*, 43 (1979), 1–21.

<sup>31</sup> On relics as suitable diplomatic gifts, see David W. Rollason, 'Relic-cults as an Instrument of Royal Policy c. 900–c. 1050', *ASE*, 15 (1986), 91–103 (at p. 93); Augry, 'Reliques et pouvoir', pp. 261–80; George, 'Les Reliques des saints', pp. 861–62; Bozóky, 'Les Reliques et le pouvoir des princes territoriaux', pp. 74–80.

<sup>32</sup> Walther Kienast, *Die Fränkische Vasallität von den Hausmeiern bis zum Ludwig dem Kind und Karl dem Einfältigen* (Frankfurt: Klostermann, 1990), pp. 525–26.

full cousins, both of them being grandsons of Charles the Bald.<sup>33</sup> Did this double family connection play a role in the donation of this valuable relic? Walburga was, apart from Oswald in Bergues, the only saint boasting a widespread veneration in Europe to be enshrined in any of the fourteen collegiate churches founded by the tenth- or eleventh-century Flemish counts.<sup>34</sup> A royal donation might explain the presence of such a renowned saint in the fortification of Veurne. One wonders if the Anglo-Saxon origins of this eighth-century abbess of the Bavarian abbey of Heidenheim were still fully acknowledged at that time. Comparative research into the churches in the Low Countries devoted to Walburga, such as Brugge, Oudenaarde, Antwerp, Groningen, Zutphen, and Tiel, indicates that this dedication is mainly found in trading settlements along waterways, which were vulnerable to Viking attacks.<sup>35</sup> The strategic location of Veurne, its comital stronghold, and the evolving trading centre, the presence of which is suggested by other sources,<sup>36</sup> fit perfectly with the general pattern. Charles the Simple himself mentioned in his charters of 916 for his palace chapel in Attigny that he had obtained relics of Walburga 'for the protection of the entire realm' (*pro tutamento totius regni*).<sup>37</sup> Since 1109 at the latest, the collegiate church of Veurne had also claimed possession of the skulls of Walburga's brothers, Winnibald and Willibald, but the origin

<sup>33</sup> Cf. genealogical trees in Tanner, *Families*, p. 310 (Francia) and p. 312 (England).

<sup>34</sup> On the identity of the patron saints of the comital collegiate churches in Flanders, see Brigitte Meijns, 'In Search of Holy Bones: Relics and the Foundation of Collegiate Churches by the Counts of Flanders (9<sup>th</sup>–11<sup>th</sup> C)', *Annali dell'Università di Ferrara: Sezione Storia*, 4 (2007), 1–26.

<sup>35</sup> Sybrandus Johannes Fockema Andreae, 'Sint Walburg en haar wegen', *Tijdschrift van het Koninklijk Nederlands Aardrijkskundig Genootschap*, 71 (1954), 182–85; Georges Declercq, 'Oorsprong en vroegste ontwikkeling van de burcht van Brugge (9de–12de eeuw)', in *De Brugse Burg: Van grafelijke versterking tot moderne stadskern*, ed. by Hubert De Witte, Archeo-Brugge, 2 (Brugge: Drukkerij Die Keure, 1991), pp. 15–45 (p. 37).

<sup>36</sup> According to a charter of Charles the Bald from 20 June 877, the abbey of Saint-Bertin possessed some *sedilia* in Veurne. *Sedilia*, or small land plots, indicate a settlement with urban characteristics. See *Diplomata belgica ante annum millesimum centesimum scripta*, vol. 1, ed. by Maurits Gysseling and Anton C. F. Koch (Brussels: Belgisch inter-universitair centrum voor neerlandistiek, 1950), pp. 76–78 (at p. 77), no. 44; Verhulst, *The Rise of the Cities*, pp. 49, 63 (Veurne as the continuation or successor of the enigmatic *Iserae portus*).

<sup>37</sup> *Recueil des actes de Charles III le Simple, roi de France (893–923)*, ed. by Philippe Lauer, Chartes et diplômes relatifs à l'Histoire de France publiés par les soins de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1959), p. 194, no. 86 (7 June 916): 'in honore sanctae Walburgis Christi virginis, quam pro tutamento totius regni ex partibus orientalium sagaci industria afferre volumus'.

of these relics remains uncertain.<sup>38</sup> Unfortunately, the canons of Veurne never produced any hagiographical material.

On 8 October 915, the relics of the local martyr Gerulf were carried from his original grave in Merendree to nearby Drongen, a comital estate about three miles west of Gent.<sup>39</sup> We learn about this in tenth- and eleventh-century hagiographical sources, which are, however, rather lacking in information about the historical background.<sup>40</sup> Circumstantial evidence indicates that the church of Merendree was originally a proprietary church, belonging to the Gent abbey of Saint-Bavon.<sup>41</sup> In the course of the centuries, a cult had originated around the grave of a murdered boy called Gerulf. However, the abbey of Saint-Bavon suffered greatly from the invasions of the Vikings, and in the winter of 879–80, a band of them even set up camp within the monastic buildings.<sup>42</sup> The brothers had fled just in time to the French town of Laon. They only returned to Gent in the 930s, and their abbey was rebuilt in 946. But, a century later, the monks were still complaining about the many goods that had been appropriated by others during their prolonged absence, and which were forever lost to them. In the context of these events, the translation of 915 should be seen in a different light. With the brethren at a safe distance in Laon, there was presumably nothing to stop Baldwin II from removing the relics of the local martyr from the proprietary church of Saint-Bavon to his own church in Drongen. This course of action was even legitimized in the *Passion of Saint Gerulf*, written around 950. According to the hagiographer, Gerulf's final wish had been to be buried in the church of Drongen, but his father had stubbornly ignored this request. The meaning of this was clear: the initiator of the translation was

<sup>38</sup> Holzbauer, *Die Mittelalterliche Heiligenverehrung*, p. 445.

<sup>39</sup> Mériaux, *Gallia irradiata*, p. 334, no. 192 and p. 356, no. 26; Meijns, 'Les Premières Collégiales', pp. 557–63.

<sup>40</sup> 'De S. Gerulpho martyre Trunchinii in Flandria', ed. by Constantin Suysken, *Acta sanctorum*, ed. by Bollandus and others, Septembris 4, pp. 259–62; Nicolas Huyghebaert, 'Un texte prémontré méconnu, l'*Adventus (secundus) S. Gerulphi Trunchinium*', *Analecta Praemonstratensia*, 56 (1980), 5–20.

<sup>41</sup> *De brief van abt Othelbold aan gravin Otgiva, over de relikwieën en het domein van de Sint-Baafsabdij te Gent (1019–1030)*, ed. by Léon Voet (Brussels: Commission royale d'Histoire, 1949), pp. 234, 236; *Diplomata belgica*, ed. by Gysseling and Koch, pp. 228–30, no. 135.

<sup>42</sup> Georges Declercq, 'Heiligen, lekenabten en hervormers: De Gentse abdijen van Sint-Pieters en Sint-Baafs tijdens de Eerste Middeleeuwen (7de–12de eeuw)', in *Ganda and Blandinium: De Gentse abdijen van Sint-Pieters en Sint-Baafs*, ed. by Georges Declercq (Gent: Snoeck-Ducaju and Zoon, 1997), pp. 13–40 (pp. 30–32).

doing no more than belatedly honouring the last request of the youthful martyr. Just as in Bergues, the translation was remembered by an annual procession from Drongen to Merendree and back.<sup>43</sup> A community of canons, installed by Baldwin II, promoted the cult of the local saint.

When comparing the relic policies of the Mercian and West Saxon rulers and their Continental brother-in-law, some remarkable similarities immediately catch the eye. First of all, there is the combination of three elements: the construction of a strategic stronghold, the creation of a religious community, and the installation of clerics. Only for Drongen, an important rural estate, are there no indications for the presence of a military fortification — a new comital stronghold was erected in Gent during the first decades of the tenth century under Baldwin II or more likely Arnulf I (918–65).<sup>44</sup> Secondly, the motives for the installation of relics in these locations appear to have been identical, regardless of whether the relics had been acquired by translation or donation. Relics not merely strengthened the prestige of the new strongpoints and their builders, it was also believed that the *virtus* of the saint provided additional protection. At the same time, the presence of the saintly remains legitimized the possibly still precarious authority of the rulers in a particular region. Thirdly, the rather local character of some of the saints venerated in the power centres is remarkable. Exceptions are of course Walburga, Oswald, and Judoc.<sup>45</sup>

Still, there are also three distinctions noticeable. First of all, none of the saints from the Flemish examples can boast a royal descent. In the collegiate churches founded by Baldwin II, an abbess, a missionary, and an obscure martyr were venerated.<sup>46</sup> This contrasts sharply with the four Mercian foundations where a

<sup>43</sup> 'De S. Gerulpho', ed. by Suysken, p. 268, sec. 3; Meijns, 'Les Premières Collégiales', p. 560.

<sup>44</sup> *Gent: Apologie van een rebelse stad. Geschiedenis, Kunst, Cultuur*, ed. by Johan Decavele (Antwerp: Mercatorfonds, 1989), pp. 55–56; Verhulst, *The Rise of Cities*, pp. 61–62, 75–79.

<sup>45</sup> Judoc would have been well known by the English who had travelled to the Continent, as the *cella* where his body originally rested (the later abbey of Saint-Josse-sur-Mer) two miles from Quentovic (Étaples), also served as a guest-house for pilgrims and travellers. Grierson, 'Relations', pp. 77–79; Hubert Le Bourdellès, 'Vie de St Josse avec commentaire historique et spirituel', *Studi Medievali*, 34 (1993), 861–958 (pp. 880–95); Stéphane Lebecq, 'The Northern Seas (Fifth to Eighth Centuries)', in *NCMH*, I, 639–59 (pp. 655–56); Lebecq, 'Quentovic', in *Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde*, vol. XXIV, ed. by Heinrich Beck, Dieter Geuenich, and Heiko Steuer (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2003), pp. 29–32 (at p. 31). With my sincere thanks to Alban Gautier (Université du Littoral) for drawing my attention to this point.

<sup>46</sup> Emile Brouette, 'Vinnoco', in *Biblioteca sanctorum* (Rome: Istituto Giovanni XXIII della Pontificia Università Lateranense, 1969), XII, cols 1201–03; Nicolas Huyghebaert, 'Gérulfe', in

Northumbrian king and three Mercian or Northumbrian princes or princesses were the cult objects, which clearly suggests that royal cults were actively promoted by Æthelflæd and Æthelred.<sup>47</sup> This might of course be explained by the fact that the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms themselves could already look back on a long history, while the county of Flanders had been created only very recently, and its counts could not pride themselves on distant ancestors, let alone ones who could be considered as saints.

Secondly, the new minsters in Winchester and Gloucester served as burial places for — respectively — the kings of Wessex and Mercia.<sup>48</sup> Edward the Elder had the mortal remains of his father transferred from the Old Minster to the New Minster, and he himself found a final resting place there, as well as several members of his family. The New Minster in Gloucester fulfilled a similar function for Æthelflæd and her husband, Æthelred. This element is missing in the contemporary Flemish examples. The earliest counts preferred to be buried in the abbeys of their county.<sup>49</sup> Baldwin I was interred in Saint-Bertin, and this abbey might have developed into the comital necropolis had not the monks categorically refused to receive women into their monastery, alive or dead. According to a story in *The Deeds of the Abbots of St-Bertin* by Folcuin, this is the reason why Ælfthryth decided to bury her husband in Saint Peter's at Gent, where she might rest beside him once her time had come.<sup>50</sup> And indeed, as she had requested, Ælfthryth was interred next to her Baldwin after her demise in 929, probably on 7 June.<sup>51</sup> From

*Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques*, xx (1984), cols 1071–72; Holzbauer, *Mittelalterliche Heiligenverehrung*, pp. 51–56 (Walburga); Mériaux, *Gallia irradiata*, p. 356, no. 26 (Gerulf) and pp. 371–72, no. 64 (Winnoc).

<sup>47</sup> Thacker, 'Kings, Saints, and Monasteries', pp. 1–25.

<sup>48</sup> Thacker, 'Dynastic Monasteries', pp. 253–56; *The Golden Minster*, ed. by Heighway and Bryant, pp. 11–12, 36.

<sup>49</sup> Declercq, 'Entre mémoire dynastique', pp. 323–58.

<sup>50</sup> Folcuin, *Gesta*, ed. by Holder-Egger, p. 627, sec. 103: 'Cumque corpus eius pars aliqua militum in Sithiu monasterio iuxta patrem suum vellent tumulare, uxor eius nomine Elfrudis, cupiens cum illo pariter in uno cimiterio concinerari, Gandavo in monasterio Blandinio fecit tumulari. Necdum enim licitum erat cuiquam feminarum Sancti Bertini ingredi monasterium, nefasque putabatur, si vel ecclesiae aliqua furtim subintrasset atrium'; Grierson, 'Relations', p. 86; Declercq, 'Entre mémoire dynastique', pp. 327, 348.

<sup>51</sup> Grierson, 'Relations', p. 86; Declercq, 'Entre mémoire dynastique', p. 327. The text of the epitaph of Ælfthryth in the abbey of Saint Peter's is preserved, but it only dates from the eleventh century. *Die lateinischen Dichter des Deutschen Mittelalters*, III.1/2: *Die Ottonenzeit*, ed. by Karl Strecker, MGH, Poet. Lat., 5.1–2 (Leipzig: Hiersemann, 1937), p. 298.

that time, the Gent abbey of Saint Peter's became the privileged burial place of the Flemish comital family. Only in the eleventh century would some of the Flemish counts and countesses be interred in the collegiate churches which they had founded.<sup>52</sup>

Thirdly, the Flemish translations naturally did not begin from enemy — read: Danish — territory, as was the case for some of the Mercian examples. Baldwin II, however, cunningly used the disruption caused by the Vikings for his own benefit by appropriating the relics of Winnoc, which had been brought to Saint-Omer for safety from the invaders, as well as the relics of Gerulf which had been abandoned when the brethren of Saint-Bavon had fled. In both cases the original owners — the priory of Wormhout, a dependency of Saint-Bertin, and the Gent abbey of Saint-Bavon — were the main losers, especially because the possession of the relics also legitimized claims on the landed property of the community where the saint had initially been buried.<sup>53</sup> In the case of Bergues, relics and land definitely went together.

Despite the differences which were—in my opinion—caused by the essentially different previous history and political context of the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms, the question remains whether the nevertheless striking similarities were the direct result of mutual influence through family connections, or rather mere coincidence. The establishment of relics in a ruler's power-centre harks back to a long tradition which had an eminent crystallization point in the Carolingian period, that is, in the palatine chapel of Charlemagne in Aachen.<sup>54</sup> In 854, Count Eberhard of Friuli, son-in-law to Louis the Pious and one of the Unruochings, had founded a collegiate church on his domain in Cysoing near Lille and had placed in it the relics of the pope-martyr Callistus, which had been brought over from Italy.<sup>55</sup> In the second half of the ninth century, members of the Unruoching family were fierce rivals of Baldwin I and his sons. According to an eleventh-century tradition, Baldwin I moved the relics of the local saint Amalberga from her domain in Temse to the

<sup>52</sup> Declercq, 'Entre mémoire dynastique', pp. 358–69.

<sup>53</sup> Cf. Rollason, 'The Shrines', p. 38; Rollason, *Saints and Relics*, pp. 196–214 (chap. 8: 'Undying Landlords').

<sup>54</sup> Bozóky, *La Politique des reliques*, pp. 135–36 with reference to the literature.

<sup>55</sup> Cristina La Rocca and Luigi Provero, 'The Dead and their Gifts: The Will of Eberhard, Count of Friuli, and his Wife, Gisela, Daughter of Louis the Pious (863–864)', in *Rituals of Power: From Late Antiquity to the Early Middle Ages*, ed. by Frank Theuvs and Janet L. Nelson (Leiden: Brill, 2000), pp. 225–80; Bozóky, *La Politique des reliques*, p. 176; Mériaux, *Gallia irradiata*, pp. 218–20.

Gent abbey of Saint Peter's on 27 October, possibly in 864.<sup>56</sup> Around the middle of the tenth century, the translation of the relics of the seventh Archbishop of Reims, St Donatian, from the *cella* of Torhout to the church of the comital fortification in Brugge, was attributed to Baldwin I.<sup>57</sup> So it is possible that Baldwin II was merely following in the footsteps of his political competitors and of his father, were it not that the sources describing the two translations by Baldwin I are rather late ones, exhibiting signs of manipulation. Apart from the motifs already mentioned above, Baldwin II's actions might also have been inspired by piety, or rather penance. Unlike his two sons Adalolf and Arnulf, Baldwin II did not exactly enter history as a pious count. Letters from Archbishop Fulk, which were reproduced in Flodoard's *History of the Church of Reims*, tell us that the Count did not hesitate to have priests flogged and Church property usurped at will.<sup>58</sup> His confiscation of the abbey of Saint-Vaast caused him to be threatened by an *anathema*, but he did not lose any sleep over that. He had his enemies, Archbishop Fulk and Count Heribert I of Vermandois, killed by his vassals.<sup>59</sup> Reason enough for some penance!

But, even so, we should ask ourselves if the striking similarities are not the result of family contacts between the Anglo-Saxon and Flemish rulers. Admittedly, neither the more or less contemporary English sources nor their Continental counterparts mention a single word about personal contacts between Baldwin II

<sup>56</sup> Philip Grierson, 'The Translation of the Relics of St. Amalberga to St. Peter's of Ghent', *Revb*, 51 (1939), 292–315, who interpreted the translation as 'a kind of thank-offering from Baldwin and Judith, made on the first anniversary of their reconciliation with the king' (p. 303); Nicolas Huyghebaert, 'L'Usurpation du domaine de Tamise: note sur le faux diplôme de Charles le Chauve pour Saint-Pierre de Gand (870)', *Revb*, 92 (1982), 82–104; Huyghebaert, 'La Translation de sainte Amelberge à Gand', *Analecta Bollandiana*, 100 (1982), 443–58; Bozóky, 'La Politique des reliques', p. 275; Bozóky, *La Politique des reliques*, pp. 130, 180.

<sup>57</sup> Philip Grierson, 'The Translation of the Relics of St. Donatian to Bruges', *Revb*, 49 (1937), 170–90; Alain Dierkens, 'Saint Anschaire, l'abbaye de Torhout et les missions carolingiennes en Scandinavie: un dossier à réouvrir', in *Haut Moyen Âge: culture, éducation et société. Études offertes à Pierre Riché*, ed. by Claude Lepelley, Philippe Contamine, and Michel Sot (Nanterre: Erasme 1990), pp. 310–13; Bozóky, 'La Politique des reliques', pp. 274–75; Meijns, 'Les Premières Collégiales', pp. 541–46.

<sup>58</sup> Flodoard of Reims, *Historia Remensis ecclesiae*, ed. by Martina Stratmann, MGH, SS, 36 (Hannover: Hahn, 1998), pp. 391, 396–97; Michel Sot, *Un historien et son église, Flodoard de Reims* (Paris: Fayard, 1993), pp. 139–42.

<sup>59</sup> McKitterick, *The Frankish Kingdoms*, p. 251; Nicholas, *Medieval Flanders*, p. 19; Tanner, *Families*, p. 28.

on the one hand, and his contemporaries King Alfred and King Edward the Elder on the other hand.<sup>60</sup> The evidence for personal contacts between the English and Flemish courts at that time is tantalizingly limited to one rather laconic sentence in Æthelweard's preface of his chronicle: 'Alfred sent his daughter Ælfthryth to the land of Germany to marry Baldwin, who had by her two sons, Æthelwulf and Earnulf, and also two daughters, Ealhswith and Eormenthryth.'<sup>61</sup> But it is doubtful that Baldwin's marriage to this English princess and their giving English names to two of their four children was the limit of the contacts of the Flemish count with England, despite the silence of the few available sources. The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle in general provides hardly any information about Alfred's Continental neighbours.<sup>62</sup> Also on the Continental side, one is hard-pressed to learn anything about the West Frankish kingdom from the cessation of the *Saint-Vaast Annals* in 900 until the start of Flodoard's *Annals* in 919.<sup>63</sup> However, the rare written sources do mention cross-Channel traffic taking place during the reign of Baldwin II. Around 886, Grimbald, a monk from the abbey of Saint-Bertin in Saint-Omer, was sent to Wessex, on the recommendation of Archbishop Fulk of Reims, to assist Alfred in his plan for the intellectual revival.<sup>64</sup> In 901, some pious men of Ponthieu fled to England, possibly out of fear for the Vikings. They carried with them the relics of St Judoc, a Breton saint who was venerated in the monastic cell (*cella*) of Saint-Josse very close to Quentovic.<sup>65</sup> The relics found a new resting-place in the New Minster in Winchester. Finally, there were the Danes, who crossed the Channel

<sup>60</sup> Ever since the article of Jan Dhondt, 'La Donation d'Elfrude à Saint-Pierre de Gand', *Bulletin de la Commission royale d'histoire*, 105 (1940), 117–64, the charter by which Elfrudis donated the estates of Lewisham, Greenwich, and Woolwich to the abbey of Saint Peter's in Gent a day after her husband's death in 918 is considered a forgery, fabricated on the basis of the *Liber traditionum* (middle of the eleventh century) and two other charters. According to Dhondt, the possession of these estates by the Gent abbey only goes back to a grant by King Edgar in 964.

<sup>61</sup> Æthelweard, *Chronicle*, pp. 2–3.

<sup>62</sup> James Campbell, 'England, France, Flanders and Germany in the Reign of Ethelred II: Some Comparisons and Connections', *Essays in Anglo-Saxon History* (London: Hambledon, 1986), pp. 191–207 (p. 197).

<sup>63</sup> Grierson, 'Relations', p. 87: 'But our total ignorance of the history of Flanders during the last eighteen years of Baldwin's reign makes it impossible to say whether there was any formal alliance between the two countries'; Grierson, 'Grimbald'.

<sup>64</sup> Grierson, 'Grimbald', pp. 529–61; Janet L. Nelson, '“A King across the Sea”: Alfred in Continental Perspective', *TRHS*, 5th ser., 36 (1986), 45–68 (at pp. 48–49); Ortenberg, *ECC*, p. 24.

<sup>65</sup> Grierson, 'Relations', p. 77; Grierson, 'Grimbald', pp. 556–57; Ortenberg, *ECC*, p. 24; Bourdellès, 'Vie de St Josse'.



more than once during the last two decades of the ninth century, depending on their military exploits and the resistance they encountered.<sup>66</sup>

There were certainly direct family contacts a generation later, between Æthelstan (924–39) and Baldwin's sons. In 926, Baldwin's youngest son Æthelwulf (Adelolf) headed the embassy sent by Hugh the Great, duke of the Franks, to Æthelstan, brother to Charles the Simple's wife Eadgifu, to negotiate a marriage with one of the King's half sisters.<sup>67</sup> It is, moreover, remarkable that during these talks, which resulted in the marriage of Hugh and Eadhild, several presents were exchanged, among them precious relics. Æthelstan's brother, Edwin, was buried with much pomp by Æthelwulf (Adelolf) in Saint-Bertin after he had drowned in the Channel in 933 and had been washed ashore on the Flemish coast.<sup>68</sup> According to Folcuin's *Deeds of the Abbots of St-Bertin*, Æthelstan displayed his gratitude by showering gifts (*exenia*) on the abbey of Saint-Bertin, where Count Æthelwulf (Adelolf) was interred in November 933 after his untimely decease. Six years later, Count Arnulf conquered Montreuil and he sent the wife and sons of the Count of Ponthieu to the court of his cousin Æthelstan.<sup>69</sup> Certainly until 939, when an English fleet sent by Æthelstan to help Louis d'Outremer against the rebel magnates plundered the coast of Flanders,<sup>70</sup> the English and Flemish rulers seemed to have maintained quite close relations.

At the end of the ninth century and during the first two decades of the tenth century, on both sides of the Channel a remarkably parallel relic policy originated, in all probability the result of mutual influence through family connections, rather than mere coincidence. Both Edward of Wessex, his sister Æthelflaed of Mercia, and their brother-in-law Baldwin II of Flanders fully understood the political implications of the cult of relics. All three actively strove to acquire relics, either

<sup>66</sup> Peter H. Sawyer, *Kings and Vikings* (London: Methuen, 1982); Simon Coupland, 'The Vikings in Francia and Anglo-Saxon England to 911', in *NCMH*, II, 190–201; Angelo Forte, Richard Oram, and Frederik Pedersen, *Viking Empires* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), pp. 58–80.

<sup>67</sup> Grierson, 'Relations', pp. 87–88; Rollason, *Saints and Relics*, pp. 160–63; Rollason, 'Relic-cults', p. 93; Laura Hibbard Loomis, 'The Holy Relics of Charlemagne and King Æthelstan: The Lances of Longinus and St Mauricius', *Speculum*, 25 (1950), 437–56.

<sup>68</sup> Grierson, 'Relations', p. 88; Ortenberg, *ECC*, pp. 24–25.

<sup>69</sup> Grierson, 'Relations', p. 89; Tanner, *Families*, p. 35.

<sup>70</sup> Grierson, 'Relations', p. 89; Tanner, *Families*, p. 35.

through a solemn translation (often a hagiographical disguise for a clever theft)<sup>71</sup> or through donation. The relics of the saints — who were of royal decent in the Anglo-Saxon cases, but of more humble origins in Flanders — were installed in the churches of their newly built military strongholds, and a community of clerics or canons was founded to take care of the cult. The *virtus* of the saint was supposed to protect the stronghold, its inhabitants, and the neighbouring region throughout those troublesome times, and the physical presence of the saintly remains not only enhanced the prestige of the ruler but it also sanctified royal or comital power.

Katholieke Universiteit Leuven

<sup>71</sup> Cf. Felice Lifschitz, 'The Migration of the Neustrian Relics in the Viking Age: The Myth of Voluntary Exodus, the Reality of Coercion and Theft', *EME*, 4 (1995), 175–92.

Part V  
The Vision of the Past



## THE INTERESTS OF HISTORIANS IN THE TENTH CENTURY

Thomas F. X. Noble

The wonderfully entertaining Liudprand of Cremona told Recemund of Elvira, the recipient of his *Antapodosis*, that he had written to ‘put down the deeds of the emperors and kings of all of Europe’.<sup>1</sup> In fact, his Europe is basically Germany, Italy, and Byzantium. He has little to say about France and nothing at all to say about Spain or the British Isles. Rodulfus Glaber is no less ambitious. He says he felt compelled to write because no one since Bede and Paul the Deacon had laid down a worthy historical narrative. He aims to fill that gap and to do so by telling what happened in the four corners of the globe and by focusing on the great men who lived after 900 in the Roman world, by which he means the world of Roman Christianity.<sup>2</sup> As with Liudprand’s so too with Glaber’s work the actual achievement falls well short of the stated intentions. Liudprand and Glaber are not so very different from the other historians I shall be considering. Whatever their aspirations, these historians had low horizons and narrow perspectives.

<sup>1</sup> *Antapodosis*, I. 1, ed. by P. Chiesa, in *Liudprandi Cremonensis Opera omnia*, CCCM, 161 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1998), pp. 5–6; *Retribution*, I. 1, in *The Complete Works of Liudprand of Cremona*, trans. with intro. and notes by P. Squatriti (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America, 2007), pp. 43–44. Squatriti’s ‘Introduction’, pp. 3–37, is excellent. See also Jon N. Sutherland, *Liudprand of Cremona, Bishop, Diplomat, Historian: Studies of the Man and his Age*, Biblioteca degli studi medievali, 14 (Spoleto: Centro italiano di studi sull’alto Medioevo, 1988).

<sup>2</sup> *Rodulfi Glabri Historiarum libri quinque: Ralph Glaber, The Five Books of the Histories*, ed. and trans. by J. France, OMT (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989) (hereafter Glaber, *Histories*), pp. 2, 3. France’s ‘Introduction’, pp. xix–cvi is the fullest and most recent discussion. See also Karl Leyser, ‘The Ascent of Latin Europe’, in Leyser, *CPME*, pp. 223–28.

In saying this, however, I do not mean to criticize them as much as to characterize them. The interests and emphases of these historians tell us much about them and their world. Karl Leyser once remarked that history writing was the most creative and enduring achievement of Ottonian Europe,<sup>3</sup> but he also reminded us that five or six decades separated the end of Carolingian historical writing and the inception of Ottonian. The massive Carolingian intellectual programme was much attenuated in the earlier tenth century, orality made gains against literacy, and courts were less directly involved in the production of texts of all kinds, historical ones among them.<sup>4</sup> To say that these historians had low horizons is in a sense a comparative judgement, the comparisons being drawn between tenth-century writers and those who preceded and followed them. The historians with whom I shall be concerned generally dealt with family squabbles within regional frameworks. Chris Wickham has noted the absence of kingdom- or empire-wide perspectives in tenth-century Italian historical writing.<sup>5</sup> In the absence of powerful kings and ambitious royal courts, he avers, historians lowered their gaze to the problems in their immediate ambit. The Italian scene was 'too crowded' for kings or kingdoms to be at the center of myth-making or historical writing. This was true in Italy and, as we shall see, in England, France, and Germany as well. But immediacy had its attractions — for writers then and readers now. For example, Henry Mayr-Harting interprets Liudprand's *Relatio* as a clever argument fashioned to win the princes of Capua and Benevento for the Ottonian and away from the Byzantine cause.<sup>6</sup> This was not a small-stakes game in tenth-century politics. As another example, Conrad Leyser envisions Liudprand's scathing treatment of the Roman Church as a disquisition on episcopal office and tenure, on 'careerism in the higher clergy'.<sup>7</sup> This, too, was a matter of real consequence. And as we shall see, although

<sup>3</sup> Leyser, 'The Ascent of Latin Europe', p. 218.

<sup>4</sup> Karl Leyser, 'Ritual, Ceremony and Gesture: Ottonian Europe', in Leyser, *CPME*, pp. 189–213 (pp. 193–96).

<sup>5</sup> Chris Wickham, 'Lawyers' Time: History and Memory in Tenth- and Eleventh-Century Italy', in his *Land and Power: Studies in Italian and European Social History, 400–1200* (London: British School at Rome, 1994), pp. 275–93.

<sup>6</sup> Henry Mayr-Harting, 'Liudprand of Cremona's Account of his Legation to Constantinople (968) and Ottonian Imperial Strategy', *EHR*, 116 (2001), 539–56.

<sup>7</sup> Conrad Leyser, 'Episcopal Promiscuity and the Dangers of Professionalization: The Roman Church and Liudprand of Cremona', *EHR* (forthcoming).

royal and imperial frameworks are not much in evidence among the tenth-century historians, providential narratives are nevertheless prominent.<sup>8</sup>

Here is my gallery of historians. From France I have chosen three historians. First, Flodoard of Reims, and I shall only refer to his *Annals* and not his history of his own church.<sup>9</sup> Flodoard, probably a canon of Reims, began writing about 919 and continued until his death in around 966. Second, Richer of Reims, a monk of Saint-Remigius who wrote in the mid- to late 990s *Four Books of Histories* that cover the period from the late ninth century to the late tenth.<sup>10</sup> Third, Rodulfus Glaber who wrote *Five Books of Histories* in the 1030s at Saint-Germain d'Auxerre.<sup>11</sup> From Germany, I have selected two historians. Widukind of Corvey wrote *Three Books on the Deeds of the Saxons* which end with the death of Otto I in 973. It cannot be stated with confidence just when Widukind wrote.<sup>12</sup> In incorporating Thietmar of Merseberg into my discussion I have, as with Rodulfus Glaber, cheated just a little in that Thietmar wrote his *Chronicon* between 1012 and 1018.<sup>13</sup> From Italy, there is Liudprand of Cremona who wrote between about 950 and his death in 971 or 972 his *Antapodosis* (or *Retribution*), his *Concerning Otto the Great*, and his *Embassy to Constantinople*.<sup>14</sup> England did not produce a major narrative historian. The closest one can come is the *Chronicle* of Æthelweard, probably an

<sup>8</sup> Leyser, 'The Ascent of Latin Europe', pp. 218, 225.

<sup>9</sup> Flodoard (Lauer); English translation Flodoard (Fanning-Bachrach). Fundamental on Flodoard is M. Sot, *Un historien et son église au x<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris: Fayard, 1993).

<sup>10</sup> Richer (Latouche). See, most recently, Jason Glenn, *Politics and History in the Tenth Century: The Work and World of Richer of Reims*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought, 4th ser., 60 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

<sup>11</sup> See note 2 above.

<sup>12</sup> Widukind (Bauer-Rau), pp. 16–183. The 'Einleitung' (pp. 3–10) discusses basic problems and supplies specialist bibliography down to the 1970s. The major study remains H. Beumann, *Widukind von Korvei: Untersuchungen zur Geschichtsschreibung und Ideengeschichte des 10. Jahrhunderts*, Veröffentlichungen der Historischen Kommission des Provinzialinstituts für westfälische Landes- und Volkskunde, 10, Abhandlungen über Corveyer Geschichtsschreibung, 3 (Weimar: Hermann Bohlaus, 1950). A good update is provided by G. Althoff, 'Widukind von Korvei', *LdMA*, IX, cols 76–77. For a thoughtful assessment, see K. Leyser, 'Three Historians', in Leyser, *CPME*, pp. 19–28 (p. 27).

<sup>13</sup> Thietmar (Holtzmann); English translation Thietmar (Warner). Warner's superb Introduction (pp. 1–64) is by far the best work on Thietmar and has extensive bibliography. For some brief but perceptive comments, see Leyser, 'Three Historians', pp. 24–28, and 'The Ascent of Latin Europe', pp. 229–31.

<sup>14</sup> See notes 1, 6, 7 above.

ealdorman who served under Æthelred the Unready. Alone among the authors considered in this paper, Æthelweard was a layman, and unlike so many of his contemporaries, he wrote in Latin, not in Old English. His *Chronicon* begins with the Creation and runs down to 975. On the whole, the *Chronicon* is highly derivative but it appears that from 893 to 946, a solid portion of the tenth century, Æthelweard constitutes an independent source (or else he transmits a source that itself does not survive).<sup>15</sup> On one or two occasions I make reference to the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle. I shall not attempt to deal extensively with it because its spectacularly complex textual history defeats any attempt to identify an author whose interests could be gauged. Nevertheless, Æthelweard and the Chroniclers have something in common which they share in varying degrees with Flodoard, Richer, Widukind, and Thietmar: attention to kings and, to a lesser extent, to the forging of nations. Yet not one of these historians, except for Liudprand briefly, wrote at a royal court. Royal and 'national' history was neither court nor courtly history. Other perspectives predominated.

As Glaber's words remind us, there had not, when he was writing, been large-scale histories in some time. To be sure he was a bit unfair to his younger contemporaries but, be that as it may, I don't think anyone would care to compare Bede and, say, Richer. The Carolingian world was rich in annalistic works and in royal biographies, produced one big history, namely that of Freculph of Lisieux, and ended with the engaging chronicle of Regino of Prüm. The seven authors I have in my sights here form, therefore, an unexpectedly rich and diverse set of historians. If their works seem less grand than those of the earlier Middle Ages, or those of the twelfth century, they certainly bear favourable comparison with those of the ninth century.

With only a few exceptions my texts are long and my space is limited, so I must focus on prominent features and leave many interesting issues aside. That is, the testimony of each of these authors has been crucial in attempts to shed light on a huge array of specific historical problems. Delving into those problems would provide many interesting digressions, but I have had to resist that temptation. In organizing my materials in preparation for this paper I began by imagining myself the director of a news bureau and I thought of the tenth-century historians as my reporters out in the field. As they filed their 'stories', I sifted them and decided what would go into the 'news'. Then, imagining less what would go in the news

<sup>15</sup> Æthelweard, *Chronicle*. Campbell's Introduction (pp. ix–lxiii) is the most substantial sustained discussion of the *Chronicon*. More recent articles have explored the mutual interdependence of Æthelweard and other Anglo-Saxon texts, with particular focus on the verse portions of his *Chronicon*. This is not my subject.



pages than in the human interest sections, I identify some interesting quirks in each of my reporters. I am, of course, aware that my 'reporters' were not writing simultaneously and I know, too, that Richer actually made use of Flodoard as Thietmar did of Widukind. But I hope this working conceit will be permissible.

Just as my field reporters were not particularly orderly, I shall proceed in no particular order in relating what they have told me. With the fairly obvious exceptions of Æthelweard's *Chronicon*, the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, and Flodoard's *Annals*, these historians are not especially concerned with chronology. Liudprand provides exactly one date: 12 March 924 when Pavia was consumed by fire in a Magyar siege.<sup>16</sup> The other writers never explicitly cite dates. Reading these works requires a well-stocked reference shelf. While it is true that each text moves along in basically chronological order — I say 'basically' because each author has a penchant for jumping around — the stately progress of time is never a prime interest. Each writer was fundamentally a narrator and each of their narrations had a larger purpose than merely listing one thing after another. Each has a powerful theological impulse to which I shall turn below. But each, too, has a specific emphasis that is both unmistakable and timeless. Liudprand says that his work is called *Antapodosis* because its whole point is to lay bare the villainy of Berengar and of his wife Willa.<sup>17</sup> Widukind purports to provide a tale of the greatness of Saxony and the Saxons, and he does that.<sup>18</sup> But in his very last chapter he reveals his deeper purpose when he says 'and so died on 7 May, on the Wednesday before Pentecost, the emperor of the Romans [i.e. Otto I] and the king of the peoples who left to posterity many distinguished monuments both ecclesiastical and worldly'.<sup>19</sup> Thietmar is no less eloquent when near the end of his second book he marks the passing of 'Italy's glory and Saxony's salvation' and goes on to say that 'not since Charlemagne has so great a ruler and defender of the homeland possessed the royal throne'. He explicitly says that Otto's was a 'golden age'.<sup>20</sup> His words assume poignancy when

<sup>16</sup> *Antapodosis*, III. 3, ed. by Chiesa, p. 70; trans. by Squatriti, p. 112. Æthelweard, *Chronicle*, IV. 3 (p. 51). Æthelweard reports that Alfred died 'on the seventh day before the festival of All Saints [i.e. 25 October]', but he does not specify the year; Widukind says that Otto I died 'on the seventh of May, the Wednesday before Pentecost', but he likewise does not give the year: *Widukind* (Bauer-Rau), III. 76 (p. 182).

<sup>17</sup> *Antapodosis*, III. 1, ed. by Chiesa, p. 68; trans. by Squatriti, pp. 110–11.

<sup>18</sup> *Widukind* (Bauer-Rau), I. 1 (p. 20).

<sup>19</sup> *Widukind* (Bauer-Rau), III. 76 (p. 182).

<sup>20</sup> *Thietmar* (Holtzmann), Bk II, chaps 42, 45 (pp. 91, 93–94); *Thietmar* (Warner), pp. 122, 124.

it is remembered that his narration continued to the accession of Henry II. Æthelweard had his heroes too. He provides a stirring account of Alfred's death, calling him 'the unshakable pillar of the people of the west [all of the *West*, or just Wessex?], a man full of justice, active in war, learned in speech, steeped in sacred literature'. A bit further on he offers similar praises to Æthelstan: 'The fields of Britain were consolidated into one, there was peace everywhere, and abundance of all things.'<sup>21</sup> Richer's tale is a little harder to fathom, but in the end I believe that his central theme is the importance and dignity of the royal office and the repeated damage done to that office by ambitious and unscrupulous aristocrats.<sup>22</sup>

If heroes and villains form one central theme, God supplies another. That is, each of our reporters theologizes history. Everywhere one can see the hand of God in the unfolding of events. My 'reporters' take it for granted that God's purposes can be discerned in the fortunes of individuals and that God reveals his intentions, sometimes spectacularly, through portents. Liudprand tells of the fountain in Genoa that ran red with blood to foretell the violent attack on the city by Saracens from Africa.<sup>23</sup> Richer reminds his readers often of such signs as earthquakes, eclipses, or fire in the sky which usually foretold a military or political disaster.<sup>24</sup> 'Unheard of portents terrified us', says Widukind, 'in many places churches were shaken by thunderstorms to the horror of those who saw or heard, and priests and nuns were struck by lightening.'<sup>25</sup> These signs presaged a grim struggle with the Slavs. On another occasion, crosses appeared on people's clothing, terrifying them and causing them to confess their sins.<sup>26</sup> Comets, pestilence, and a solar eclipse foretold the death of Henry I.<sup>27</sup> Thietmar spoke once of dead people walking among the living so as to confirm the truths of the ancient prophets.<sup>28</sup> For Thietmar lights in the sky or comets could foretell famine or pestilence.<sup>29</sup> On another occasion, signs in the sky pointed to the deaths of bishops, to pestilence, and to

<sup>21</sup> Æthelweard, *Chronicle*, IV. 3, IV. 5 (pp. 51, 54).

<sup>22</sup> Glenn, *Politics and History*, pp. 110–27.

<sup>23</sup> *Antapodosis*, IV. 5, ed. by Chiesa, p. 98; trans. by Squatriti, p. 142.

<sup>24</sup> Richer (Latouche), I. 46, 52, 65, II. 7, 11, 46 (vol. I, pp. 92, 102–04, 122, 138, 144, 202).

<sup>25</sup> *Widukind* (Bauer-Rau), III. 46 (p. 154).

<sup>26</sup> *Widukind* (Bauer-Rau), III. 61 (p. 166).

<sup>27</sup> *Widukind* (Bauer-Rau), II. 32 (p. 116).

<sup>28</sup> *Thietmar* (Holtzmann), Bk I, chaps 11–13 (pp. 16–20); trans. *Thietmar* (Warner), pp. 75–77.

<sup>29</sup> *Thietmar* (Holtzmann), Bk IV, chap. 10 (p. 142); trans. *Thietmar* (Warner), p. 157.

war.<sup>30</sup> For Glaber it was obvious that discord between the Kings of France and Saxony had arisen because of the sins of men.<sup>31</sup> For Widukind, military victories, such as the famous one at the Lech, were attributable to the grace of God.<sup>32</sup> Several of these historians comment explicitly on the folly of rulers who take credit for achievements that God alone vouchsafed them.<sup>33</sup> While it seems safe to say that these historians shared key elements of a world view, the point should not be pushed too far. Glaber was the most 'theologizing' of the writers, and he included fewer concrete examples of portents and signs. Liudprand seems to have had an Augustinian sense of sin and redemption. Events in this world did not always, for him, reveal God's purposes clearly. On page after lurid page in his texts the wicked prospered and the just suffered.<sup>34</sup>

One interest was shared by all these historians: royal politics. The writers of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle provide frustratingly few details but tell a story of constantly expanding royal influence from Alfred's Wessex across Mercia to the midlands and into the frontiers of Northumbria. Æthelweard focuses his account squarely on Alfred, Æthelstan, and Edmund. The French historians stress the continuous struggles between the Carolingians and their supporters, on the one hand, and the Robertians and their followers, on the other hand. At the heart of those struggles was a constantly shifting set of alliances. One group or the other regularly made common cause with the Normans, but the real players lay to the east. Dukes and counts from Lorraine and Burgundy, along with the house of Vermandois and the counts of Paris or dukes of the Franks, moved back and forth in a dizzying series of entanglements occasionally complicated with interventions by Henry I and Otto I of Germany. Viewed from one angle the accounts of Flodoard, Richer, and Glaber seem to tell a story of collapse and disintegration. Viewed from another angle, however, their reports make clear that the monarchy still mattered, that its legitimacy was as important as it was contested. The German historians tell a similar tale. Widukind and Thietmar are both partial to the Ottonians but cannot escape the constant challenges posed to Henry I and Otto I by members of their own extended families. Brothers, sons by different marriages, sons-in-law, and

<sup>30</sup> *Thietmar* (Holtzmann), Bk IV, chap. 19 (p. 154); trans. *Thietmar* (Warner), pp. 164–65.

<sup>31</sup> Glaber, *Histories*, I. 22 (p. 38).

<sup>32</sup> *Widukind* (Bauer-Rau), III. 46 (p. 156).

<sup>33</sup> Good example: Liudprand, *Antapodosis*, I. 32–33, ed. by Chiesa, pp. 124–25; trans. by Squatriti, pp. 64–65.

<sup>34</sup> I owe this observation to the generosity of Conrad Leyser.

cousins aligned in various combinations with and against the reigning kings, almost always in a quest for the royal office itself. Dukes of Franconia, Swabia, and Bavaria were constantly drawn into these battles. As in France, so too in Germany, one might interpret these stories as signs of political weakness. Just as Hugh Capet and the Robertians finally prevailed in France, so too the Saxon dynasty secured its position in Germany. Remember that Thietmar viewed the reign of Otto I as a Golden Age. Amidst their bewildering catalogues of names, the French and German historians wrote histories that are fundamentally regicentric. So too Liudprand. He tells of the complex struggles for the Italian crown between and among Burgundian claimants, lords of Ivrea, marquises of Tuscany, Roman elites, and, finally, the Ottonians. Tenth-century histories validate Regino's famous remark that everyone wanted to make himself a king, while reminding us that if there were no longer kings like Charlemagne, kingship itself still mattered deeply.<sup>35</sup>

What sort of geographical horizons did these historians possess? In a word, they were individually constricted. But at the same time, taken as a group, these writers provide a broad panorama of tenth-century Europe. Perhaps it is not surprising that Flodoard and Richer, as Reims clerics, looked most closely at north-central France. Glaber's perspective is Burgundian but similar in being very local. From time to time the French historians note attempts by French kings to extend their authority into the region south of the Loire, but Aquitaine is never a primary interest for them. They note Viking incursions with some frequency and Magyar campaigns less often and with fewer details. If one were to weigh up the contents of the German historians, the bulk of them lay along a line running from Mainz to Magdeburg. Magdeburg lay at the heart of the German push into the Slavic lands to the east of Saxony and Thuringia, and was a staging ground for relations with Poland and Bohemia. Mainz was usually at the heart of the opposition to the Ottonians. Given the time and treasure expended by the Ottonians in Italy it is quite remarkable how little space the German historians accorded to Italian affairs. Widukind, for example, does not mention Otto's coronation in Rome in 962. Thietmar does so but in very few words. Widukind began to refer to Otto I as emperor early on and says that he became emperor and 'Father of His Country' after the defeat of the Magyars at the Lech. It is almost as if these historians anticipated the nineteenth-century debate between Heinrich von Sybel (1817–95) and Julius von Ficker (1826–1902) in which the former took the view that Germany's Italian entanglement was a disaster that retarded German national development

<sup>35</sup> These points are so patent in all the texts that I have declined to supply a long string of references.

while the latter argued that it was a policy calculated to enhance the ability of German rulers to assemble resources in Italy that could be used in Germany. Until the Second World War the debate remained a lively one in German historical circles. Liudprand seems different somehow because of his digressions into matters Byzantine. Like his father before him, Liudprand was an envoy to the imperial court. Byzantium provided him with some of his best opportunities for telling tall tales. And Liudprand did understand the tortured dynamics of southern Italian politics in ways that his German counterparts did not.<sup>36</sup> But perhaps the most interesting feature of Liudprand's historical geography is his detailed command of German history. He spent time in exile at Frankfurt and served Otto I. As he himself says, he sometimes relied on others but was for much of his writing an eyewitness. He saw more than his fellow tenth-century historians and we are glad for that, but, in the end, there is as much *campanilismo* in him as in the others. Thietmar reveals a distinctive geography too. He was interested in and enthusiastic about the spread of Christianity into the Slavic realms that laid to the east of the German kingdom. His discussions of Poland and Bohemia are especially valuable and revealing.<sup>37</sup>

One small geographical detail attracted the attention of Liudprand and all the French historians. A band of Muslims captured La Garde-Freinet (Fraxinetum). From that base, they harried people going to and coming from Rome, and raided Provence, Alemannia, and northern Italy.<sup>38</sup> Otto once planned a campaign to dislodge them. That this little detail was so widely noticed suggests the importance of north–south traffic through the western passes. Our writers seem to have been keenly aware of what a recent historian has called ‘Communications and Commerce’.<sup>39</sup> At the same time, the fact that Liudprand and the French writers noticed these events, whereas the German historians generally did not, suggests that the use of different Alpine passes occasioned different perspectives.

<sup>36</sup> See above note 6.

<sup>37</sup> A point noted by Leyser, ‘The Ascent of Latin Europe’, pp. 229–31.

<sup>38</sup> Liudprand, *Antapodosis*, I. 2–4, II. 43, IV. 4, V. 9, 5, 16, ed. by Chiesa, pp. 67, 53, 97–98, 128, 132; trans. by Squatriti, pp. 45–47, 94, 142, 175–76, 181; Glaber, *Histories*, I. 9, 17 (pp. 22, 32); *Flodoard* (Lauer), s.a. 929, 933, 936, 939, 940, 951 (pp. 44–45, 57, 65, 74, 79, 132); trans. *Flodoard* (Fanning-Bachrach), pp. 19, 24, 28, 32, 34, 56; *Richer* (Latouche), I. 55, IV. 12 (vol. I, p. 109; vol. II, p. 165).

<sup>39</sup> Michael McCormick, *Origins of the European Economy: Communications and Commerce, AD 300–900* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001).

Another constant interest of our historian-reporters is the prominent roles played by women. Sometimes, these roles were passive. For example, every one of our historians details one marriage alliance after another. I say passive because the texts provide little evidence that any of the wives had a say in their marriages. I do not dispute that they had views, but I cannot find much about them in the sources. More active roles took several forms. For instance, in France, during a long period of fierce internecine strife, women were regularly entrusted with the custody of major strategic sites such as Laon and Reims.<sup>40</sup> Someone intercalated into the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle the famous passage about Æthelflaed of Mercia which says that she captured Derby and Leicester, received pledges from the people of York, and 'ruled rightfully' for eight years.<sup>41</sup> Gerberga, the wife of Louis IV of France and the sister of Otto I, appears repeatedly in both Flodoard and Richer as a key intermediary between her husband and his supporters and her brother who intervened on Louis's behalf several times. In fact, she is one of the most dynamic figures in the history of tenth-century France.<sup>42</sup> Widukind and Thietmar praise the virtue and piety of the women of the Saxon royal family but they say more than this, too. Indeed, Widukind and Æthelweard dedicate their books to, respectively, a daughter and granddaughter of Otto I, the former the Abbess of Quedlinburg and the latter the Abbess of Essen — both named Matilda.<sup>43</sup> Another Matilda, the wife of Henry I and mother of Otto I, is credited with rallying support for her son when he faced massive opposition,<sup>44</sup> and Otto's wife Edith helped him to escape dangers and urged him to build Magdeburg.<sup>45</sup> Thietmar's report of Matilda's marriage to the then-married Henry I is intriguing. Supposedly Henry's love for his first wife was waning and the beautiful Matilda had caught his eye. Whereas Thietmar says that she consented to the marriage because 'women's minds are flexible', we might

<sup>40</sup> *Flodoard* (Lauer), s.a. 928, 946 (pp. 40–43, 101–03); trans. *Flodoard* (Fanning-Bachrach), pp. 17, 44; *Richer* (Latouche), I. 62, II. 6 (vol. I, pp. 116, 136).

<sup>41</sup> *ASC* (Swanton), s.a. 911–18 (pp. 96–103; this account appears in the Abingdon, or 'C' Manuscript, now BL, MS Cotton Tiberius B I).

<sup>42</sup> *Flodoard* (Lauer). One may usefully consult Lauer's Index s.v. 'Gerberge'; *Richer* (Latouche), II. 19, 48, 56, 62, 86, III. 1 (vol. I, pp. 156, 204, 216, 231, 274; vol. II, p. 8).

<sup>43</sup> *Widukind* (Bauer-Rau), p. 16: *Prephatio* (to Book I); Æthelweard, *Chronicle*, pp. 1–2: *Prologus*.

<sup>44</sup> *Widukind* (Bauer-Rau), III. 14 (p. 136); *Thietmar* (Holtzmann), Bk II, chaps 4, 10, 11 (pp. 42, 48–50); *Thietmar* (Warner), pp. 92–93, 98–99.

<sup>45</sup> *Thietmar* (Holtzmann), Bk II, chap. 3 (pp. 40–42); trans. *Thietmar* (Warner), pp. 91–92.

argue that she cleverly seized the main chance.<sup>46</sup> Then there is Liudprand. Among the more entertaining aspects of his historical writings is surely his almost salacious interest in the sexual prowess of various Italian women. Although Liudprand had often been regarded as a misogynist, it may be that a fairer assessment would show that he was a cunning political analyst who distinguished carefully among the various powerful Italian women who advanced causes which he both approved and disapproved.<sup>47</sup> Examples abound, as when he bitterly castigates Ermengarde, the widow of Adalbert of Ivrea, for making herself mistress of Italy: 'The cause of her power was this: that — and it is most hideous even to say it — she exercised carnal transactions with one and all, not just princes but even ordinary men.'<sup>48</sup> When Adalbert of Tuscany died his widow Berta 'seduced' men into being loyal ('the sweet exercises of copulation').<sup>49</sup> With equal measures of horror and prurient interest, Liudprand relates the remarkable adventures in Rome, political and sexual, of the house of Marozia.<sup>50</sup> And yet, one can read his account against the grain as a tale of strong-willed, politically astute women who advanced the interests of their husbands, sons, and lovers and, surely, their own interests as well. Moreover, where Rome and its women are concerned, one might suggest that Liudprand was as baffled as many modern historians have been. That is, as Chris Wickham has shown, Roman politics in the tenth century were unique, exhibiting features of both South Italian principalities and North Italian aristocratic dynasticism.<sup>51</sup> To be sure, Rome was unusual, and Marozia's long grip on power was unusual, but her actions *can* be explained even if Liudprand dismissed her as a sexual predator. If German historians viewed women as saintly and peaceable, Liudprand's view was just the opposite. Berta, the wife of Adalbert of Tuscany, and Willa, the wife of Boson of Tuscany, both allegedly stirred up trouble. Still, Liudprand tells the tale of

<sup>46</sup> *Thietmar* (Holtzmann), Bk I, chap. 9 (p. 14); trans. *Thietmar* (Warner), p. 75.

<sup>47</sup> Philippe Buc, 'Italian Hussies and German Matrons: Liutprand of Cremona on Dynastic Legitimacy', *FmaS*, 29 (1995), 207–25; C. La Rocca, 'Liutprando da Cremona e il paradigma di dissoluzione dei Carolingi', in *Agire da donna: Modelli e pratiche di rappresentazione, secoli VI–*, ed. by Cristina La Rocca (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007), pp. 291–307.

<sup>48</sup> *Antapodosis*, III, 7, ed. by Chiesa, p. 71; trans. by Squatriti, p. 114.

<sup>49</sup> *Antapodosis*, II, 55, ed. by Chiesa, p. 57; trans. by Squatriti, p. 100.

<sup>50</sup> *Antapodosis*, II, 48, 3. 18, 3. 44–46, ed. by Chiesa, pp. 54–55, 75, 90–92; trans. by Squatriti, pp. 96–97, 118, 133–35.

<sup>51</sup> Chris Wickham, 'The Romans According to their Malign Custom': Rome in Italy in the Late Ninth and Tenth Centuries', in *Early Medieval Rome and the Christian West: Essays in Honour of Donald A. Bullough*, ed. by J. M. H. Smith (Leiden: Brill, 2000), pp. 151–67.

one brave and enterprising women. During battles with the Greeks in southern Italy, the local count was castrating some captives. The wife of one of them entered the fray and asked why war was being made on women. Asked what she meant, she said that what was being amputated belonged not to the men but to the women.<sup>52</sup> Regardless of their personal perspectives, my 'reporters' all make it plain that women were powerful actors on the tenth-century stage.

The varying degrees of attention shown by our historians to the Roman church is another gauge of their interests.<sup>53</sup> The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle reports, somewhat mysteriously under the year 983, the death of Pope Benedict VII.<sup>54</sup> Æthelweard mentions Rome only once, when Archbishop Plegmund sent alms, and he says nothing about the pope.<sup>55</sup> This relative disinterest in papal Rome is striking in light of the abundant attention paid to the papacy by numerous eighth-century writers, most notably Bede, who was an important source for both the Chronicle and Æthelweard. Flodoard and Richer have a good deal to say. Both note occasions when the pallium was conferred upon archbishops of Reims.<sup>56</sup> Both also provide substantial, albeit sometimes opaque and contradictory, information about the role of the papacy in the interminable struggles over the succession to the archbishopric of Reims. This problem ran for a generation after Count Heribert of Vermandois sought to secure the see for his young son Hugh. Whenever the then dominant group in France could get papal affirmation of their candidate, they loudly proclaimed the eminence of papal authority. When the popes came down on the 'wrong' side, the French dismissed their letters as forgeries or contested their canonical authority.<sup>57</sup> Both historians also provide some details about appeals to the papacy in connection with the frequently disputed successions to the French crown.<sup>58</sup> Glaber says that Otto III named first Gregory V and then Gerbert as

<sup>52</sup> *Antapodosis*, IV. 10, ed. by Chiesa, pp. 101–03; trans. by Squatriti, pp. 146–47.

<sup>53</sup> See also Francesca Tinti's paper in this volume.

<sup>54</sup> *ASC* (Swanton), p. 124.

<sup>55</sup> Æthelweard, *Chronicle*, IV. 4 (p. 52).

<sup>56</sup> *Flodoard* (Lauer), *s.a.* 923, 933, 942 (pp. 19, 54, 84); *Flodoard* (Fanning-Bachrach), pp. 10, 23, 36; *Richer* (Latouche), IV. 31, (vol. II, p. 192).

<sup>57</sup> *Flodoard* (Lauer), *s.a.* 925, 928, 948, 962 (pp. 32–33, 41–42, 107–15, 151); trans. *Flodoard* (Fanning-Bachrach), pp. 14–15, 17, 46–48, 66; *Richer* (Latouche), I. 25, II. 67–70, 78–80, 96, III. 16–17, IV. 67, 89, 106, 108 (vol. I, pp. 60–62, 236–44, 258–62, 284–86; vol. II, pp. 24, 216, 288–92, 324–26, 328–32).

<sup>58</sup> *Flodoard* (Lauer), *s.a.* 942 (p. 83); trans. *Flodoard* (Fanning-Bachrach), p. 36; *Richer* (Latouche), I. 54, II. 27, 68 (vol. I, pp. 104–08, 166–68, 240–42).



popes and he notes that Crescentius expelled Gregory V and replaced him by John XVI whom Otto III dismissed.<sup>59</sup> The German historians evince no interest at all in papal succession with two exceptions: Thietmar's remark that Otto I consented to the deposition of Benedict V — of which action he starkly disapproved — and his statement that Pope Gregory (V) died and Gerbert succeeded.<sup>60</sup> Flodoard and Richer, as noted, routinely record the receipt of the pallium by the archbishops of Reims. This was their own church and they report no other conferrals of the pallium upon French bishops; the topic itself did not interest them. The German historians mention no conferrals of the pallium at all, not even on Magdeburg. On one occasion French magnates and churchmen sent envoys to the pope to implore aid against the Vikings,<sup>61</sup> but there are no such details in the German historians. Glaber says, perhaps a little surprisingly, that only the pope may decide who is worthy to be emperor.<sup>62</sup> Be that as it may, it is striking that the German historians virtually ignore the imperial office and the papal role in transmitting it. Widukind, for example, discusses at some length Otto's visit to Rome in 962 but does not say one word about the papal coronation.<sup>63</sup> Thietmar mentions the coronation in Rome but supplies almost no specifics.<sup>64</sup> One gets the distinct impression that the papal role in promoting German rulers was controversial and best passed over in silence. Liudprand's treatment of the Roman Church is idiosyncratic. He provides a grim account of the problems of Formosus and the macabre 'cadaver synod' (897). He remarks that John of Ravenna secured the papacy illegitimately, and then largely confines himself to all the bizarre details surrounding Theodora's and Marozia's domination of the papacy.<sup>65</sup> Thus far his *Antapodosis*. In his *Concerning Otto the Great*, Liudprand says a good deal more about Otto's dealings with Rome and the papacy, stressing his complicated relations with

<sup>59</sup> Glaber, *Histories*, I. 12–13 (pp. 24–28).

<sup>60</sup> *Thietmar* (Holtzmann), Bk II, chap. 28, Bk IV, chap. 43 (pp. 73–74, 180); trans. *Thietmar* (Warner), pp. 112, 182. It is interesting that Thietmar was distressed by the deposition of Benedict to which Otto consented but did not mention the deposition of John XII which Otto effected.

<sup>61</sup> *Richer* (Latouche), I. 33 (vol. I, p. 70).

<sup>62</sup> Glaber, *Histories*, I. 23 (p. 40).

<sup>63</sup> *Widukind* (Bauer-Rau), III. 63 (pp. 166–68).

<sup>64</sup> *Thietmar* (Holtzmann), Bk II, chap. 13 (p. 52); trans. *Thietmar* (Warner), p. 101.

<sup>65</sup> Liudprand, *Antapodosis*, I. 28–31, II. 47, II. 48, III. 43, ed. by Chiesa, pp. 22–24, 54–55, 89–90; trans. by Squatriti, pp. 63–64, 96–97, 132–33. See also C. Leyser, 'Episcopal Promiscuity'.

Pope John XII whose deposition Otto engineered.<sup>66</sup> Actually, Flodoard also had some news about the tangled situation in Rome, noting that Marozia deposed and murdered John X; recalling the elevation of John XI, Marozia's son; mentioning the succession of 'Octavian' (i.e. John XII) in 954 (*recte* 955); and slightly garbling John XII's departure from Rome in 965.<sup>67</sup> Presumably, Flodoard and the French got periodic reports on Roman events while they were battling over the archbishopric of Reims.

Most of the major historians reveal distinctive, sometimes surprising, and often entertaining quirks. Richer is quirky in several respects. He studied medicine, and it shows.<sup>68</sup> He takes delight in describing in great detail the symptoms of those who fell ill and especially of those who died. As one example among many, I can cite his account of the death of Heribert of Vermandois who, while he was plotting and scheming with his men 'was struck with a massive attack of apoplexy caused by an excess of humor. He was sitting in the midst of his men, dressed elegantly and haranguing them with his hand extended when, while he was doing this, his hands tensed, his nerves contracted, and his mouth distorted right back to his ears. He dropped dead suddenly'.<sup>69</sup> I know of no other early medieval writer who displays a similar interest or expertise in *materia medica*. Second, Richer was fond of providing long and careful physical descriptions of some of his major characters. Three particularly good examples are his portraits of Giselbert of Lorraine, Gerbert d'Aurillac, and Henry the Wrangler of Bavaria.<sup>70</sup> Third, he was much given to inventing speeches and putting them in the mouths of the major figures in his narrative. Rather extended examples of this speechifying attend Richer's account of the Synods of Ingelheim (948) and Saint-Basle (991),<sup>71</sup> the monastic reforms of Adalbero of Reims,<sup>72</sup> and a disputation concerning Gerbert's intellectual prowess.<sup>73</sup> I suspect that these speeches could be studied more carefully than they have been

<sup>66</sup> Liudprand, *De Ottone*, 1, 4, 5, 6–8, 9–22, ed. by Chiesa, pp. 169, 170–71, 172–73, 173–83; trans. by Squatriti, pp. 219–20, 221–37.

<sup>67</sup> Flodoard (Lauer), s.a. 929, 933, 954, 965 (pp. 44, 54–55, 140, 157–58); trans. Flodoard (Fanning-Bachrach), pp. 19, 23, 60, 68.

<sup>68</sup> Richer (Latouche), IV. 50 (vol. II, pp. 224–30).

<sup>69</sup> Richer (Latouche), II. 37 (vol. I, p. 186).

<sup>70</sup> Richer (Latouche), I. 35, III. 43, 97 (vol. I, pp. 72–74; vol. II, pp. 50, 122).

<sup>71</sup> Richer (Latouche), II. 71–78, IV. 53–75 (vol. I, pp. 244–60; vol. II, pp. 234–70).

<sup>72</sup> Richer (Latouche), III. 33–42 (vol. II, pp. 40–48).

<sup>73</sup> Richer (Latouche), III. 58–65 (vol. II, pp. 68–80).

to date for information about Richer's true feelings on a wide array of topics. Fourth, Richer really warmed to providing long accounts of battles. How much he really knew, and how much he made up or cribbed from ancient historians I cannot say. I can remark his astonishing approach to the numbers of those involved in battles. They are always suspiciously round and high. Moreover, given that we have his autograph manuscript, it is striking that as he corrected his text he almost always increased the numbers. The best example touches the Battle of Soissons fought between Charles the Simple and Robert I in 923. Richer originally wrote that Charles had five thousand men. He subsequently 'corrected' this number twice, first to six thousand and then to ten thousand.<sup>74</sup> Finally, he took special pleasure in describing various engines of war such as siege towers and battering rams.<sup>75</sup>

Widukind shared with Richer a delight in lengthy physical descriptions. His account of Henry I is fine and his portrait of Otto I is superb. However, the latter clearly depends on Einhard.<sup>76</sup> Widukind's account seems to owe a good deal to Sallust, which is appropriate enough given that he was a chronicler of treachery. But he makes other classical allusions too, at least to Cicero, Livy, Vergil, Ovid, Lucan, and Juvenal.<sup>77</sup> Widukind's text provides food for thought for those who are sympathetic — as am I — to the thesis of Stephen Jaeger's *Origins of Courtliness*.<sup>78</sup> Jaeger sees the kinds of courtliness that allegedly arose in and typified twelfth-century Europe as having actually arisen in the circles of tenth-century German bishops. As I noted near the beginning of this paper, tenth-century courtliness did not necessarily depend on kings and their courts. Again like Richer, Widukind takes a decidedly unmonkly pleasure in describing battles in minute detail. In some respects, Widukind's book is one long narrative of a civil war. One vivid scene in that struggle might be mentioned here, namely Otto's capture of Regensburg in 954.<sup>79</sup> But the great scenes are those of 933 and 955 when first Henry and then

<sup>74</sup> Richer (Latouche), I. 44 (vol. I, p. 84 with n. 2).

<sup>75</sup> Richer (Latouche), II. 10, III. 105–07, IV. 22 (vol. I, p. 142; vol. II, pp. 134–38, 178).

<sup>76</sup> Widukind (Bauer-Rau), I. 39, II. 36 (pp. 78, 118).

<sup>77</sup> Beumann, *Widukind von Korvei*, pp. 42–50. Most of these allusions are cited in the notes to *Widukind* (Bauer-Rau).

<sup>78</sup> Stephen Jaeger, *The Origins of Courtliness: Civilizing Trends and the Formation of Courtly Ideals, 939–1210* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1985).

<sup>79</sup> Widukind (Bauer-Rau), III. 34–39 (pp. 148–50).

Otto defeated the Magyars at the Unstrut and then at the Lech.<sup>80</sup> Likewise, he concocts marvellous speeches. Finally, Widukind was especially interested in the rituals and trappings of rulership.<sup>81</sup> He describes how Conrad of Franconia sent the royal insignia to Henry of Saxony in 919 and then Henry's coronation at Fritzlar.<sup>82</sup> But his account of Otto's coronation at Aachen in 936 is virtually unparalleled in early medieval historical writing for the quantity and sheer richness of its details.<sup>83</sup>

Thietmar was no less interested in ritual and ceremony. He mentions the Holy Lance, kings entering churches wearing their crowns, and the royal lauds.<sup>84</sup> He supplies a wonderful account of Otto III's *adventus* in Gniezno, of Otto's being served at table by four dukes, of his desire to revive Roman dining customs according to which the emperor ate alone at an elevated table, and of his opening of the tomb of Charlemagne.<sup>85</sup> Thietmar was interested in various ways of resolving controversies, mentioning two ordeals, one by hot water and one by the Eucharist, two judicial duels, and a trial by combat.<sup>86</sup> He also tells a story within his story, namely the varying fortunes of the see of Merseberg — a theme which he announces right at the beginning of Book I. Thietmar also loves moralizing tales, for instance the one he tells about the deformed baby of Henry I who was conceived on Holy Thursday.<sup>87</sup> More than any of the other historians discussed here, Thietmar was interested in the pagan rites of his Slavic neighbours.<sup>88</sup> Thietmar alludes to a wide

<sup>80</sup> *Widukind* (Bauer-Rau), I, 38, III, 44 (pp. 74–76, 152–54).

<sup>81</sup> See David Warner in this volume; Leyser, 'Ritual, Ceremony, and Gesture'; and the many studies of Gerd Althoff, collected in his *Spielregeln der Politik im Mittelalter: Kommunikation in Frieden und Fehde* (Darmstadt: Primus, 1997); *Die Macht der Rituale* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2003); and *Inszenierte Herrschaft* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2003). The work of K. Leyser, and especially of Althoff, has come in for sharp criticism from Philippe Buc, *The Dangers of Ritual* (Princeton: Princeton University, 2001).

<sup>82</sup> *Widukind* (Bauer-Rau), I, 25–26 (pp. 56–58).

<sup>83</sup> *Widukind* (Bauer-Rau), II, 1–2 (pp. 84–90).

<sup>84</sup> *Thietmar* (Holtzmann), Bk IV, chaps 2, 50 (pp. 133, 188); trans. *Thietmar* (Warner), pp. 150, 187.

<sup>85</sup> *Thietmar* (Holtzmann), Bk IV, chaps 45, 9, 47 (pp. 182–84, 140, 184–88); trans. *Thietmar* (Warner), pp. 183–84, 156, 185.

<sup>86</sup> *Thietmar* (Holtzmann), Bk II, chaps 14, 41, 38, 39, Bk III, ch. 9 (pp. 54, 90, 86, 86–87, 106–08); trans. *Thietmar* (Warner), pp. 101–02, 120–22, 133–34.

<sup>87</sup> *Thietmar* (Holtzmann), Bk I, chaps 24–25 (pp. 30–32); trans. *Thietmar* (Warner), pp. 85–86.

<sup>88</sup> *Thietmar* (Holtzmann), Bk I, chap. 7, Bk III, chap. 19, Bk VI, chaps 22–25, Bk VII, chaps 64, 69, Bk VIII, chap. 5 (pp. 12, 122, 300–04, 478, 482–84, 498); trans. *Thietmar* (Warner), pp. 80, 143, 252–54, 353, 356, 364.

array of Latin texts, almost all of them by familiar school authors: Cicero, Horace, Juvenal, Lucan, Martial, Ovid, Perseus, Sallust, Terence, and Vergil.<sup>89</sup> Thietmar also cites or alludes to the Bible with great frequency. He was a man of his time.

The historians under review here were all members of the clergy except for Æthelweard. It is striking that, as a layman, he ventured to write his *Chronicon* in Latin. His Latin is alarmingly bad, however, and noticeably free of classical allusions. This suggests that his education was dramatically different from that obtained by the clerical historians. If Æthelweard was, in fact, an ealdorman, this may explain his comparatively high degree of attention to the actions of other ealdorman, many of whom he mentions by name.

Liudprand seems to have had sex on the brain, but I have already mentioned that. Alone among our historians he was given to breaking into verse; fourteen times in the *Retribution* and once in the *Embassy*. His verse is not very good but there is a lot of it. Like the other clerical historians under discussion here, Liudprand quotes or alludes to classical authors; around fifty times by my rough count. He cites or paraphrases Horace, Juvenal, Martial, Ovid, Terence, Vegetius, and Vergil. By contrast, he cites the Bible nearly seventy times.<sup>90</sup> Finally, Liudprand is famous for his Graecisms. He sometimes invents words and sometimes shifts into Greek. Apparently he learned the language during his stay in Constantinople in 949–50 and took particular pride in being able to use it rather well.<sup>91</sup>

Returning to my opening conceit, let's suppose that sitting in my news bureau I was expecting some reports on two big tenth-century stories: the 'feudal revolution' (or 'la mutation de l'an mil') and ecclesiastical reform. My reporters would have disappointed me. In fairness, the scholars who have built up their highly contradictory cases about the feudal transformation or mutation have worked essentially from charter evidence. Richer says that Adalbero of Reims got a privilege from John XIII, and Thietmar says Otto II got one from Benedict VII for Memleben.<sup>92</sup> Thus far charters: Our historians do not advert to them. What our historians do describe, albeit with varying degrees of emphasis and detail (Richer and Widukind are especially good) is familial strife among the elites that turned around, was occasioned by, or resulted in massive changes in landed endowments.

<sup>89</sup> I have identified these authors from the notes in *Thietmar* (Holtzmann) and *Thietmar* (Warner).

<sup>90</sup> Once again, I base my count on the notes in Chiesa's edition and Squatriti's translation.

<sup>91</sup> *Antapodosis*, vi. 3, ed. by Chiesa, p. 146; trans. by Squatriti, pp. 196–97.

<sup>92</sup> *Richer* (Latouche), iii. 28 (vol. II, p. 36); *Thietmar* (Holtzmann), Bk III, chap. 1 (p. 97); trans. *Thietmar* (Warner), p. 127.

Fair enough, but our texts reveal the doings of the great players in tenth-century politics. Castellans and their like, the chief actors in the drama of mutation, are all but invisible in these histories. As for church reform, it is perhaps surprising that a set of churchmen who wrote at such length had so little to say about it. To Æthelweard and whomever it was who chronicled Anglo-Saxon England, the tenth-century 'reformation' was of no interest at all. Richer emphasizes only the work of Archbishop Adalbero of Reims who, he says, required the canons to live in community with a common table, and 'reformed' the monks, whatever that means.<sup>93</sup> Both Flodoard and Richer speak about the Synod of Ingelheim (948) whose principal business was the old Reims dispute.<sup>94</sup> Richer and Flodoard observe that Ingelheim issued some reform canons. Flodoard mentions incest and churches taken away by lay people and sold to priests. Richer mentions prohibitions on incest and illegitimate unions by priests, the problem of unworthy priests celebrating the Eucharist, and the issue of churches usurped by laymen. A comparison of their somewhat discordant remarks with the surviving canons of Ingelheim suggests that the Reims historians were ill informed or else not particularly interested in these non-Remois details.<sup>95</sup> Glaber, briefly a monk at Cluny to whose abbot Odilo he dedicated his work, speaks once and vaguely about simony and clerical corruption without saying what anyone did about it.<sup>96</sup> After he makes his famous remark about Europe's being clothed in a white mantle of churches, which means after he has turned well into the eleventh century and out of my sight, Glaber does go back to mention in a single chapter the earlier foundation of Cluny. The German historians are blind to church reform. Any history of the church in tenth-century Germany would devote considerable attention to the great councils beginning with Hohenaltheim and continuing right through the century. Unless I blinked, not a single one of these councils receives any attention from Widukind or Thietmar. Somewhat Eusebius-like, our historians do frequently report the deaths of bishops and the elections of their successors. But they do so without biographical or narrative details. Flodoard and Richer provide richly detailed political histories of the see of

<sup>93</sup> Richer (Latouche), III. 24, 25, 31–42 (vol. II, pp. 30–34, 38–48).

<sup>94</sup> Flodoard (Lauer), *s.a.* 948 (p. 115); trans. Flodoard (Fanning-Bachrach), pp. 46–52; Richer (Latouche), II. 69–81 (vol. I, pp. 240–62).

<sup>95</sup> *Gesta Synodalia*, in *Die Konzilien Deutschlands und Reichsitaliens 916–1001*, vol. I, ed. by E.-D. Hehl, MGH, Concilia, 6.1 (Hannover: Hahn, 1987), pp. 157–63. One example will suffice. Canon 12 says 'Henceforth it is altogether to be avoided that any Christian take a wife among his own relatives.' Priests are not mentioned at all, let alone exclusively.

<sup>96</sup> Glaber, *Histories*, II. 10–12 (pp. 68–74).

Reims, and Thietmar has a lot to say about Merseberg and Magdeburg, but none of these writers is a church historian in any meaningful sense. The papal correspondence, finally, tells a very different story than the historians. Papal letters show that the popes, even some of the worst of them in what Baronius called 'the age of iron', were regularly involved with the church all over Europe.<sup>97</sup> Conferrals of the pallium, for example, were routine. Our historians took almost no notice of this phenomenon.

While we are glad to have these faithful 'reporters', we are no less glad to have other sources with which to compare and complete their accounts.

University of Notre Dame

<sup>97</sup> Jochen Johrendt, *Papsttum und Landeskirchen im Spiegel der päpstlichen Urkunden (896–1046)*, MGH, Studien und Texte, 33 (Hannover: Hahn, 2004).





# INSULAR HISTORY? FORGERY AND THE ENGLISH PAST IN THE TENTH CENTURY

Julia Crick

In *England and the Continent in the Eighth Century*, Wilhelm Levison ranged over vast historical territory. Eleven appendices house the trophies of a lifetime of scholarly exploration: notes and discussion of textual enigmas, some from far outside his chosen period (most famously, no. X: 'Venus, a Man'), together amounting to a small volume in length, only twenty-five pages shorter than the text proper. The first and longest of these digressions concerns forgery.<sup>1</sup> In it Levison reappraised a founding myth. He showed that the foundation charters of St Augustine's, Canterbury, 'do actually show connexions between England and the Continent'; not, as previously thought, as the legitimate offspring of Merovingian exemplars brought across by Augustine, but as fictions created in the time of Lanfranc by a monk from Soissons using tenth-century papal privileges and royal diplomas. In both his methods and conclusions in this study Levison blazed a trail which will be followed here, albeit at a respectful distance. His was an investigation of eleventh-century texts appended to a volume on the eighth; the present contribution will be confined as far as possible to a single century, the tenth.

I owe thanks to Sarah Hamilton for helpful and constructive comments on a draft of this paper, to Mary Swan for her kindness in discussing with me aspects of this paper and pointing me to additional bibliography, and to the editors for the sharpness of their comments and questions. I am grateful to the Leverhulme Trust for the award of a Research Fellowship, during the tenure of which this paper was completed.

<sup>1</sup> 'The Charters of King Ethelbert I of Kent and the Descent of the Anglo-Saxon Charters', in Levison, *ECEC*, pp. 174–233.

Although details have been challenged, the substance of Levison's discussion of the foundation charters of St Augustine's has exercised lasting influence.<sup>2</sup> Not content to isolate the diplomatically and morally reprehensible, although he did that too, he treated the production of forgery as a significant historical process in its own right and so offered a template for future work.<sup>3</sup> The tenth century, an acknowledged era of textual manufacture in England as on the Continent, invites investigation of just this sort.<sup>4</sup> Thanks to the work of a number of editors, most recently and conspicuously Susan Kelly, it no longer takes the skills of a Levison to identify and isolate instances of deliberate retrospection within the English documentary corpus, that is, acts of historical construction which go beyond the narrative purpose inherent in the creation of all charters.<sup>5</sup> In this paper I shall consider what this activity might reveal about a period when intellectual traffic across the North Sea carried special ideological urgency, what it contributes to the already well-established literature about English attitudes to the Insular past in the tenth century, and what it might add to a different strand of historiographical argument, about the indebtedness of English reform to Continental ideas and practices.

<sup>2</sup> Cited by F. M. Stenton, *Latin Charters of the Anglo-Saxon Period* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1955), p. 9, n. 4, for example. On the details of Levison's interpretation, see Susan Elisabeth Kelly, 'Some Forgeries in the Archive of St Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury', in *Fälschungen im Mittelalter: Internationaler Kongress der Monumenta Germaniae Historica München, 16–19 September 1986*, MGH, Schriften, 33, 4 vols in 5 + Index (Hannover: Hahn, 1988), IV, 347–69; and *Charters of St Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury, and Minster-in-Thanet*, ed. by S. E. Kelly, Anglo-Saxon Charters, 4 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), pp. lxiv–lxv, nos 1–5.

<sup>3</sup> On the 'reprehensible work' of forgers, see Levison, *ECEC*, p. 210. For Levisonian influence, see Frank Barlow, *Durham Jurisdictional Peculiars* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1950), pp. 1–16 (citing Levison at p. 2, n. 1); R. W. Southern, 'The Canterbury Forgeries', *EHR*, 73, no. 287 (1958), 193–226 (citing Levison, *ECEC*, p. 194, n. 1).

<sup>4</sup> Levison's neglect of that century was lamented by Patrick Wormald, 'Æthelwold and his Continental Counterparts: Contact, Comparison, Contrast', in *Bishop Æthelwold: His Career and Influence*, ed. by Barbara Yorke (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 1988), pp. 13–42 (p. 14).

<sup>5</sup> On that purpose, see Armando Petrucci, 'The Illusion of Authentic History: Documentary Evidence', in *Writers and Readers in Medieval Italy: Studies in the History of Written Culture*, trans. by Charles M. Radding (London: Yale University Press, 1995), pp. 236–50; Sarah Foot, 'Reading Anglo-Saxon Charters: Memory, Record, or Story', in *Narrative and History in the Early Medieval West*, ed. by Elizabeth M. Tyler and Ross Balzaretti, *Studies in the Early Middle Ages*, 16 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2006), pp. 39–65.

'What is the official historiography, represented by the *Chronicle* [...] but the **reduction** of the history of England to the *res gestae* of the house of Cerdic.'<sup>6</sup> So Eric John wrote of the tenth century in *Orbis Britanniae*, a book which chapter after chapter championed the connexions being examined in this volume. In representing official history as a reduction he drew attention to the converse — the existence of an English past beyond the West Saxon dynasty and beyond narrative history. John stressed the value of charters as a source of ideological reference and he sought a Continental context for the explication of English history. He also sensed the significance of tenth-century devotion to the great Latinists of the English past — to Bede, certainly, but also to Aldhelm, 'the West Saxon "father"' whose rise to prominence in the tenth century 'coincide[d] with this epoch of West Saxon empire-building',<sup>7</sup> and he understood the importance of the exhumation of historic royal styles for reuse by the magnified West Saxon kings 'in a world where fear and prestige mattered so greatly'.<sup>8</sup> In other words, John used diplomatic and narrative sources to delineate a strongly historicizing culture in tenth-century England.

In the forty years which have elapsed subsequent work has served only to develop and extend the view of indebtedness to the Insular past which John perceived. We know a great deal more about the intensity of interest in the fathers of Anglo-Latin: the dissection of Aldhelm's texts in literally thousands of glosses, the rearticulation of his syntax and vocabulary in the hermeneutic Latin which served as the voice of the first generation of reformers in England, the indebtedness of tenth-century reformers to Bede and Bedan history.<sup>9</sup> No less central to the understanding of the reform have become the historical fixations of the leaders of the movement, whether on the saints and hagiography of the eighth century or, most particularly, on the pasts of institutions with which they associated themselves, whether Æthelwold at Abingdon and Ely, or Oda and Dunstan and their

<sup>6</sup> Eric John, "Orbis Britanniae" and the Anglo-Saxon Kings', in *Orbis Britanniae and Other Studies* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1966), pp. 1–63 (p. 57, my emphasis).

<sup>7</sup> John, "Orbis Britanniae" and the Anglo-Saxon Kings', p. 50.

<sup>8</sup> John, "Orbis Britanniae" and the Anglo-Saxon Kings', pp. 48–49.

<sup>9</sup> Mechthild Gretsch, *The Intellectual Foundations of the English Benedictine Reform* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), pp. 132–84; Michael Lapidge, *A-LL*, esp. chap. 4; Joyce Hill, *Bede and the Benedictine Reform*, Jarrow Lecture 1998 (Jarrow: St Paul's Church, 1999); Christopher A. Jones, *Ælfric's Letter to the Monks of Eynsham* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), pp. 42–43, 51–58. See further, Catherine Cubitt, 'The Tenth-Century Benedictine Reform', *EME*, 6 (1997), 77–94 (pp. 81–83).

successors at Canterbury.<sup>10</sup> More recently, John Blair has drawn attention to another aspect of tenth-century retrospection, suggesting that reformers were drawn to the English past for a very English reason, for constitutional enlightenment, searching for a pattern for the conduct of the religious life in the absence of working knowledge of Continental rules.<sup>11</sup>

Although a very considerable weight of evidence now supports the notion of a turn to the Insular past in the tenth century, interpretations have varied markedly. Antonia Gransden, working from the evidence of historical narrative, saw the phenomenon as local and practical in inspiration and thus asserted the vigour and continuity of native tradition in the face of a historiographical model of indebtedness to Continental influence.<sup>12</sup> Simon Coates read in much the same evidence an internal tension between Bedan and non-Bedan, the monastic and the secular.<sup>13</sup> Wormald identified a Continental context, comparing Æthelwold and the historian and forger Adalbert of Magdeburg, but he concluded that the English phenomenon was distinctive in part because it was so strongly directed by the influence of Bede's history.<sup>14</sup> Thacker, on the other hand, viewed English activity in a straightforwardly Continental framework: 'the stimulus to renew this past came from the Continent where the reformed monasticism pointed the way to primitive purity'.<sup>15</sup> It is significant for my argument here that those commentators most inclined to view English historicism in a Continental context did so in studies which drew upon diplomatic evidence. Alan Thacker observed 'the exaltation of

<sup>10</sup> Alan Thacker, 'Æthelwold and Abingdon', in *Bishop Æthelwold*, ed. by Yorke, pp. 43–64; Wormald, 'Æthelwold and his Continental Counterparts'; Antonia Gransden, 'Traditionalism and Continuity during the Last Century of Anglo-Saxon Monasticism', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 40 (1989), 159–207 (repr. in Antonia Gransden, *Legends, Traditions and History in Medieval England* (London: Hambledon, 1992), pp. 31–79); Simon Coates, 'Perceptions of the Anglo-Saxon Past in the Tenth-Century Monastic Reform Movement', in *The Church Retrospective*, ed. by R. N. Swanson, *Studies in Church History*, 33 (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 1997), pp. 61–74; Nicholas Brooks, *The Early History of the Church at Canterbury: Christ Church from 597 to 1066* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1984), pp. 210–13, 223–24, 227–31, 240–46, also p. 281; John Blair, *The Church in Anglo-Saxon Society* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), pp. 353–54.

<sup>11</sup> Blair, *The Church in Anglo-Saxon Society*, pp. 344–53 (p. 346).

<sup>12</sup> Gransden, 'Traditionalism', pp. 164–80 and, on the historiography, pp. 159–60, 207–08.

<sup>13</sup> Coates, 'Perceptions', esp. pp. 73–74.

<sup>14</sup> Wormald, 'Æthelwold and his Continental Counterparts', pp. 28–30, 39.

<sup>15</sup> Thacker, 'Æthelwold', p. 63.

an earlier monastic golden age'<sup>16</sup> in his study of Æthelwold's use of the more monastic past, detecting in the charters of Bishop Æthelwold a significant historicizing programme. He, like Patrick Wormald, drew attention to charters from Bishop Æthelwold's foundation at Abingdon which lean heavily on reference to past grants.<sup>17</sup>

The phenomenon which two decades ago Thacker and Wormald had connected with Æthelwold and understood as a response to reform — historical reference within English charters — deserves to be revisited. First, the perception of the reform movement per se has shifted significantly. Further work on the texts of the reform, for instance, has served to reinforce the importance of the Continental connection: Continental texts and models have been found to give shape and substance to the vernacular as well as the Latin writings of Ælfric, that most influential of English reformers.<sup>18</sup> Meanwhile, the work of the last two decades on the production and authenticity of English charters has thrown up abundant evidence for historical self-awareness.<sup>19</sup> It derives from study of drafting, copying, interpolation, fabrication, and these are processes whose scrutiny has been democratized by the harnessing of Internet resources to provide searchable (although not yet wholly reliable) texts.<sup>20</sup> Yet this is a body of evidence which has hardly been processed into synthesis. I can no more than indicate its potential here. I do so because this evidence merits wide exposure as a cultural phenomenon and as a

<sup>16</sup> Thacker, 'Æthelwold', p. 53.

<sup>17</sup> Wormald, 'Æthelwold and his Continental Counterparts', p. 39, nn. 106–07; Thacker, 'Æthelwold', p. 53 on Sawyer, no. 876.

<sup>18</sup> Joyce Hill, 'Reform and Resistance: Preaching Styles in Late Anglo-Saxon England', in *De l'homélie au sermon: histoire de la prédication médiévale*, ed. by Jacqueline Hamesse and Xavier Hermand (Louvain-la-Neuve: Université Catholique de Louvain, 1993), 15–46 (pp. 33–41); Jones, *Ælfric's Letter*, pp. 59–61.

<sup>19</sup> Brooks, *Early History*; see the volumes produced under the auspices of the British Academy-Royal Historical Society Joint Committee on Anglo-Saxon Charters, particularly *Charters of St Augustine's*; *Charters of Selsey*, ed. by S. E. Kelly, Anglo-Saxon Charters, 6 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998); *Charters of Abingdon Abbey*, ed. by S. E. Kelly, Anglo-Saxon Charters, 7–8 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000, 2001); *Charters of Christ Church*, ed. by N. P. Brooks and S. E. Kelly, Anglo-Saxon Charters, 14–16 (Oxford, forthcoming).

<sup>20</sup> Sean Miller, *The New Regesta Regum Anglorum: A Searchable Edition of the Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Royal Diplomas, 670–1066* (2001) <<http://www.trin.cam.ac.uk/chartwww/NewRegReg.html>>. See also Sawyer.

reflex of reform and, almost certainly, although I can no more than gesture in this direction, as one or more sets of activity which have parallels on the Continent.<sup>21</sup>

Three types of evidence derived from charters will serve to illustrate the extent of historical reference in tenth-century monastic circles in England: historical example, forged documents, and scribal reference. I will make reference to acceptable charters as well as spurious documents, keeping in mind the likelihood of Continental parallels.

### *Historical Example*

Patrick Wormald traced for the Continental and English reformers very different historical trajectories: on the Continent ideologues looked to the Desert Fathers; in England Bede dominated the horizon.<sup>22</sup> The cause of this apparent difference of orientation lies beyond the scope of this paper, and its effects cannot be examined convincingly without systematic comparison. Nevertheless, whether or not this was a purely English phenomenon (and I suspend judgement on this point), there is clear evidence in England of ideological commitment to the local past, something strikingly exemplified in practical re-enactment. John Blair has described how the past was 'appropriated and rewritten to inflate the former status of places which the new tides of fortune had favoured', but as Blair himself showed, the authority accorded to the past went beyond rhetoric: it amounted to a programme for action.<sup>23</sup> In previous centuries the deeds of past kings had occasionally been invoked to warrant action in the present,<sup>24</sup> but in the tenth century the phenomenon burgeoned.

As Susan Kelly has recently discussed, the combined evidence of charters and the Ely narrative, the *Libellus Æthelwoldi*, shows Æthelwold, as Bishop of Winchester, systematically using purchase, political leverage, and expediency to re-endow the ancient monasteries at Ely, Medehamstede, Chertsey, Thorney,

<sup>21</sup> In particular the phenomenon merits discussion in the light of a possibly analogous awakening of historical interest discussed by Steven Vanderputten, "'Literate Memory" and Social Reassessment in Tenth-Century Monasticism', *Mediaevistik*, 17 (2004), 65–94 (p. 73).

<sup>22</sup> Above, note 9.

<sup>23</sup> Blair, *The Church in Anglo-Saxon Society*, p. 353.

<sup>24</sup> Sawyer, no. 1203 (875). BL, MS Cotton Augustus ii. 89 (s. ix–x; *British Museum Facsimiles*, ii. 40): Julia Crick, 'Pristina libertas: Liberty and the Anglo-Saxons Revisited', *TRHS*, 6th ser., 14 (2004), 47–71 (p. 61, n. 66).

Breedon-on-the Hill, and Barrow-upon-Humber — conscious of their antiquity and importance in a historical scheme.<sup>25</sup> Such references proliferate: the monks at Æthelwold's Abingdon in the tenth century made repeated reference in their charters to powers licensed by a bull of Pope Leo III and a privilege of the Mercian king, Coenwulf.<sup>26</sup> Some of this activity might be viewed as simple restitution after loss. In an apparently authentic Abingdon charter of 915, King Alfred's daughter, Æthelflæd, is made to sanction the sale of property in Berkshire from a man whose great-great-grandfather had obtained written confirmation from Offa; the original document had been lost, in a fire, in 878, and a substitute charter produced to rectify the situation.<sup>27</sup>

Dunstan did the same at Westminster, purchasing land to restore a lost endowment.<sup>28</sup> So, at St Albans, did Ælfric, former monk of Æthelwold's Abingdon, who had relinquished his position as Abbot of St Albans to become Archbishop of Canterbury, his brother replacing him as abbot. Together they bought up property, including confiscated estates, in order to restore the monastery's endowment.<sup>29</sup> They did so (as was explicitly stated in a charter) in the belief that Offa, the great King of Mercia, had been a patron of the house. The sources for this intelligence are quite unknown: Offa was not a king particularly celebrated in any narrative text in circulation in the tenth century.<sup>30</sup> The pattern was replicated at other centres of reform. The community of St Alban likewise forged replacement documents, apparently at or shortly after this date, in the names of Offa and of his son, Ecgrith.<sup>31</sup>

<sup>25</sup> *Charters of Abingdon*, ed. by Kelly, pp. clxix–clxxii; *Liber Eliensis*, ed. by E. O. Blake, Camden Third Series, 92 (London: Royal Historical Society, 1962), ii. 5–8, 10–11, 17–19, etc.

<sup>26</sup> The so-called *Orthodoxorum* charters: *Charters of Abingdon*, ed. by Kelly, pp. lxxxiv–cvi, cxi–cxv, nos 83, 84, 124.

<sup>27</sup> Sawyer, no. 225 (878 for 915 or 916) Æthelflæd to Eadric; *Charters of Abingdon*, ed. by Kelly, no. 20.

<sup>28</sup> *Charters of Abingdon*, ed. by Kelly, p. clxxi, n. 10; Julia Crick, 'St Albans, Westminster and Some Twelfth-Century Views of the Anglo-Saxon Past', *Anglo-Norman Studies*, 25 (2003 for 2002), 65–83 (pp. 76–79).

<sup>29</sup> *Charters of St Albans*, ed. by Julia Crick, Anglo-Saxon Charters, 12 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), pp. 18–24, and nos 11, 12.

<sup>30</sup> See Mark Atherton, 'Mentions of Offa in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, *Beowulf*, and *Widsith*', in *Æthelbald and Offa: Two Eighth-Century Kings of Mercia*, ed. by David Hill and Margaret Worthington, BAR, British Series, 383 (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2005), pp. 65–73.

<sup>31</sup> Julia Crick, 'Offa, Ælfric and the Refoundation of St Albans', in *Alban and St Albans: Roman and Medieval Architecture, Art and Archaeology*, ed. by Martin Henig and Phillip Lindley,

Clearly, the impetus to restore was felt by a number of reformers and presupposed either historical knowledge or historical imagination. Either way these were practical actions rooted in historical precedent and sometimes licensed by documents, genuine or manufactured.

### *Forged Documents*

Another avenue for investigation, then, is the resort to forgery. Here comparative material from the Continent is more readily available. In France the beginning of active manipulation, even fabrication, of deeds of earlier Carolingian kings has been assigned to the tenth century.<sup>32</sup> The same period is well recognized as a fertile time for manipulation of the archival record in England: Stenton's (and indeed Eric John's) arguments about the ambitions of the Mercian supremacy two hundred years before have long since been modified on the grounds that the royal style 'rex Anglorum', by which these historians set so much store, was an anachronism attached to the name of King Offa by tenth-century forgers.<sup>33</sup>

Some of the fullest published discussion of tenth-century forgery in England comes from Nicholas Brooks's study of the early history of the church of Canterbury.<sup>34</sup> He investigated a series of problematic documents, purporting to come from the seventh, eighth, and ninth centuries, to all of which he was able to assign a tenth-century date of production. Most dramatic was the Pagham charter (Sawyer, no. 230; Figure 39) a learned production bearing the date 680 but surviving in a hand of the tenth century, also responsible for the copying of another spurious charter as Nicholas Brooks showed (Sawyer, no. 110; Figure 40), and possibly drafting it as well.<sup>35</sup> The Pagham charter fits exactly into the intellectual milieu described by Gransden and Coates with reference to historical narrative. In

British Archaeological Association Conference Transactions, 25 (Leeds: British Archaeological Association, 2001), pp. 78–84.

<sup>32</sup> Jean Dufour, 'Etat et comparaison des actes faux ou falsifiés intitulés au nom des Carolingiens français (840–987)', in *Fälschungen im Mittelalter*, II, 167–210 (pp. 179, 188–89, 208–09).

<sup>33</sup> Patrick Wormald, 'Bede, the *Bretwaldas* and the Origins of the *Gens Anglorum*', in *Ideal and Reality in Frankish and Anglo-Saxon Society: Studies Presented to J. M. Wallace-Hadrill*, ed. by Patrick Wormald with Donald Bullough and Roger Collins (Oxford: Blackwell, 1983), pp. 99–129 (pp. 110–11); Simon Keynes, 'Changing Faces: Offa of Mercia', *History Today*, November 1990, 14–19 (pp. 16–17).

<sup>34</sup> Brooks, *Early History*, pp. 209–13, 232–36, 240–43.

<sup>35</sup> Brooks, *Early History*, p. 378, n. 153; *Charters of Selsey*, ed. by Kelly, pp. 102–03.



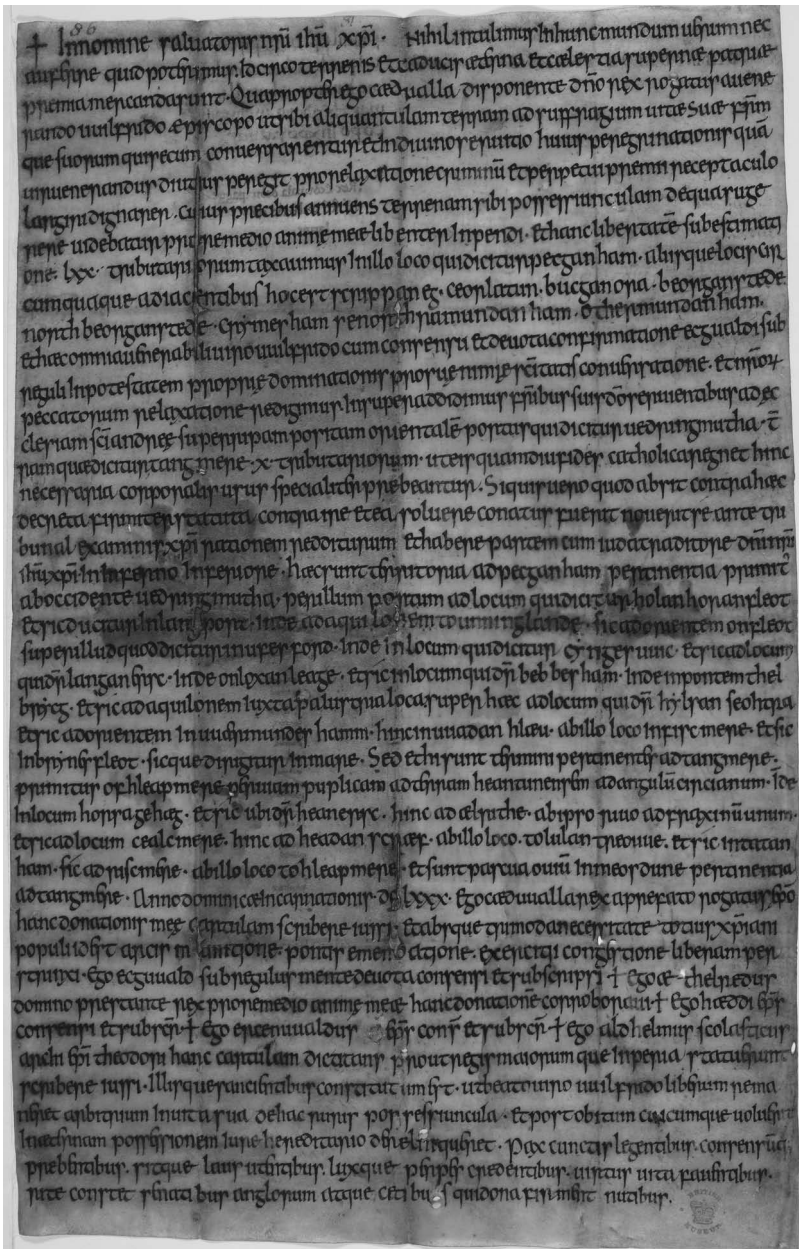


Figure 39. Sawyer, no. 230: Christ Church, Canterbury. London, British Library, MS Cotton Augustus ii. 86 (reduced). Reproduced with permission.

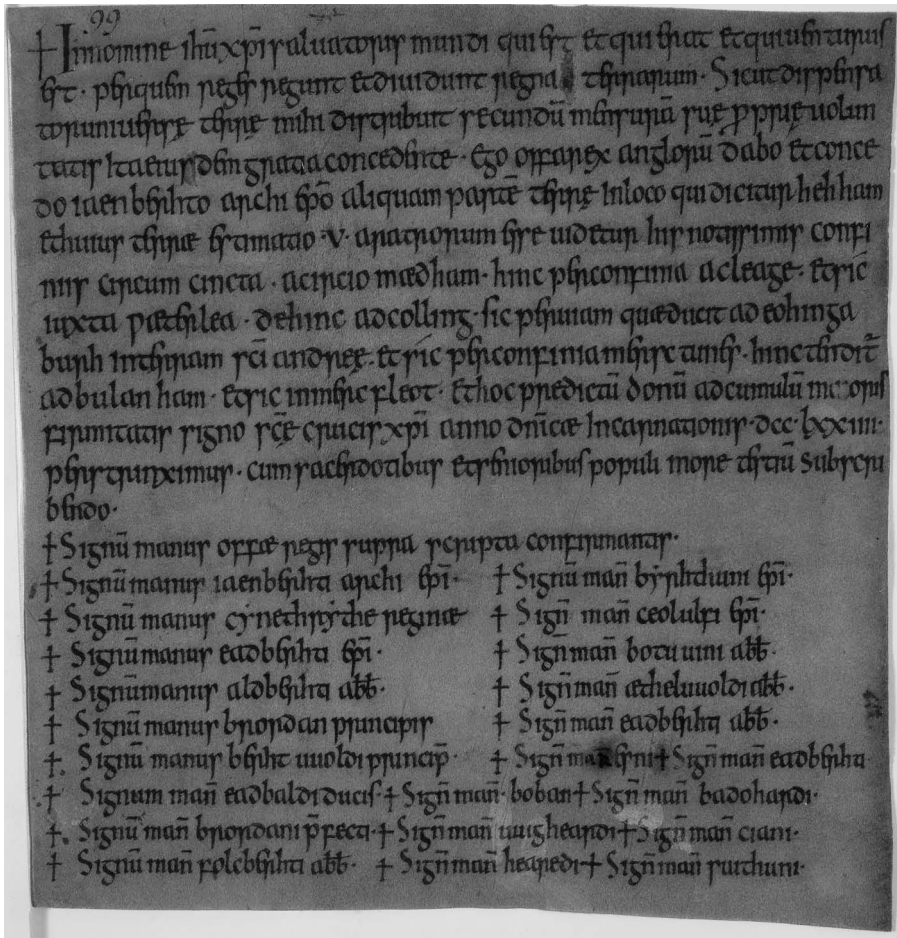


Figure 40. Sawyer, no. 110: Christ Church, Canterbury. London, British Library, MS Cotton Augustus ii. 99 (reduced). Reproduced with permission.

it the West Saxon king Ceadwalla is made to grant no fewer than seventy hides in Sussex to Bishop Wilfrid, the redoubtable ecclesiastical magnate of the conversion period, who was Archbishop of York (664–78), Bishop of Selsey (?681–85?), Leicester (?–706), and Hexham (706–09), and whose relics had been recovered by Archbishop Oda (941–58), enshrined in the new cathedral church at Canterbury, and celebrated in a newly commissioned *Breuilloquium uitae beati Wilfridi*.<sup>36</sup> The

<sup>36</sup> On Wilfrid at Canterbury, see Brooks, *Early History*, pp. 52–54, 227–31. On the export of his cult to the Continent, see Paul Fouracre, 'Forgetting and Remembering Dagobert II: The English Connection', in *Frankland: The Franks and the World of the Early Middle Ages. Essays in Honour of Dame Jinty Nelson*, ed. by Paul Fouracre and David Ganz (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2008), pp. 70–89 (pp. 87–88).

charter is a graphic recounting of episodes from the *Life of Wilfrid*, with a scattering of Bedan history thrown in, given practical bite by the inclusion of a long Latin boundary clause.<sup>37</sup> It is a work of scholarship, produced by a man unable to resist displaying his mastery of chronology, or indulging in the shameless namedropping to which post-Conquest forgers were later so prone. He places Aldhelm, *scolasticus archiepiscopi Theodori*, as a witness (as Brooks noted, a chronologically possible manoeuvre, given that writer's early education at Canterbury in the school of Theodore and Hadrian) and adds, as a final flourish, an endorsement in which Wilfrid is made to address the charter to Theodore.<sup>38</sup> This triumph of historical invention cannot be explained in a strictly local context. Everything associates its production not with Selsey but with Canterbury: the charter was copied by a Christ Church scribe, and no doubt conceived in the centre where Wilfrid was actively and newly culted.

Another of the striking preoccupations of tenth-century historicism as manifested in English charters is interest in the great Mercian kings Offa and Coenwulf. The deeds of these formidable overlords fell outside dynastic narrative history as told by the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, with its emphasis on Wessex; nevertheless, as we have seen, reformers at Abingdon, St Albans, and Westminster made direct reference to grants of land and privilege received from them.<sup>39</sup> These are kings known to modern historians primarily from charter evidence, and one gets the impression that tenth-century monastic reformers knew of them from the same source and from institutional memory. In other words, these kings were one of the casualties of the process of historiographical reduction alluded to by John, that is, the process of focusing English history on the dynasty of Wessex. Yet theirs were names deployed in the tenth century: their charters were copied (e.g. Sawyer, no. 111; Figure 41); more were tampered with or invented in the tenth century (at Christ Church and St Augustine's Canterbury, and at Abingdon, Winchester, and Worcester).<sup>40</sup>

<sup>37</sup> On the construction of Sawyer, no. 230, see *Charters of Selsey*, ed. by Kelly, Appendix 2, A. She argues that the document perhaps draws on an acceptable charter which was adapted by the addition of a witness-list, an immunity clause, and a statement of powers; *Charters of Christ Church*, ed. by Brooks and Kelly, no. 3.

<sup>38</sup> 'Uuilfridus æpiscopus cartulam hanc . multimodasque et humillimas Theodoro archiepiscopo in Christo salutes.' On the historical Aldhelm, see Michael Lapidge, 'The Career of Aldhelm', *ASE*, 36 (2007), 15–69.

<sup>39</sup> Above, pp. 520–21 and notes 25–31.

<sup>40</sup> Single sheets survive from Christ Church only (Sawyer, nos 110, 111, 132, Offa); Sawyer, nos 156, 168, 175 manuscripts 1 and 2 (see Figures 39–44). Cartulary copies of supposedly tenth-

Clearly there was an active historical tradition, but one which found its expression in documentary rather than narrative form. The attention of certain religious houses to these kings commands respect: not for them, founder's myths of the conversion period (of the sort indulged in by Levison's post-Conquest forger) — though we can find tenth-century examples of this as we have seen in the Paghham charter and as we shall see elsewhere. At Canterbury and elsewhere, activity focused on the recovery of a past which lay within the realms of credibility. We might not trust references to Offa 'rex totius Anglorum patriae' but as conqueror of Kent he makes a reasonably credible patron of Canterbury, at least for certain periods of its history.

This brings me to my final point, because where the charters which I have been describing survive as single sheets — and we have perhaps a dozen or more — more often than not it is not simply their text but their physical appearance which betrays signs of archaism.

### *Scribal Reference*

I have argued elsewhere that script-imitation was an intrinsic part of tenth-century historicism; its practice presupposes research, self-consciousness, and a form of historical introspection directly analogous to the references to the past which guided the actions and texts of the reformers as others have shown.<sup>41</sup> Of all the material I have discussed, it also brings us closest to the Continent.<sup>42</sup>

In some senses script-imitation is integral to the scribal process anywhere.<sup>43</sup> Certain sorts of scripts, notably capital scripts imported from Late Antiquity, were frequently grafted onto the repertoire of scribes whose common script was

century fabrications in the names of Offa and Coenwulf survive from St Augustine's, Canterbury (Sawyer, no. 140, Offa), Abingdon (Sawyer, no. 183, Coenwulf), the Old Minster, Winchester (Sawyer, no. 284), and Worcester (Sawyer, no. 104, Offa). Between them these charters contained the spurious '*rex Anglorum*' style: Wormald, 'Bede', p. 110, n. 47; Brooks, *Early History*, pp. 113 and 349, n. 13.

<sup>41</sup> Julia Crick, 'Script and the Sense of the Past', in *Anglo-Saxon Traces*, ed. by Jane Roberts and Leslie Webster, Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies (Tempe, forthcoming), pp. 1–28.

<sup>42</sup> Jean Vezin, 'Écritures imitées dans les livres et les documents du haut Moyen Âge (VII<sup>e</sup>–XI<sup>e</sup> siècle)', *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, 165 (2007), 47–66, which appeared after this paper was first delivered, greatly strengthens the argument. I owe my knowledge of this paper to the kindness of Dr Tessa Webber.

<sup>43</sup> Vezin, 'Écritures imitées', has argued the case for the Continent and for England.

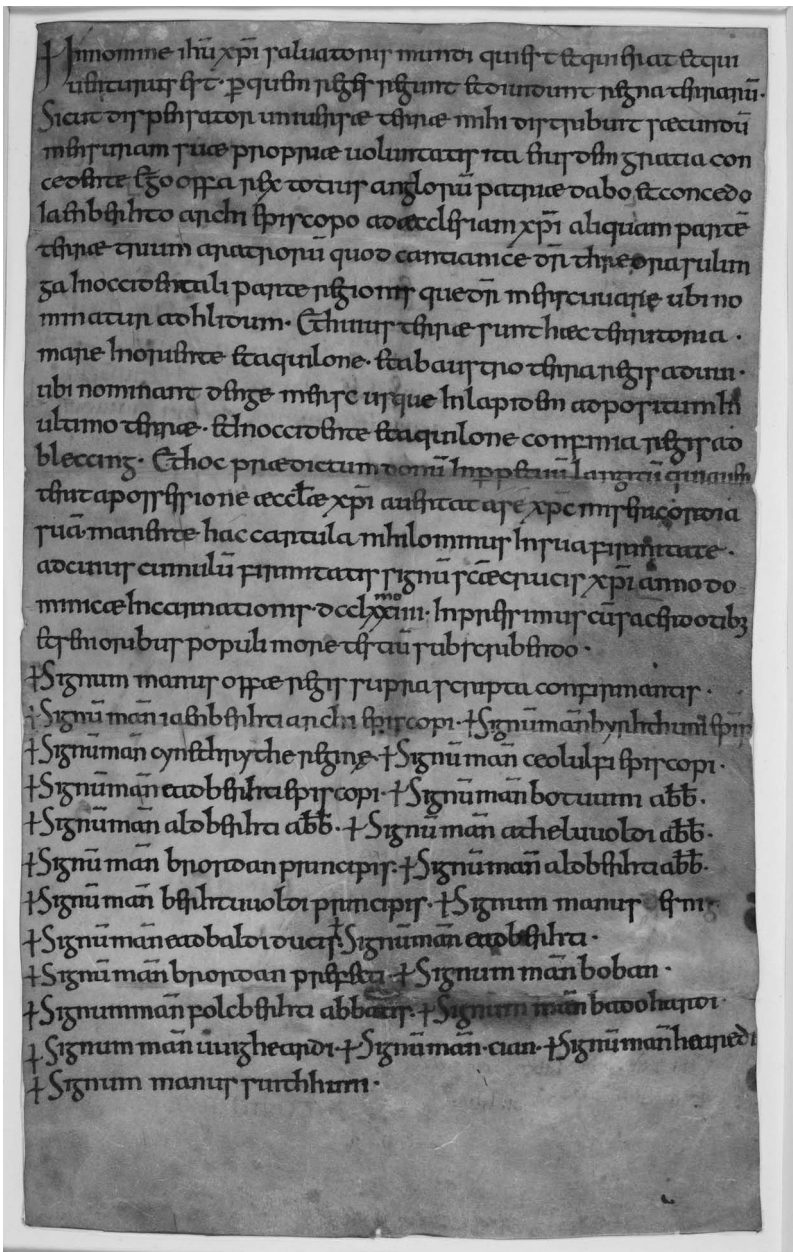


Figure 41. Sawyer, no. 111: Christ Church, Canterbury. London, British Library, Stowe Charter 4 (reduced). Reproduced with permission.

presumably a lower grade. Script-imitation of a more self-conscious sort, where the point of reference is discernible and where the scribe performs an act of deliberate archaism, stepping outside the conventions of his own time to adopt those of the local past, occurs more rarely. Examples stretch to the end of the Middle Ages and beyond, but they begin in the tenth century, both in England and on the Continent.<sup>44</sup> By the mid-eleventh century, examples of books and charters copied in imitative script hail from a great variety of institutions, among them major centres of scribal production: Angers, Fulda, Mainz, Limoges, Saint-Denis, Saint-Germain, Lagrasse, Tours, Exeter, Canterbury, Winchester, and Worcester.<sup>45</sup> Their tenth-century distribution, while altogether more restricted, looks potentially significant. On the Continent we find practitioners of imitative script reported at Cluny, Fleury, Tours, and, by about 1000, Saint-Bertin, with imitative documents attested at Cluny, Lagrasse, Saint-Denis, Saint-Germain, and Tours.<sup>46</sup> In England,

<sup>44</sup> See below, note 52. These will be subjected to detailed scrutiny within the scope of a Leverhulme-funded project 'Script and Forgery in England to 1100' (commencing in October 2008). On scribal imitation in the later Middle Ages, see M. B. Parkes, 'Archaizing Hands in English Manuscripts', in *Books and Collectors 1200–1700: Essays Presented to Andrew Watson*, ed. by James P. Carley and Colin G. C. Tite (London: British Library, 1997), pp. 101–41. See also Vezin, 'Écritures imitées', and Crick, 'Script'.

<sup>45</sup> Vezin, 'Écritures imitées', pp. 49–51, 62–65; Jean Vezin, *Les Scriptoria d'Angers au XI<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Paris: Librairie Honoré Champion, 1974), pp. 87–91; Hartmut Hoffmann, 'Echte und nachgeahmte Fuldaer Schrift aus ottonischen und fröhalsalischer Zeit', in *Kloster Fulda in der Welt der Karolinger und Ottonen*, ed. by Gangolf Schrimpf, Fuldaer Studien, 7 (Frankfurt: Knecht, 1996), pp. 285–97; Richard Landes, 'A Libellus from St. Martial of Limoges written in the Time of Ademar of Chabannes (989–1034): un faux à retardement', *Scriptorium*, 37 (1983), 178–204 (pp. 192–97 and esp. 196, n. 72); Léon Levillain, 'Études sur l'abbaye de Saint-Denis à l'époque mérovingienne, III: *Privilegium* et *immunitates* ou Saint-Denis dans l'église et dans l'état', *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, 87 (1936), 20–97, 245–346; *Recueil des actes de Charles II le Chauve, roi de France*, ed. by Georges Tessier, Chartes et diplômes relatifs à l'histoire de France publiés par les soins de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, 9, 3 vols (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1943–55), e.g. nos 208, 466, 496; Michael Lapidge, 'Æthelwold as Scholar and Teacher', in *Bishop Æthelwold*, ed. by Yorke, pp. 89–117 (pp. 91–92: Sawyer, no. 546, MS 2); Alexander R. Rumble, *Property and Piety in Early Medieval Winchester: Documents Relating to the Topography of the Anglo-Saxon and Norman City and its Minsters*, Winchester Studies, 4.3 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2002), p. 184. Exeter and Worcester are discussed by Crick, 'Script'.

<sup>46</sup> Jean Vezin, *Les Scriptoria*, pp. 87–91; Frederick Mason Carey, 'De scriptura Floriacensi' (unpublished doctoral dissertation, Harvard University, 1923), précised in 'Summaries of Dissertations for the Degree of Ph.D., 1922–23', *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 34 (1923), 193–95, Edward Kennard Rand, *A Survey of the Manuscripts of Tours*, Studies in the Script of Tours, 1.1 (Cambridge: Medieval Academy of America, 1929), 73–74; Vezin, 'Écritures imitées', p. 50;

recognized early production centres overwhelmingly on Canterbury, with individual outliers at Glastonbury, Rochester, and Selsey.<sup>47</sup>

Many caveats apply. Examples no doubt await identification on both sides of the English Channel. The range of centres is certainly skewed by later institutional history, archives such as those of Abingdon and St Albans or Fleury surviving primarily in cartulary copy, many single sheets having been lost.<sup>48</sup> Even viewed against these limitations, attention to visual archaism yields a significant body of evidence (see the Appendix below), not least in that several of the centres identified as practising it were linked by well-established personal connections, both within France, in England, and across the Channel.<sup>49</sup> At Saint-Bertin under Abbot Odbert, whose correspondence with English archbishops Steven Vanderputten has discussed, scribes allegedly practised an archaizing style, which calqued ninth-century script from Tours, sometimes so successfully as to confuse modern commentators.<sup>50</sup> English intellectual indebtedness to Fleury is legendary: two reforming archbishops may have studied there before the mid-tenth century, and its students committed their skills and energy to the English reforming effort.<sup>51</sup> Nothing yet connects imitative practice in any of these centres, but the fact that scribes in linked reforming centres should have been experimenting in this way on both sides of the

A. Wilmart, 'Les Livres de l'abbé Odbert', *Bulletin de la Société des antiquaires de la Morinie*, 14 (1924), 169–88; André Boutemy, 'Odbert de Saint-Bertin et la seconde bible de Charles le Chauve', *Scriptorium*, 4 (1950), 101–02. For the documents, see Vezin, 'Écritures imitées', p. 50; Rand, *A Survey*, p. 191 (no. 183); *Recueil des actes de Charles II*, ed. by Tessier, nos 12, 145, 208, 472, 483; Michael Tangl, 'Das Testament Fulrads von Saint-Denis', *Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde* 32 (1907), 167–217 (pp. 205–06, 215).

<sup>47</sup> Imitative charters identified from these centres include Sawyer, nos 43, 125, 132, 175, 236, 280. The Selsey example almost certainly comes from Canterbury: see above, p. 525.

<sup>48</sup> *Charters of Abingdon*, ed. by Kelly, pp. xlv–li; *Charters of St Albans*, ed. by Crick, pp. 37–45; John Nightingale, 'Oswald, Fleury and Continental Reform', in *Oswald LI*, pp. 23–45 (pp. 34–35).

<sup>49</sup> On Fleury's links with Cluny, Saint-Bertin, and Canterbury, see, for example, Nightingale, 'Oswald'; on Tours, Cluny, and Angers, see Vezin, 'Écritures imitées', pp. 49–51.

<sup>50</sup> Steven Vanderputten, 'Canterbury and Flanders in the Late Tenth Century', *ASE*, 35 (2006), 219–44 (pp. 228–35, 240–44); Wilmart, 'Les Livres', pp. 173–77 (further on the correspondence, see Vanderputten in this volume). On the exchange of books, see J. E. Cross and Julia Crick, 'The Manuscript: Saint-Omer, Bibliothèque Municipale, 202', in *Two Old English Apocrypha and their Manuscript Source: The Gospel of Nichodemus and the Avenging of the Saviour*, ed. by J. E. Cross and others (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. 1–35 (pp. 10–21). On earlier links, see Simon Keynes, 'King Athelstan's Books', in *LLASE*, pp. 143–201.

<sup>51</sup> Lapidge, *A-LL*, esp. chap. 1 (pp. 28–29, 31–34, 36–37, 39–40).

Channel indicates at the very least parallelism of practice: a pairing of visual historicism and scribal dexterity.

The chronology of this activity also raises questions. Although imitation had always been a part of English script, in the seventh and eighth centuries antique or Continental models were selected, while in the tenth century references to the English past accumulate for the first time.<sup>52</sup> This happens first in the creation of a new script-type, Square Minuscule, which self-consciously imitates earlier English models. It is then evident in a particular form of this script, dubbed the decorative style,<sup>53</sup> and then in the proliferation of examples of what is usually called imitative script.<sup>54</sup> More work needs to be done in order to date the production of imitative script more generally, but we can at least see visual archaism of a milder kind in the treatment of some of the Mercian pseudo-originals (see Figures 39–44). Tenth-century forgery did not always stay within such constraints, however, and in forgery for other houses outside Canterbury in the tenth century — for Selsey as we have seen, and also for Glastonbury and Worcester (see below, the Appendix and Figures 45 and 47) — draftsmen reached further back into the past, even into the conversion period, for authoritative statements.

### Discussion

When, in 990, the Abbot of Glastonbury addressed to the newly elected Archbishop of Canterbury a letter of advice, he produced a tissue of excerpts from the letters of Alcuin.<sup>55</sup> For churchmen in the tenth century the past remained palpable, an active presence capable of communicating without mediation. The body of evidence briefly touched on here confirms that as in other times and places — the

<sup>52</sup> There is a single English outlier, possibly of the ninth century, although the dating is controversial, Sawyer, no. 20: *Charters of St Augustine's*, ed. by Kelly, no 10. On the roots of the imitative process, see Petrucci, 'Book, Handwriting, and School', in *Writers and Readers*, trans. by Radding, pp. 59–76 (pp. 61–65).

<sup>53</sup> On the characteristics and archaizing tendencies of Square Minuscule, see David N. Dumville, 'Square Minuscule Script: The Background and Earliest Phases', *ASE*, 16 (1987), 147–79 (pp. 153–55, 165–67).

<sup>54</sup> For examples of differing types, see Sawyer, nos 264, 546, 624, 646.

<sup>55</sup> Brooks, *Early History*, p. 281. The borrowing was unacknowledged. For discussion of the importance of textual iteration in the reform movement, see Michael C. Drout, *How Tradition Works: A Meme-Based Cultural Poetics of the Anglo-Saxon Tenth Century* (Tempe: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2006).



twelfth century or the sixteenth — in the tenth century archival manipulation and historical knowledge went hand in hand; individuals sought and derived guidance from the past as one aspect of larger historical, textual, and ideological processes.<sup>56</sup> Not only was there a campaign to recopy documents from before the Viking Age, but these documents were manipulated: interpolated, redrafted, improved. Furthermore, we may observe that archaizing tendencies manifest in text could have a visual counterpart in script. On certain occasions in the tenth century, visual archaism was a marked aspect of script written in England and in certain centres on the Continent.<sup>57</sup>

The production of charters in imitative script, in particular, raises difficult questions whose implications extend further still. Although relatively few examples have been identified, the tenth century marks the start of a phenomenon which becomes more widespread in the eleventh both in England and on the Continent. These documents appear to be expressions of a prevailing cultural mood of adaptation, archival savviness, textual sophistication, but also, perhaps, of practical need. On the one hand archaizing script and documentary forgery may be viewed as corollaries of the historicizing processes inherent in reform: they appear on both sides of the Channel at a period when historical effort is underway in a variety of forms. Viewed in a purely English context, however, charters in archaizing script raise particular questions of audience and intention.

Tenth-century Anglo-Saxon diplomas addressed at least three audiences, or so their form suggests. Their draftsmen identified posterity as their most important audience, and with some justice: the Latin diploma acted as a hedge against future encroachment. Their language suggests two further kinds of audience. Two distinct registers of communication emerged within the Anglo-Saxon diploma in the tenth century, the Latin text being elevated out of the grasp of all but the most educated by the decorative obfuscation of hermeneutic Latin, just as information about the boundaries of estates was made accessible to the least educated as a vernacular list of boundary marks. This separating out presupposes different kinds of knowledge: an audience receptive to hermeneutic Latin, presumably therefore, at the courtly level of West Saxon high culture; listeners with local knowledge able to understand details of topography which would mean nothing to all but a few members of an elite audience.

<sup>56</sup> Anthony Grafton, *Forgers and Critics: Creativity and Duplicity in Western Scholarship* (London: Collins and Brown, 1990).

<sup>57</sup> See above, notes 45–47; Brooks, *Early History*, p. 235.

Scholars from a number of disciplines have come to perceive reforming interests as overwhelmingly dominant in the production of the written word in later tenth-century England, in the copying and distribution of texts, both Latin and later vernacular, in the dominance of reformed centres in the cultural life of late Anglo-Saxon England, and in the drafting and writing of royal diplomas.<sup>58</sup> Case studies have placed beyond doubt the connection between the overlapping, even concentric, interests of court and reformed monasticism and the drafting and production of diplomas in England.<sup>59</sup> Much less discussed is the question of the reception of these charters, an avowedly problematic and necessarily hypothetical notion. None of the three types of hypothetical audience identified above — from the readers and hearers of elite Latin prose, the readers and hearers of vernacular bounds, and future opponents or defenders of property interests — necessarily responded to the visual message of the document. The existence of imitative copies therefore exposes an underlying complexity in the message of the reform: imitation to confound opponents, perhaps in a situation of competition (comparison with other charters during a dispute) or imitation to seal the cultural superiority of the producer. These historical efforts are not obviously royalist and neither can they be explained as wholly local in inspiration; they belong to no one reforming faction. The self-conscious erudition displayed in archaizing charters therefore suggests another facet of the perceived cultural hegemony of the reformers, a form of public display, whether we understand it as symbolic or practical: mastery of the written record so complete that practitioners could manipulate the chronology of its physical form, or the anticipated presence of an opposition sensitive to the physical appearance of the written word which needed to be won over by the production of suitable documentary evidence.<sup>60</sup>

<sup>58</sup> See above, note 9.

<sup>59</sup> For example, Simon Keynes, 'The Dunstan B Charters', *ASE*, 23 (1994), 165–93; *Charters of Abingdon*, ed. by Kelly, pp. cxv–cxxx; Dumville, 'Square Minuscul Script'. Banniard used the image of concentric rings to describe the connection between the Carolingian court and reformers: Michel Banniard, *Viva voce: Communication écrite et communication orale du IV<sup>e</sup> au IX<sup>e</sup> siècle en Occident latin* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1992), p. 394.

<sup>60</sup> Mary Swan has kindly discussed some of this material with me but has not seen my conclusions and should not be implicated in them in any way. These questions lie largely beyond the scope of the present paper but I hope to consider some of them in the course of future research (see above, note 44). On political tension, see Pauline Stafford, 'Political Ideas in Late Tenth-Century England: Charters as Evidence', in *Law, Laity and Solidarities: Essays in Honour of Susan Reynolds*, ed. by Pauline Stafford, Janet L. Nelson, and Jane Martindale (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2001), pp. 68–82; Shashi Jayakumar, 'Eadwig and Edgar: Politics, Propaganda, Faction', in

Finally, should reminiscence of the English golden age be understood as an aspect of insularity or inclusion: simply repairs to property or a self-consciousness brought on by exposure to Continental ideas? The question presumes a false dichotomy. Practices associated with reform — textual research and innovation, institutional renewal, educational reform, reflection on scribal practice — powered cultural activity in England and on the Continent in the tenth century, stimulated both by loss and by emulation of religious excellence. The production of imitative script can be associated with the mentality of reform at least tangentially, through parallelism of activity (use of Bede and the *Life of Wilfrid*, depth of historical information), and more directly because script-imitation was practised at significant centres of reform and deployed in deference to authoritative local monastic traditions. Art historians have argued that the Gregorian reform of the eleventh century found visual expression in the revival of the architecture and decorative style of Late Antiquity, both at Rome, Monte Cassino, and elsewhere.<sup>61</sup> It is perhaps too much of an imaginative leap to claim this as an analogy, but in viewing archaizing script alongside textual archaism we begin to discern the wider expression of historicizing tendencies, and thus to gain a heightened sense that the revival of Insular history belongs in a wider Continental context.

University of Exeter

*Edgar, King of the English, 959–975: New Interpretations*, ed. by Donald Scragg (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2008), pp. 83–103; Jones, *Ælfric's Letter*, pp. 45–51. Obfuscation and elite display are questions discussed by Petrucci, 'The Illusion', pp. 247–48. For an overview of the function of charters, see Foot, 'Reading Anglo-Saxon Charters'.

<sup>61</sup> For example, Hélène Toubert, 'Le Renouveau paléochrétien à Rome au début du XII<sup>e</sup> siècle', *Cahiers Archéologiques*, 20 (1979), 99–154. I have discussed the analogy, with further references, in 'Script', pp. 26–27.

## Appendix

### *Some Tenth-Century Pseudo-originals and Related Charters*

1. *London, British Library, MS Cotton Augustus ii. 86 (Sawyer, no. 230: Christ Church, Canterbury)* (Figure 39)<sup>62</sup>

680. King Cædwalla to Bishop Wilfrid; grant of 70 hides at Pagham and other places in Sussex, and to the community at St Andrew's church situated on the east of the harbour called *Uedringmutha* (Pagham Harbour), grant of 10 hides at Tangmere, Sussex. Inauthentic.

Discussed above, pp. 522–25. This, like the other Canterbury productions below (Figures 40–44), follows the layout of an eighth-century charter (the parchment is tall rather than broad as is usual in tenth-century charters). The script betrays few obvious symptoms of deliberate anachronism, although Brooks and Kelly note that the anomalous form of the first endorsement may indeed be explained by imitation of an earlier model.

2. *London, British Library, MS Cotton Augustus ii. 99 (Sawyer, no. 110: Christ Church, Canterbury)* (Figure 40)<sup>63</sup>

774. Offa, king of the English, to Jænberht, Archbishop; grant of 5 sulungs at Higham Upshire, Kent. Suspect.

Discussed above, pp. 522, 525. Same hand as the Pagham charter (Sawyer, no. 230).

3. *London, British Library, Stowe Charter 4 (Sawyer, no. 111: Christ Church, Canterbury)* (Figure 41)<sup>64</sup>

774. Offa, king of the English, to Jænberht, archbishop; grant of 3 sulungs at Lydd, Kent. Spurious.

Discussed above, p. 525. Note that the single sheet has faintly imitative qualities, notably the tall layout (noted by Brooks and Kelly: compare above, Figure 39) and perhaps the form of initial *e* which resembles a high *e* in ligature, overhanging the following consonant, but whose descending stroke, rather than linking to the next letter as would be expected in an eighth-century example, terminates in a high horizontal hast (line 5 *Ego Offa*; line 9 *Et huius*; line 13 *Et hoc*).

<sup>62</sup> *Charters of Selsey*, ed. by Kelly, Appendix 2A; *Charters of Christ Church*, ed. by Brooks and Kelly, no. 3.

<sup>63</sup> *Charters of Christ Church*, ed. Brooks and Kelly, no. 19.

<sup>64</sup> *Charters of Christ Church*, ed. by Brooks and Kelly, no. 20.

4. *Canterbury, Dean and Chapter, Chart. Ant. C.69* (Sawyer, no. 132: *Christ Church, Canterbury*) (Figure 42)<sup>65</sup>

790 for ? 795 (London). Offa, king of the English, to Æthelheard, archbishop of Canterbury; grant of 60 hides at Hayes and Yeading and 30 at Twickenham, Middlesex. Spurious.

The script was identified as imitative by Nicholas Brooks.<sup>66</sup> Written in modified Square Minuscule. Certain imitative letter-forms have an instability symptomatic of script-imitation, for example **g** (apparently unmodified in the first line, *Anglorum*, but modified thereafter) and high round-backed **d** terminating in a rightwards hook (especially on line 1), rather than the flattened form natural to Square Minuscule. Note also the *et*-ligature; **m** with dropped final limb; and the unsuccessful imitation of initial **e**-ligature in *Ego* (lines 1, 24, 27, 28). Certain other of the archaisms found here are intrinsic to early Square Minuscule (*ti* ligature, high **a**).

5. *London, British Library, Stowe Charter 10* (Sawyer, no. 168, MS 2: *Christ Church, Canterbury*) (Figure 43)<sup>67</sup>

811 (London, 1 August). Coenwulf, king of Mercia, to Wulfred, archbishop; grant of 2 sulungs at *Appincg lond* in Rainham, 2 sulungs at *Suithhunincg lond* at Graveney near Faversham, and 2.5 *hagae* in Canterbury, all in Kent, in return for 126 mancuses. Interpolated copy.

Later interpolated copy of authentic original. Apparently mildly modified form of Square minuscule. Note the same pseudo-ligature of initial **e** as Sawyer, no. 111. Possible archaizing features include the lateral compression of the letter-forms and the foot which terminates the bowl of **p**.

6. *London, British Library, Stowe Charter 11* (Sawyer, no. 175, MS 2: *Christ Church, Canterbury*) (Figure 44)<sup>68</sup>

814. Coenwulf, king of the Mercians, to Wulfred, archbishop; grant of 10 sulungs at Bexley, Kent, with swine-pastures. Spurious.

Brooks and Kelly posit that the script is imitative. Extraordinarily good likeness of ninth-century script but some unstable features indicative of a scribe struggling to master an unfamiliar script, for example the square aspect in the first line, the extreme variation in the shape of round-backed **d**.

<sup>65</sup> *Charters of Christ Church*, ed. by Brooks and Kelly, no. 25.

<sup>66</sup> Brooks, *Early History*, p. 320.

<sup>67</sup> *Charters of Christ Church*, ed. by Brooks and Kelly, no. 44.

<sup>68</sup> *Charters of Christ Church*, ed. by Brooks and Kelly, no. 49.



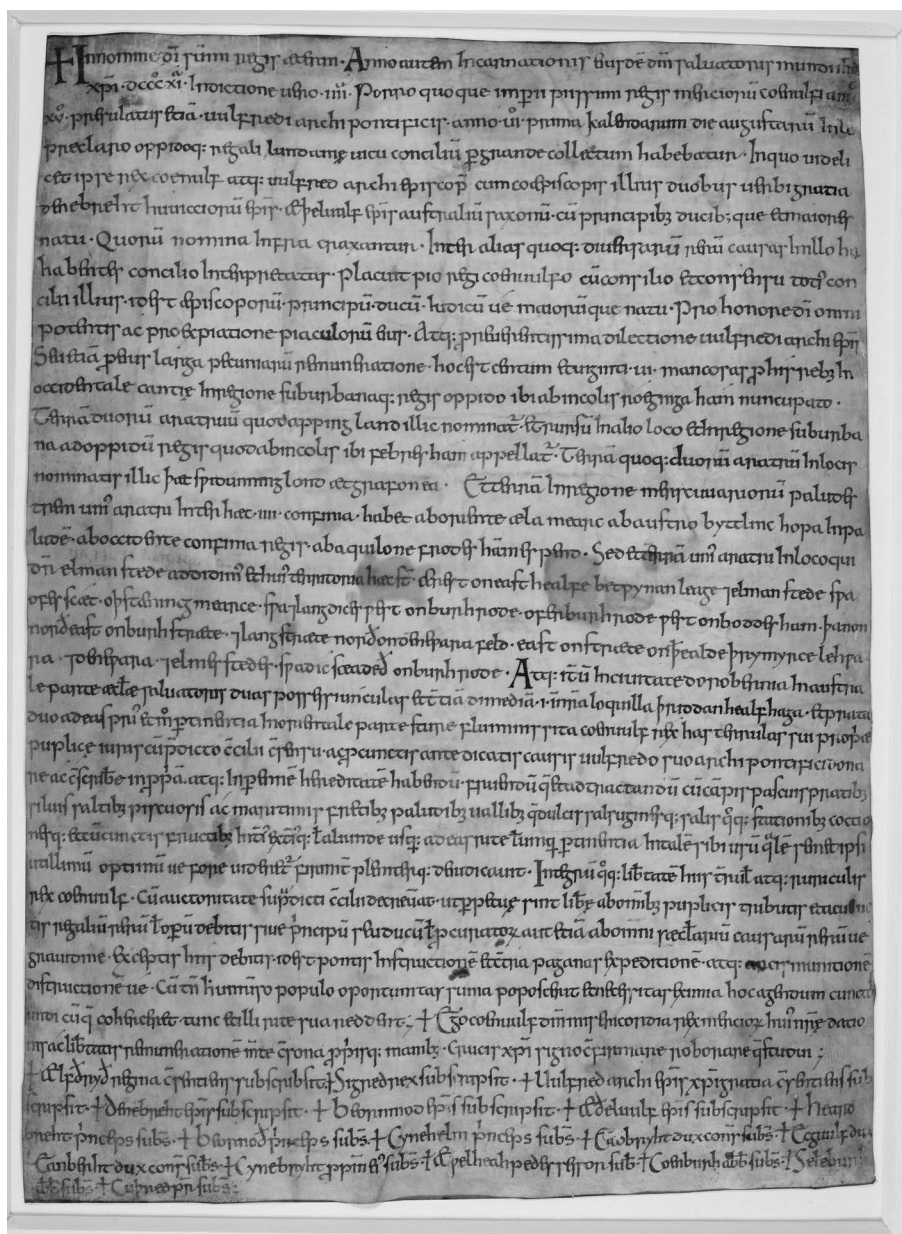


Figure 43. Sawyer, no. 168: MS 2: Christ Church, Canterbury. London, British Library, Stowe Charter 10 (actual size). Reproduced with permission.





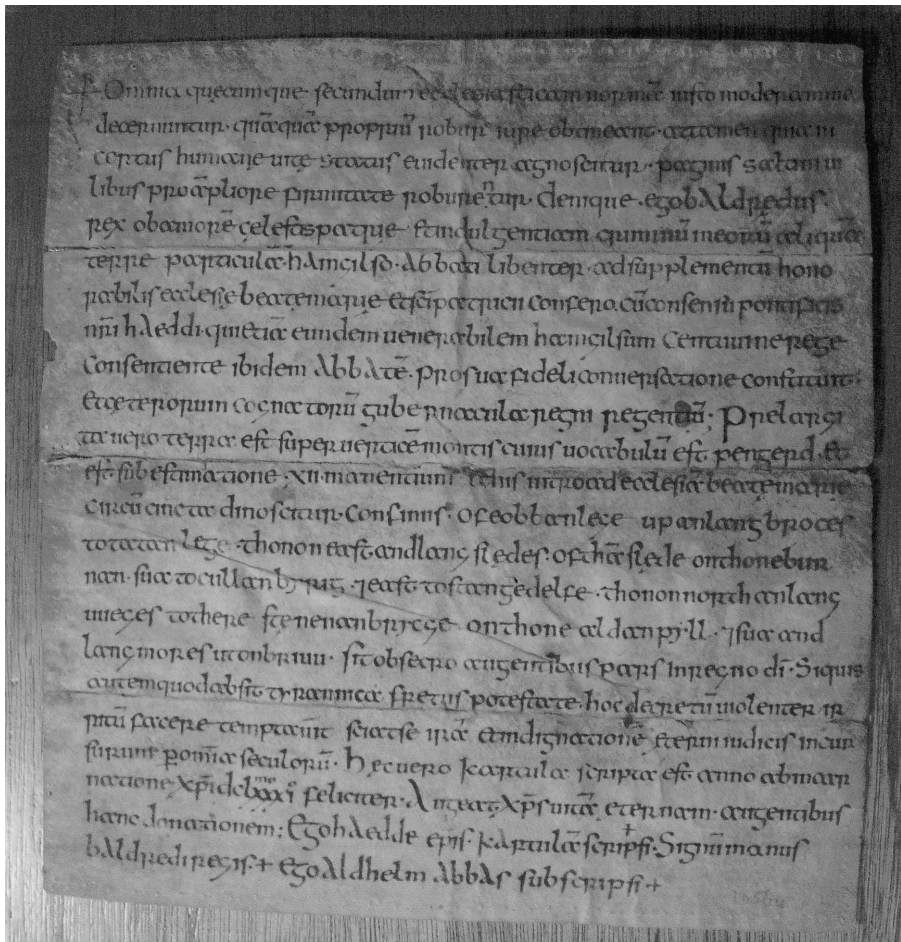


Figure 45. Sawyer, no. 236: Glastonbury. Longleat, Marquess of Bath, Muniment 10564 (actual size). Reproduced with permission.

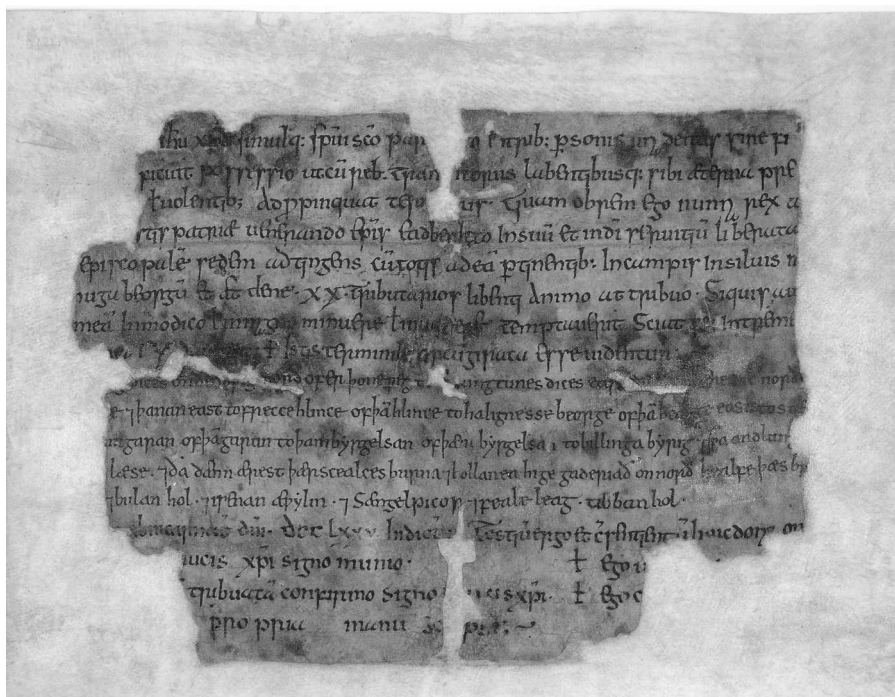


Figure 46. Sawyer, no. 43: Selsey. Chichester, West Sussex Record Office, Cap. I/17/1 (reduced). Reproduced with permission.

8. *Chichester, West Sussex Record Office, Cap. I/17/1 (Sawyer, no. 43: Selsey)* (Figure 46)<sup>69</sup>

775 for c. 705 x c. 717. Nunna, king of Sussex, to Eadberht, bishop; grant of 20 hides at *Hugabeorgum* and *Dene* (probably East and West Dean near Chichester). Spurious.

Susan Kelly and Simon Keynes have agreed that the surviving copy, of the late tenth or early eleventh century, betrays signs of imitation of an eighth- or ninth-century model.<sup>70</sup> The script of the Latin text shows consistently anachronistic features: an open *a*, ligatures of *ti* and *na* (*Nunna* line 3; *donation*[ ] line 14), an attempt to reproduce an open-tailed Insular *g*, although the natural form of the scribe appears to be the closed-loop form found in the vernacular

<sup>69</sup> *Charters of Selsey*, ed. by Kelly, no. 4; *Facsimiles of Anglo-Saxon Charters*, ed. by Simon Keynes, Anglo-Saxon Charters, Supplement 1 (Oxford: Oxford University Press for the British Academy, 1991), no. 23.

<sup>70</sup> *Charters of Selsey*, ed. by Kelly, p. 26; *Facsimiles of Anglo-Saxon Charters*, ed. by Keynes, p. 8.

boundary clause (as on the endorsement *hugabeorgum*);<sup>71</sup> imitative initial **a**, **q**, and **t** (*animo* line 6; *quam* line 3; *tran[s]itoriis* line 2, *testium* line 14). The scribe also strove to reproduce **e**-ligatures. He, like several other imitators, anachronistically employs the crossed form of *per* abbreviation, not the hooked form universal in the eighth century.

9. *London, British Library, Additional Charter 19788* (Sawyer, no. 67: Worcester) (Figure 47)

624 (? for 674). Wulfhere, king of Mercia, to Beorhtferth, his kinsman; grant of 5 hides at Dillington, Hunts., in return for 30 mancuses of gold. Spurious. The script contains a number of awkward and archaizing features and the letters are spaced very irregularly. Round-backed **d** is flat-topped and the abbreviation for *per* crossed as expected in the tenth century, and **e**-ligatures, when they occur, are shaped as in the tenth century, with the eye of the **e** returning to join the initial minim stroke rather than descending straight into the following consonant as in the eighth, but there is an admixture of capital forms **r**, **s**. Forms of **g** and **s** vary markedly, with an open form of **a** in *agrum* (line 10).

10. *London, British Library, Cotton Charter viii. 30* (Sawyer, no. 280: Rochester) (Figure 48)<sup>72</sup>

838. Egbert, king, to Beornmod, bishop; grant of 4 sulungs at Snodland and Holborough, Kent, with pastures and a *viculus* in the eastern part of Rochester. Spurious.

Produced in connection with a dispute settled at Canterbury after c. 995.<sup>73</sup>

Note the elaborate imitative **e**-ligatures.

11. *London, British Library, Cotton Charter viii. 20* (Sawyer, no. 1458: Rochester) (Figure 49)<sup>74</sup>

c. 995. Account of Archbishop Dunstan's acquisition of 6 sulungs at Wouldham, Kent, on behalf of St Andrew's, Rochester; including details of the history of estates at Erith, Cray and Eynesford, Kent. Authentic.

In the same hand as Sawyer, no. 280 (Figure 48), but showing the scribe's unmodified script.

<sup>71</sup> Reproduced in *Facsimiles of Anglo-Saxon Charters*, ed. by Keynes, plate 23b.

<sup>72</sup> *Charters of Rochester*, ed. by A. Campbell, *Anglo-Saxon Charters*, 1 (London: Oxford University Press for the British Academy, 1973), no 19.

<sup>73</sup> On the dispute, see *Charters of Rochester*, ed. by Campbell, pp. xx–xxii.

<sup>74</sup> *Charters of Rochester*, ed. by Campbell, no. 34.

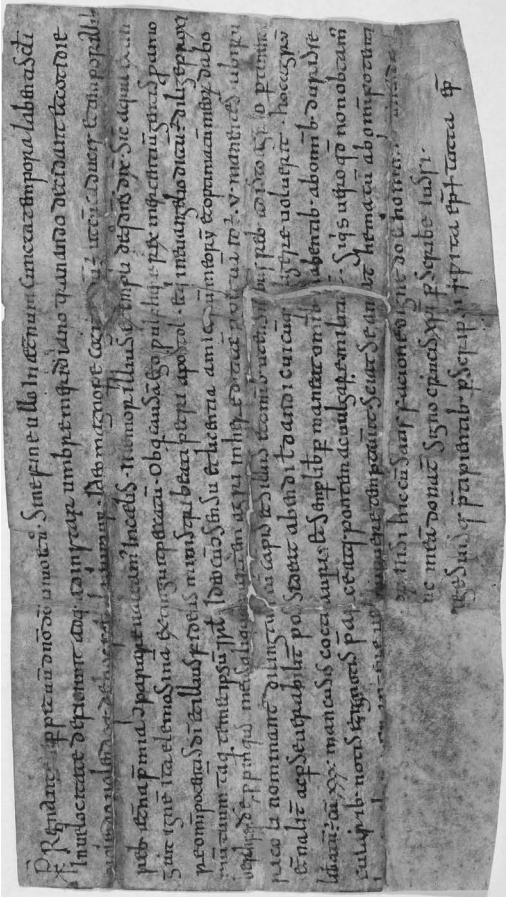


Figure 47. Sawyer, no. 67: Worcester. London, British Library, Additional Charter 19788 (reduced). Reproduced with permission.

† In nomine dñi nři ihu xpi saluato rři mundi . anno dominice incarn  
 nationis . dcccxxxviii . Indictione . i . Cgo . ecgbeorht rex  
 cum consensu dilectissimi filii nři eðelwulf regis dabo de botani  
 mo episcopo meo . beorn modo . aliquam terram . partem iurii mei .  
 quattuor . uirgatorum . in loco que dicitur . in oðdingland . et  
 holan beorht . ut habeat . et possideat . et cuicumque uoluerit  
 relinquat . ita ut predicta terra sit libera ab omni regali rebus  
 † scripta est hæc capitula in breui regali . que dicitur . in regibus  
 in tregibus . conscribitur . et subseribentur . quorum in pre  
 nomina tenentur . et unam molinam in tregibus . qui dicitur . holan beor  
 ht . et in monte . regis . qui quinquaginta capras . in tregibus .  
 uidetur . quattuor denarii . hæt conscribit . heah den . here . helman  
 † Cgbeorht rex . † eðelwulf rex . † Cialnod . wih . ep  
 † beorn modo . episcopus . ealhstan . episcopus . † eadhun . episcopus .  
 † Cynred . episcopus . † Ceolbeorht . episcopus . † wulfheard . dux .  
 † eðelwulf dux . † eadulf dux . † herebeorht dux  
 † eðelwulf dux . † eðelheard .  
 . et inopuente auctore . huius unum uiculum .

Figure 48. Sawyer, no. 280: Rochester. London, British Library, Cotton Charter viii. 30 (actual size). Reproduced with permission.



## THE IMAGE OF ROMAN HISTORY IN ANGLO-SAXON ENGLAND

Yann Coz

More than anyone else, Wilhelm Levison has shown how deeply early Anglo-Saxon culture was shaped by Roman traditions. On the Continent, the appeal of Rome grew during the Carolingian Renaissance. Knowing that early Anglo-Saxon traditions laid great emphasis on *romanitas*, and that Carolingian culture had a deep impact on tenth-century England, one could expect Roman history and Roman culture more generally to have blossomed during this period and to have been an object of admiration and imitation. The purpose of this paper is to show that this was not the case and that the Roman past, and the ancient past more generally, never had the same impact on Anglo-Saxon intellectual and political life as it did in the Carolingian and post-Carolingian world on the Continent. The first part of the paper offers an assessment of the knowledge of ancient history that could be gained in tenth-century England; I then examine the part played by that knowledge in Anglo-Saxon historiography and political thought, before concluding with a brief analysis of a possible exception, namely during the reign of King Æthelred II.

I leave the hagiographic material out of consideration — except in the cases of Saint Alban, which, from Gildas and Bede onwards, had been directly connected

This paper is based on my doctoral thesis, 'L'Image de la Rome antique dans l'Angleterre anglo-saxonne (VII<sup>ème</sup> siècle–1066)', which was defended in November 2007 at Université Paris IV-Sorbonne and is due to be published shortly (in French and in an abridged version). I would like to thank David Rollason for allowing me to speak at the Durham conference, Alan Thacker for inviting me to deliver a version of this paper at the Early Medieval Seminar (Institute of Historical Research, London), and all those who made various suggestions on these two occasions. The written version benefitted greatly from the suggestions of Conrad Leyser and Hannah Williams.

with British history, and of Ælfric, who made political use of saints' lives — although many lives of Roman saints were known in Anglo-Saxon England and translated into Old English: in that respect, there seems to have been no fundamental difference between England and the Continent. To buttress (or reject) this assertion in detail would nonetheless imply a huge amount of work, for it would require the examination of all the hagiographic texts that were available in England and the way they were used or discarded by copyists and translators. Furthermore, we lack a precise context for most of the vernacular saints' lives, and the individual changes are accordingly hard to interpret.<sup>1</sup> As I hope to show, it does nonetheless make sense to consider historiographical traditions separately from hagiographic ones, and it allows us in particular to make comparisons between Anglo-Saxon and (post-)Carolingian cultures.

What knowledge of ancient history was available in Anglo-Saxon England? There are of course many answers to this question, depending on who you were and where you lived, but a general assessment is worth attempting. The most popular historical works in the early Middle Ages were Orosius's *History against the Pagans* and the *Chronicle* of Eusebius, translated and continued by Jerome. These texts are not Roman histories, but world histories, in contrast both to the less popular pagan *Breviary* by Eutropius (and its adaptation by Paul the Deacon), and to Vergil's *Aeneid*, a work that transmitted historical knowledge, and which the highly influential ancient commentator Servius had called *gesta populi Romani*.<sup>2</sup>

Helmut Gneuss's *Handlist of Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts* includes very few copies of these works copied or known in tenth-century England,<sup>3</sup> although works dealing mainly with religious history but containing allusions to political history were

<sup>1</sup> The first volume of *Sources of Anglo-Saxon Literary Culture*, ed. by Frederick M. Biggs and others (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, 2001), and its section on the *Acta sanctorum*, is an essential tool for a better understanding of Anglo-Saxon hagiographical culture and practices and would be the basis for this inquiry.

<sup>2</sup> *Servii Grammatici qui feruntur in Vergilii Carmina Commentarii*, ed. by Hermann Hagen and Georg Thilo, 2 vols (Leipzig: Teubner, 1881–84), II, 106–07. Here I omit the translation of Josephus's *Bellum Iudaicum*, which belongs more properly to Jewish history, although the Romans did, of course, play an important part in it.

<sup>3</sup> Three strips of Orosius, now Exeter Cathedral Library (FMS1, 2 2a), were copied during the first half of the tenth century, perhaps in northern France. There is no manuscript of the *Chronicle* in Anglo-Saxon England. See Helmut Gneuss, *A Handlist of Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts: A List of Manuscripts and Manuscript Fragments Written or Owned in England up to 1100*, Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 241 (Tempe: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2001).



evidently known, such as the *Ecclesiastical History* by Eusebius of Caesarea, translated by Rufinus. This text was, for example, known to the anonymous author of the tract *De tribulationibus*, who quoted it in his description of the evils that afflicted the Anglo-Saxons around the year 1000 — this is at least the most likely hypothesis.<sup>4</sup>

Of course, one cannot conclude from the lack of manuscripts that these works were unknown in tenth-century England. The translation and compilation of works dealing with Roman history made under King Alfred's reign imply that at least some historical works were available. According to Janet Bately, the compiler of the common stock of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle probably used Isidore's *Chronicle* for the first part of the work.<sup>5</sup> The translator of Orosius into Old English used several works and glossed manuscripts, the details of which cannot be accurately determined.<sup>6</sup> The translator of Boethius's *Consolation of Philosophy* had to wrestle with the historical context of the sixth century, but also to explain various historical allusions. He used some of the Latin lives of Boethius to compile the first chapter of the work,<sup>7</sup> and in the course of the work he resorted to Eutropius's *Breviary* or its expanded version, the *Historia Romana* by Paul the Deacon.<sup>8</sup> More generally, the glossed Latin manuscripts of the *Consolation of Philosophy* could provide the reader with historical information. To this late antique heritage one should also add Gildas's *De Excidio Britanniae*, which contains information about Roman Britain, although its diffusion is difficult to gauge.

Proofs that historical works were used after Alfred's reign are even harder to find, with only a few charters containing garbled allusions to historical events that testify to a reading of Orosius's *History against the Pagans*.<sup>9</sup> The third text added

<sup>4</sup> Simon Keynes, 'An Abbot, an Archbishop and the Viking Raids of 1006–1007 and 1009–1012', *ASE*, 36 (2007), 151–220 (p. 176).

<sup>5</sup> Janet Bately, 'World History in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*: Its Sources and its Separateness from the Old English Orosius', *ASE*, 8 (1979), 177–94 (pp. 188–89).

<sup>6</sup> Janet Bately, *The Old English Orosius*, EETS, s.s., 6 (London: Oxford University Press, 1980).

<sup>7</sup> Nicole Guenther Disenza, 'The Unauthorized Biographies of Anicius Manlius Severinus Boethius', given at the first annual symposium of the Alfredian Boethius Project, University of Oxford, July 2003. Retrieved from <<http://www.english.ox.ac.uk/boethius/Symposium2003.html>> [accessed 17 July 2008].

<sup>8</sup> John H. Brinegar, 'Some Sources of the Old English Boethius', given at the first annual symposium of the Alfredian Boethius Project, University of Oxford, July 2003. Retrieved from <<http://www.english.ox.ac.uk/boethius/Symposium2003.html>> [accessed 16 July 2008].

<sup>9</sup> Sawyer, no. 597: 'Ceterum soli philosophi uereque sapientie dediti et maxime religiosissimi uiri condolendo mirantur, intenti perdita paradisi amena, quod ex tempore liberi patris coetanei Noe

after the Durham Ritual is a short list of Roman officers.<sup>10</sup> Such *memoranda* were probably needed to understand and explain Roman political structures, but they do not imply a knowledge of historical works on the part of their compilers.<sup>11</sup> Ælfric's works display a better knowledge of late ancient historiography than most of his contemporaries: in particular he had read the *Historia Tripartita* by Cassiodorus, probably at Winchester. Byrhtferth of Ramsey also alludes to ancient history in various works, although often fleetingly.

This rapid survey allows us to say that the interest in Roman and ancient history was far less developed in England than on the Continent. Michael Lapidge has shown that late Anglo-Saxon libraries were much smaller than their Continental counterparts,<sup>12</sup> and collecting works that dealt with ancient history obviously did not rank high on the agenda of librarians. No effort seems ever to have been made to import Roman histories that had been rediscovered on the Continent, which meant that such histories never worked as models for Anglo-Saxon historians as, for example, Sallust's works did for Richer of Reims.<sup>13</sup>

fabricatoris arce ac Theolis Poliniciisque principum Thebarum munitissime tutarum centum portis, propter istius telluris lubricam diuisionem, cronicæ seditiones, insidie, latibula, bella inter homines minime cesserunt usque ad hoc spatium uitæ.' *Charters of Abingdon Abbey*, ed. by Susan Kelly, Anglo-Saxon Charters 7–8, 2 vols (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000–2001), II, 231. One could also mention Sawyer, no. 616: 'Cataclismi tempestate sedata superstite quoque Noe prosapia eloncosmum restaurante a Nino rege Babilonie per arma pestifera tyrannidem cepisse satis declarant historiographi, exin, aureo tempore finito necnon et eneo ferreo sequaces, modo ui pereuntes, modo mechanica arte ceteros fallentes, et persepe utroque omnem subigerunt censum reddere uulgus usque ad calcem.' *Charters of Selsey*, ed. by Susan Kelly, Anglo-Saxon Charters 6 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), pp. 80–81.

<sup>10</sup> *Rituale ecclesie Dunelmensis. The Durham Collectar: A New and Revised Edition of the Latin Text with the Interlinear Anglo-Saxon Version*, ed. by U. Lindelöf, Surtees Society, 140 (Durham: Surtees Society, 1927), pp. 192–93.

<sup>11</sup> Another example is the earlier text known as the *Epistula Hieronimi de Gradus Romanorum*, on which, see P. S. Barnwell, 'Epistula Hieronimi de Gradus Romanorum: An English School Book', *Historical Research*, 64 (1991), 77–86, even though the case for an English origin is not wholly convincing.

<sup>12</sup> Michael Lapidge, *The Anglo-Saxon Library* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), pp. 57–60.

<sup>13</sup> Pierre Riché, 'Les Lettres du X<sup>e</sup> siècle et l'histoire de Rome', in *Le Nombre du temps: mélanges Paul Zumthor*, ed. by Emmanuèle Baumgartner and others, Nouvelle Bibliothèque du Moyen Âge, 12 (Paris: Champion, 1988), pp. 247–54 (p. 249), repr. in his *Éducation et culture dans l'Occident médiéval* (Aldershot: Variorum, 1993), and Michel Sot, 'Note sur Flodoard: l'histoire païenne de Reims et les auteurs antiques', in *X<sup>e</sup> siècle, recherches nouvelles*, ed. by Pierre Riché, Carol Heitz, and

We shall now try to understand how ancient history was perceived and what part it played in tenth-century Anglo-Saxon culture. Two aspects of this history can be considered separately, although they are interrelated, namely the Roman past of Britain and Roman history in general.

It had become common knowledge in Anglo-Saxon England, following Gildas's *De Excidio Britanniae* and above all the first book of Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*, but also the *Recapitulatio* (*HE* V, 24), that the Romans had left the island at the beginning of the fifth century. This pattern was adopted by the author of the common stock of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, who compiled two sets of entries, the first covering the years between 60 BC and AD 189, and the second dealing with the end of Roman Britain between 381 and 418. Together with Christian history, British history is one of the two main topics of the first section. The section dealing with the history of Roman Britain runs from the conquest of the island by Julius Caesar and Claudius, to the conversion of King Lucius in 167 and to the building of the wall by Severus *sub anno* 189. In the entries that deal with other parts of the Empire, the compiler follows Bede's *Recapitulatio* more closely than he does any other work. The second set of entries is shorter and focuses on the sack of Rome by Alaric, which seems to be the reason for the retreat of the Romans out of Britain, as Malcolm Godden has suggested.<sup>14</sup> Between these two series of events, one could have expected the inclusion of Saint Alban's death in 286; the reason for its absence is probably that it is not included in Bede's *Recapitulatio*, whereas his passion receives a detailed and highly laudatory treatment in chapter I, 7.

The history of Roman Britain as told in the Chronicle thus remained substantially stable although some changes appear in Æthelweard's *Chronicon*. This author attributes the conquest of Britain to Claudius alone, although, in the final recapitulation, he says that the Romans held the island for 485 years from the conquest by Caesar.<sup>15</sup> The description of the end of Roman Britain also differs, since Maximus is said to have been in the twenty-eighth year of his reign when Alaric

François Héber-Suffrin, Centre de Recherches sur l'Antiquité Tardive et le Haut Moyen Âge, 6 (Paris: Université Paris X Nanterre, 1987), pp. 23–25, and Michel Sot, *Un Historien et son Église, Flodoard de Reims* (Paris: Fayard, 1993), pp. 357–64. One could of course mention several other historians, such as Widukind.

<sup>14</sup> 'Her Gotan Brecon Romeburg, 7 næfre siþan Romane ne ricsodon on Bretone.' See Malcolm Godden, 'The Anglo-Saxons and the Goths: Rewriting the Sack of Rome', *ASE*, 31 (2002), 47–68 (p. 57).

<sup>15</sup> Æthelweard, *Chronicle*, p. 5: 'Siquidem tenuerunt supradictam insulam incipiente numero a Caesare Gaio Iulio quadringentos et octoginta quinque annos.'

sacked Rome, an event which led to the loss not only of Britain but also of other territories by the Romans.<sup>16</sup> This historically inaccurate narrative allows Æthelweard to solve — consciously or not — an old conundrum, namely, whether the departure of the Romans had been provoked by the usurpation of Maximus or by the sack of Rome by Alaric: the latter explanation had progressively gained ground, but it is here fused with the former, making 410 an even sharper break in British and world history.

Seen in a broader perspective, these authors do not seem to have been very interested by British Roman history. The compiler of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle could easily have found more information, but only the Northern Recension adds further details about Caesar's conquest, Claudius's expedition, Severus, and Alban; it is also more precise about the end of Roman Britain. The translator of Bede's *Ecclesiastical History* does not seem to be very interested in the Roman period either; he leaves out the usurpation by Carausius, as well as those by Maximus, Gratianus, and Constantine III, thus jumping from the reign of Constantine the Great and the rise of Arianism to the sack of Rome by the Goths.<sup>17</sup> The same can also be said of the translator of Orosius,<sup>18</sup> who dedicates only seven lines (in Janet Bately's edition) to Caesar's expeditions in the island — which is admittedly more than the mere three lines received by the Gallic War. Oddly, he also adds the place-name *Welengaford*, close to which the third battle between Caesar and the Britons took place, but leaves out the usurpations by Carausius as well as by Constantine III. Caesar conquers the whole of Britain, and the British events are logically all omitted in the chapter dealing with Claudius: this testifies to some interest in this history, as this change is too well thought out to be the consequence of a mistake, but in general the reader never feels a particular interest for Romano-British history on the part of the translator.

<sup>16</sup> Æthelweard, *Chronicle*, p. 5: 'qui et natus in Brittannia erat, deinde Gallos superat, Tuscos fugat, Italum et Hispanum sub iugo regna mittit. Igitur post ambitum circuli regni eius uigesimi et anni octauai a Gothis destruitur Roma sublimis iam in milleno centesimo quadregesimo sexto post suam conditionem anno. Ab illo tempore cessauit imperium Romanorum a Britannia insula, et ab aliis quas sub iugo seruitutis tenebant multis terris'.

<sup>17</sup> The text is edited by Thomas Miller, *The Old English Version of Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, EETS, o.s., 95, 2 parts (London: EETS, 1890–98). On this translation, see Dorothy Whitelock, 'The Old English Bede', *Proceedings of the British Academy*, 48 (1962), 57–90.

<sup>18</sup> W. A. Kretzschmar, 'Adaptation and *anweald* in the Old English Orosius', *ASE*, 16 (1987), 127–45 (p. 142).

The Romano-British past confronted historians with three main problems: understanding the beginnings of Roman Britain (under Caesar or Claudius), its end (because of Maximus's usurpation or after the Gothic invasion), and the status of Britain between the reigns of Nero and Severus. According to Roman historians, Nero almost lost Britain, but this 'almost' disappeared for example in the Old English Bede, where one has the impression that Severus's expedition is a reconquest; this fits with the narrative of King Lucius's conversion, who seems to be independent and to act on his own.

One can thus say that in tenth-century England the history of Roman Britain was ancient history indeed, whereas in Bede's eyes, or for that matter in Alcuin's, if one thinks of his poem on York, the romanizing effect of this past still left its mark on the territory and on its inhabitants. In Late Anglo-Saxon England, the *romanitas* of British or English territory was no longer insisted upon, which leads us to the question of how Roman history in general was read and interpreted in late Anglo-Saxon England.

As noted above, the first part of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle is not only about British history, but also, and perhaps mainly, about Christian history. The first set of entries allows the reader to follow the development of the Church, above all the Roman Church, under Jesus and his disciples; this also includes the end of Jewish history, but the persecutions after the first century play only a minor part. Some entries refer to political events in Rome that in themselves bear no link with Christianity, such as the accession to power of Tiberius, Caius, Vespasian, Titus, and Domitian: the reasons for the choice of these emperors are unclear and they may have been felt so by Æthelweard, who omits them in his *Chronicle*. Even the entry *sub anno* 1 establishes no causal link between Christ and Octavian, although it juxtaposes both in a single sentence.<sup>19</sup> More generally, no Roman emperor is shown to have any link with Christian religion, inasmuch as the persecutions play a rather limited part in this text and, when they do appear, they are not launched by emperors; the clearest examples of this are the deaths of Peter and Paul, which are not attributed to Nero as they had been by, among others, Isidore of Seville.

The *Old English Orosius* affords us a more detailed insight into the way ancient history was interpreted.<sup>20</sup> The translator does not focus on Roman history any more than Orosius had done. On the contrary, the sixth and last book is much

<sup>19</sup> 'Octauianus ricsode lvi wintra, 7 on þam xlii geare his rices Crist wæs acenned.'

<sup>20</sup> For an expanded treatment of this, see my 'L'Antiquité romaine dans l'Angleterre des années 890: la traduction-adaptation des *Histoires contre les païens* d'Orose en vieil-anglais', *Bien Dire et Bien Apprendre*, 24 (2006), 271–85.

shorter than the original seventh book as found in the Latin, which had covered more or less the same period, namely, that of the Emperors; each of them is mentioned, but sometimes only with dates of their office. There is neither a stronger interest in Rome than in other countries, nor a bias towards the more recent past. The additions made to the geographical description also lessen the prominence of the Roman world, this time in comparison with northern Europe.

If we look at the treatment of Royal and Republican history, it appears that the translator had to make several additions to explain the various legends linked with the foundation of the city: Orosius contented himself with fleeting allusions, knowing that his readers would have learnt these stories at school. Janet Bately has analysed these additions which, in general, testify to a good understanding of ancient culture.<sup>21</sup> Things become much more problematic when it comes to Republican history, as the consuls change very quickly and the translator regularly makes mistakes. This period is presented as but a series of wars waged against various peoples, most of whom were probably unknown. Military history is generally summarized, and institutional matters are often greatly simplified or omitted. By contrast, several executions of lapsed vestals are retained, as are most of the prodigies and natural disasters. In the Old English Boethius, natural disasters and prodigies also attracted the translator's attention, so that Antiquity was also, and perhaps primarily, viewed as an exotic world, full of extraordinary stories.

Things change from the beginning of the first century BC, when descriptions of the parts played by a few individuals become much greater. When detailing the civil war, with several mistakes, the author of the Old English Boethius sides with Caesar, although nothing in the Latin text vindicates this attitude. To the translator, *Julius* is a great conqueror undeservedly mocked and humiliated by the Roman Senate and people. His successor Augustus, although perhaps less closely associated with Christ than he was in Orosius's text, is nonetheless a model of kingly (mis)behaviour: as long as he remains humble, Rome experiences twelve years of prosperity, but when he approves of his nephew Gaius's refusal to pray to God in Jerusalem, he causes a series of catastrophes. The theme of arrogance and pride, *ofermotto* in Old English, is in tune with King Alfred's political thought, which was strongly influenced by the Old Testament. Yet one should probably not overestimate the importance of Augustus in the work, as his role is less prominent

<sup>21</sup> See Janet Bately, 'The Classical and Patristic Additions in the Old English Orosius', in *England before the Conquest: Studies in Primary Sources Presented to Dorothy Whitelock*, ed. by Peter Clemons and Kathleen Hughes (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971).

than in the Latin text, and this is the only time when one can possibly read the text as a mirror for princes.

Indeed, if one turns to the emperors who were usually given as models, that is, Constantine and Theodosius, one cannot but be struck by the hostility the translator feels for them. Orosius was very ambivalent about Constantine: he noted that he had killed his son Crispus and his nephew Licinius and that he had converted to Arianism, but his reign was nonetheless praised as a turning-point in the world's history. The translator retains the criticisms levelled at the emperor by Orosius but leaves out most of the positive aspects. His conversion is only mentioned once, and not in this book, but in a previous chapter (III, 7).

Theodosius's faith, although acknowledged, is also downplayed. He is not the model Christian warrior making the sign of the Cross before engaging in battle against the usurper Eugenius; when the shafts thrown by Eugenius's army are miraculously turned against them, the focus is rather on God punishing Eugenius than on His siding with Theodosius. The reason for this lukewarm description of the great emperor is probably that, before this battle, he sends his Gothic allies to their death, and, obviously, although the translator does not say it in so many words, he seems to have felt a strong affinity with the Goths and holds the Emperor responsible for this slaughter.<sup>22</sup>

None of the few good emperors, such as Titus, Severus Alexander, or Valentinian I, gets a detailed treatment, and as a consequence none of them can be considered as a model for Anglo-Saxon kings. This contrasts sharply with the general perception of Roman history on the Continent, where Constantine and Theodosius had been used as a model for kings and emperors, and with the way Constantine was presented in works dealing with the Invention of the Cross. In the Old English poem *Elene* for example, Constantine is a good emperor protecting the Roman people. Earlier, Gregory the Great had turned him into a model for King Æthelberht of Kent, in the letter he sent to him (*HE* I, 32). As with other documents this one is mentioned, but not transcribed, by the Old English translator.

If we try to map the political use of descriptions of Roman emperors in works from the late ninth and tenth centuries, we face a telling lack of testimonies. From Alfred the Great onwards, the model of Anglo-Saxon kingship had been the early Anglo-Saxon kings, with this period considered as a golden age to which one had

<sup>22</sup> On this question, see Stephen J. Harris, 'The Alfredian World History and Anglo-Saxon Identity', *Journal of English and German Philology*, 100 (2001), 482–510, although I do not agree with all of his conclusions.

to return in order to prosper. By so doing, the English would be the new chosen people: the Hebrews were the other model or, more exactly, the other side of the same model. In such a framework, the part played by the Romans is a restricted one, as appears in the preface of the *Pastoral Care*, where Alfred goes to great lengths to prove that they were but one link in a chain that transmitted God's revelation; they came after the Hebrews and the Greeks, and, logically, before any others. As a consequence, translation was not treason but normal practice. The preface to Alfred's law-code is equally clear: the two models are Moses and the great Anglo-Saxon kings of the past, Æthelberht of Kent, Ine of Wessex, and Offa of Mercia, and, in late Anglo-Saxon England, lawmaking was never associated with Roman emperors, contrary to Continental practices.<sup>23</sup> This Alfredian ideology had a deep impact on English kingship, although Latin experienced a new blossoming during the second half of the tenth century.

From Æthelstan's reign, Anglo-Saxon kings proclaimed their overlordship over the various peoples of Britain by using the bombastic style, heavily influenced by 'hermeneutic' literature, that came to be known as 'imperial' because some of these titles contain the word *imperator*. Yet in the vast majority of cases, this term *imperator* never refers precisely to Roman emperors, as can be seen in phrases like *Rex Angulseaxna and Northymbra imperator paganorum gubernator Britannorumque propugnator*,<sup>24</sup> where it is hard to believe that *Northymbra imperator* should be interpreted as a Romanizing title. The reading of the Bath ceremony of 973 as an imperial coronation finds little support in contemporary sources: had it been thus conceived, we would certainly find traces of it in various writings, but neither the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle nor Byrhtferth's *Life of Oswald*, written a few decades later but well informed and highly laudatory about Edgar, specifically allude to imperial

<sup>23</sup> One should note, however, that several series of Romanizing coins were struck by Alfred during the late 870s and the 880s but that after this period Roman inspiration was apparently considered unsatisfactory and completely disappears. Mark Blackburn, 'The London Mint in the Reign of Alfred', in *Kings, Currency and Alliances: History and Coinage of Southern England in the Ninth Century*, ed. by Mark Blackburn and David Dumville (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1998), pp. 105–23 (pp. 106–07).

<sup>24</sup> References are to be found in the appendix to Harald Kleinschmidt's *Untersuchungen über das englische Königtum im 10. Jahrhundert*, Göttinger Bausteine zur Geschichtswissenschaft, 49 (Göttingen: Musters Schmidt, 1979), under the reference I.8. See also Harald Kleinschmidt, 'Die Titulaturen Engländer Könige im 10. und 11. Jahrhundert', in *Intitulatio III: Lateinische Herrschertitel und Herrschertitulaturen vom 7. bis zum 13. Jahrhundert*, ed. by Anton Scharer and Herwig Wolfram, Mitteilungen des Instituts für österreichische Geschichtsforschung, Ergänzungsband 29 (Vienna: Böhlau, 1988), pp. 75–129, n. 88 (p. 100), for variations on the same pattern.



claims. Whenever an emperor is mentioned, as for example *sub anno* 982 in the C-version of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle,<sup>25</sup> it is a Germanic or a Byzantine emperor, and there seems to be no reluctance to admit his title. To quote Henry Loyn, summarizing and endorsing Richard Drögereit's conclusions, '*Imperator* or *casere* was used in Anglo-Saxon England of the Byzantine emperor, or after A.D. 962 of the German kaiser. The constitutional significance of the imperial title within these islands did not exist'.<sup>26</sup>

Before I conclude, I would like to look at possible exceptions to this general lack of interest in the Roman past in Anglo-Saxon England and, more specifically, at a number of clues that may indicate a new interest in this past under Æthelred's reign. During this period, Ælfric conveyed political messages by resorting to Roman Antiquity. For example, the Old English tract 'Historians say us' (*Wyrðwriteras us secgað*), of which we have only parts, was apparently aimed at justifying the fact that the King did not lead his army in person on the battlefield,<sup>27</sup> or rather at extolling the virtues of great Christian military commanders. Here the author takes several examples from the Old Testament, but also a number from Roman history. We are told that Constantine the Great relied extensively on his general Gallicanus, and Gratian relied on the future emperor Theodosius; Theodosius II equally sent his generals and prayed to God during that time.<sup>28</sup> In the epilogue to the *Old English Heptateuch*, having dealt with the history of the Hebrews, Ælfric also inserts a summary of Roman history; he tells how Romans first had consuls, then caesars, who governed in close relationship with the *witane gemot*, the senators, who met every day to give counsel to the emperor. He then mentions the military successes obtained by Constantine, Theodosius the Elder, and Theodosius

<sup>25</sup> *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: A Collaborative Edition*, vol. v: *MS C*, ed. by Katherine O'Brien O'Keeffe (Cambridge: Brewer, 2001), p. 85. Quoted, with other references, by R. Drögereit, 'Kaiseridee und Kaisertitel bei den Angelsachsen', *Zeitschrift für Rechtsgeschichte, Germanistische Abteilung*, 69 (1952), 24–73 (p. 72).

<sup>26</sup> Henry Loyn, 'The Imperial Style of the Tenth Century Anglo-Saxon Kings', *History*, n.s., 40 (1955), 111–15 (p. 113), referring to Drögereit, 'Kaiseridee und Kaisertitel', pp. 70–71 (Drögereit's article remains fundamental).

<sup>27</sup> The text is edited by John C. Pope, *Homilies of Ælfric: A Supplementary Collection*, EETS, o.s., 259–60, 2 vols (London: Oxford University Press, 1967–68), II, 728–32. The idea that Ælfric composed it as an answer to criticisms levelled at Æthelred for not personally leading the army on the battlefield has been put forward by W. Braekman, 'Wyrðwriteras: An Unpublished Ælfrician Text in Manuscript Hatton 115', *RbPH*, 44 (1966), 959–70.

<sup>28</sup> *Homilies of Ælfric*, ed. by Pope, II, 730–31. I wish to thank Dr Peter Jackson (Oxford) and Richard Marsden (University of Nottingham) for their help with the text.

the Younger,<sup>29</sup> before passing on to the Anglo-Saxon kings who were victorious thanks to divine help, as Alfred, Æthelstan, or Edgar.<sup>30</sup> In both cases, the Romans are depicted as the chosen people after the Hebrews, while in the epilogue they are followed by the Anglo-Saxons. This kind of scheme, very Carolingian in tone, is only seldom to be found in Anglo-Saxon England. Here, writers preferred to insist on the continuity between the early Anglo-Saxon period, as described by Bede, and the tenth century and, if one reached further back, where the Anglo-Saxons could be compared with the Hebrews, leaving the Romans aside entirely.

Ælfric not only inserts Roman history into a history of Salvation, he also uses it to justify or castigate the actions of kings: this is the purpose of *Wyrðwriteras us secgað*, but the political overtones in the description of the *witane gemot* in the epilogue of the *Old English Heptateuch* are equally clear. In a passage added to a homily for the twelfth Sunday after Pentecost, in the second series of the Catholic Homilies, Ælfric tells of the penance performed by Theodosius for ordering the slaying of the inhabitants of Thessaloniki. This might be an allusion to the killing of the Danes, or some of them, on St Brice's Day in 1002,<sup>31</sup> although other events in his reign might have prompted the addition of this passage. So, whether to bolster the King's authority or to incite him to do penance, Ælfric clearly used Roman history as a quarry for models of good kingly behaviour. The same can be said about his description of saints. As E. Gordon Whatley, Hugh Magennis, and Karin Olsen have demonstrated, Ælfric turns them, and especially the ancient saints, into models for his audience, among other things by removing all anecdotes that could weaken the message conveyed.<sup>32</sup>

<sup>29</sup> One should note, however, that Ælfric conflates Theodosius I with his father (*Theodosius comes*), who was indeed a successful general, executed in troubled circumstances: Ælfric tells of Emperor Theodosius being killed by his soldiers, whereas the *Historia tripartita* describes the Emperor dying in his bed (*Cassiodori-Epiphani Historia ecclesiastica tripartita*, ed. by Walter Jacob and Rudolph Hanslik, *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum*, 71 (Vienna: Austrian Academy of Sciences, 1952), p. 579 (Bk IX, ch. 50)).

<sup>30</sup> *The Old English Heptateuch and Ælfric's Libellus de Veteri Testamento et Novo*, ed. by Richard Marsden, EETS, o.s., 330 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), pp. 198–200.

<sup>31</sup> Mary Clayton, 'Of Mice and Men: Ælfric's Second Homily for the Feast of a Confessor', *Leeds Studies in English*, 24 (1993), 1–26 (pp. 18–21).

<sup>32</sup> See for example Hugh Magennis, 'Ælfric and the Legend of the Seven Sleepers', in *Holy Men and Holy Women: Old English Prose Saints' Lives and their Contexts*, ed. by Paul Szarmach (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1996), pp. 317–31; Magennis, 'Warrior Saints, Warfare, and the Hagiography of Ælfric of Eynsham', *Traditio*, 56 (2001), 27–51; Karin Olsen, 'Beggars' Saints but no Beggar: Martin of Tours in Ælfric's *Lives of Saints*', *Neophilologus*, 88 (2004), 461–75;

What is harder to know is whether his attempt was the product of a solitary genius or expressed a more general return to Antiquity, as writers searched for models of behaviour during troubled times. The extraordinary claims of Æthelweard, who poses as *patricius consul Fabius quaestor Ethelwerdus*, could point to an Antique fashion among the great nobles, but the text itself contains few classicisms or precise allusions to ancient Rome; evidently Greek and Byzantine words are much more interesting to the author.

On the series of coins called 'helmet type', Æthelred copies Roman models that had until then seldom been reused, obviously as a proclamation of strength, and probably as part of a programme to spread the use of heavy protections among Anglo-Saxon warriors during the first decade of the eleventh century.<sup>33</sup>

In three diplomas returning land to Saint Alban's Abbey, the phraseology used establishes a very strong link between Alban and the island. In Sawyer, no. 916, a diploma of c. 1007, it is said that, although all saints are to be venerated,

Quamuis ubique per uniuersum mundum merita beatorum martyrum diuinis celebranda sint preconiis eorumque suffragia qui pro Christi nomine sanguinem suum fuderunt totis nisibus amplectanda Anglorum tamen populis intra ambitum Britanniae constitutis specialiter est honoranda beati martyris Albani gloriosa uictoria, qui et ipse pro Christo martyrium subiit.<sup>34</sup>

In Sawyer, nos 888 and 912, Alban is called *protomartyr gentis Anglorum* and *protomartyr huius patriae*.<sup>35</sup> The veneration for Alban was nothing new; it had especially been fostered by Bede, and yet in late Anglo-Saxon England it seems to have somehow faded: the saint is omitted in the common stock of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, in liturgical books his feast is never one of the highest rank, and hagiographic texts never present him as a patron of Britain. It is difficult to know whether the striking phrases in these charters are products of the Saint Alban's monks, whether Æthelred was so deeply in trouble that he had to court the patronage of all saints, or whether he had indeed intended to promote Alban's cult

Gordon Whatley, 'Pearls before Swine: Ælfric, Vernacular Hagiography, and the Lay Reader', in *Via Crucis, Essays on Early Medieval Sources and Ideas in Memory of J. E. Cross*, ed. by Thomas Hall (Morgantown: West Virginia University Press, 2002), pp. 158–84.

<sup>33</sup> Ann Williams, *Aethelred the Unready, the Ill-Counselled King* (London: Hambledon, 2003), p. 83. This does not mean that no trace of *romanitas* can be found on his predecessors' coins, but none of their series shows a desire to imitate Roman coins in detail.

<sup>34</sup> *Charters of St Albans*, ed. by Julia Crick, Anglo-Saxon Charters, 12 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), p. 190.

<sup>35</sup> *Charters of St Albans*, ed. by Crick, pp. 168 and 179.

as a means of uniting the peoples of Britain — for Alban would have been an obvious choice if Æthelred had wanted to rally the Welsh behind him. If the latter was indeed his intention, it never came into being, for after Æthelred's reign Alban becomes a 'normal' saint again, important but not more so than any other.<sup>36</sup>

Do all these clues add up and testify to an attempt, at a time of crisis, to find a new model, the Roman one, to restore the king's power? This is far from certain, for the links between Constantine, Theodosius, Alban, and the romanizing coins are rather tenuous, but it is conceivable that, in a dire situation, several individuals should have developed their thoughts in the same direction.

Even if this were the case, it remains nonetheless striking that political thinkers only turned to the Roman past at a time of crisis, when the king's traditional legitimacy was starkly diminished. In 'normal' times, there seems to have been no sustained attempt at stressing either the Roman past of Britain or the imperial tradition, to which Anglo-Saxon kings would be heirs. Alfred's reverence for his predecessors had a lasting influence in England, extending not only to early Anglo-Saxon kings, but also to the great saints of these centuries, who were used to promote the unification of England and the development of an English identity. In this respect, tenth-century Anglo-Saxon kings had a very different attitude from that of their Carolingian counterparts and predecessors: although the influence of the Carolingian model on late Anglo-Saxon England was huge, it was very far from uniform. The kings and their counsellors adapted what they considered as important, above all, the religious reforms of the Continent, but were careful to avoid copying other aspects, such as, for example, the Roman political model, which had no place in the Anglo-Saxon political construction. The main reason for this is probably that the use of the Roman past was a way for Carolingian kings and emperors to create a link with the past while omitting any reference to the Merovingians and thus to the usurpation of 751/54, while the kings of Wessex were from the end of the ninth century the only legitimate Anglo-Saxon kings: it may well be that the *Sonderweg* was the Carolingian one, not the Anglo-Saxon one.

Université Paris IV

<sup>36</sup> Although in the prayers for St Alban's feast, in the Missal of the New Minster, one finds the following expressions: 'Deus qui hanc sollempnitatem beati Albani martyrio populo consecrasti anglorum', and 'Qui beatum Albanum hodierna die martyrii gloria coronasti, eiusque sancti sanguinis effusione ecclesiam anglorum dedicasti'. *The Missal of the New Minster, Winchester: Le Havre, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 330*, ed. by D. H. Turner, HBS, 93 (Leighton Buzzard: HBS, 1962), pp. 107–08.

## INDEX

- Aachen (Germany), 159, 160, 432, 510; palace, 282, 311, 315, 321, 323, 328, 329, 488
- Abbeville (France), 27
- Abbo, abbot of Fleury, visiting scholar at Ramsey, 132, 185–6, 190–4, 205
- works:
- De differentia circuli et sphaerae*, 100–3, 203
- Passion of St Edmund*, 191–2, 206
- Quaestiones grammaticales*, 192–3
- Abingdon (England), abbey, 201, 233, 273; chant tradition, 436; charters, 519, 521, 525, 529; *see also* Æthelwold, Osgar
- Adalbero II, bishop of Metz, 364, 367
- Adalbero, archbishop of Reims, 369, 508, 511, 512
- Adalbert of St Maximin, archbishop of Magdeburg, historian, 518, 536
- Adelaide, daughter of Rudolf II, wife of Lothar of Italy, second wife of Otto I, 235, 298, 302, 303, 304, 305
- Adelana, *see* Ælfgifu
- Adelolf, *see* Æthelwulf (Adelolf)
- Adelulf, monk of Saint-Bertin, mission to England, 83
- Adiva, *see* Ælfgifu
- Adso, *Letter on the Origin and Time of the Antichrist*, 265–6, 272
- Ælflæd, daughter of Ealdorman Æthelhelm, wife of Edward the Elder, 242, 243
- Ælfgifu (Adiva, Adelana.), sister of Æthelstan, 219, 232, 248; *see also* Edgiva
- Ælfheah, archbishop of Canterbury, 419
- Ælfred, ealdorman, 441
- Ælfred, thegn, 348
- Ælfric of Eynsham, 17; pastoral letters, 431–2, 433 and n. 11, 435, 440, 446–7, 451–2, 519; works, 546, 548, 555–6
- Ælfric, archbishop of Canterbury, 521
- Ælfric, ealdorman, 178–9, 184
- Ælfsige, archbishop of Canterbury, 171
- Ælfsige, bishop of Chester-le-Street, 453
- Ælfthryth, daughter of King Alfred, wife of Baldwin II of Flanders, 212, 218, 245, 246, 475, 479, 487, 490
- Ælfthryth, wife of King Edgar, 256, 257, 260–3, 266, 268, 270, 271, 274; inauguration, 258–60
- Ælfweard, king of Wessex, 241, 249, 252
- Ælfwold, bishop of Crediton, 411
- Æthelbald, king of Wessex, 212, 242, 244, 477
- Æthelberht, king of Wessex, 242
- Æthelflæd, daughter of King Alfred, wife of Æthelred, ealdorman of the Mercians, 213, 242, 245, 441, 487, 504, 521; relic policy, 474, 475–6, 487, 491–2
- Æthelgar, archbishop of Canterbury, 79–82, 83, 84, 180
- Æthelgifu, daughter of King Alfred, abbess of Shaftesbury, 243
- Æthelheard, archbishop of Canterbury, 535
- Æthelhelm, son of King Æthelred, cousin of King Edward the Elder, 239

- Æthelhild, daughter of King Edward the Elder, 243
- Æthelred II, the Unready, king of England, 181, 269, 270, 276, 327, 557–8; burial, 328–9; coins, 379, 557
- Æthelred, ealdorman of the Mercians, 242, 441, 487; relic policy, 474, 475–6, 487
- Æthelred, king of Wessex, 241
- Æthelstan, king of Wessex and England, 188, 213, 214, 241, 242, 249–50, 252, 299, 335, 348, 491; burial, 328; court, 135–62, 274, 294, 329, 556; exchanges books with Otto I, 59, 66; itinerary, 327, map 9; kingship, 214–17, 222–3, 232, 235–6; marriage policy, 56–7, 217–21, 243, 248–9, 251–3; naval and military activity, 221–2, 229, 235, 243, 250, 252; status in Continental affairs, 211–36
- Æthelstan Psalter, 151, 152, 154, 223, figs 23–5, 28–9
- Æthelswith, wife of King Burgred of Mercia, 242
- Æthelweard, *Chronicle (Chronicon)*, 497–8, 499, 500, 501, 504, 506, 511, 512, 549, 551, 557
- Æthelwine, ealdorman, 289, 290
- Æthelwold, abbot of Abingdon, bishop of Winchester, 161, 173–4, 176, 177, 189, 201, 263, 266, 268, 270, 272, 273, 323; drafts *Regularis concordia*, 257; reforms monasteries, 77, 178, 190, 207, 257–8, 262, 444, 450, 517, 520–1; *see also* Benedictional of St Æthelwold
- Æthelwold, son of King Æthelred, cousin of King Edward the Elder, 239, 241
- Æthelwulf, king of Wessex, 211, 239, 241, 244, 477
- Æthelwulf (Adelolf), son of Baldwin II and Ælfhryth, 213, 222, 245, 250, 480, 490, 491
- Agaune, *see* Saint-Maurice
- Alain, heir to the throne of Brittany, 252
- Alban, St, 545–6, 549, 557–8
- Albelda (Spain), 384, 386; chronicle, 390 and n. 41; *see also* Salvo
- Alexis Master, 129
- Alfred, king of Wessex, 188, 217, 239, 318, 329–30, 490, 500; educational initiatives, 136, 202, 324, 443; kingship, 213, 222, 552, 556, 558; laws, 334; marriage policy, 212, 242, 245, 490
- Alkmund (Ealhmund), St, 476
- Alpert of Metz, 352, 368–9
- Alstedt (Germany), palace, 318
- Altercatio magistri et discipuli*, 206
- Amalberga, St, 488
- Amesbury (England), nunnery, 260, 261
- Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, 294, 498, 499, 501, 504, 506, 525; image of Roman history, 547, 549, 550, 551, 554–5, 557
- Anhalt Gospels, 110–15, 125, 132–3, figs 11–13
- Annales Mettenses Posteriores*, 368
- Annals of Ulster, 236
- Antwerp (Belgium), port, 28
- Aratea, 103–4, fig. 8
- Archenfield (England), 345
- Arnulf I, count of Flanders, 218, 219, 223, 226, 229–30, 236, 250, 272, 480, 486; diplomatic policy, 70, 76–7, 83; monastic policy, 70, 72, 83; relic-collecting, 480
- Arnulf II, count of Flanders, 69, 81, 272
- Arnulf of Carinthia, king of East Francia and emperor, 478
- Arnulf, duke of Bavaria, 311, 316
- Arnulf, son of Baldwin II and Ælfhryth, 213
- Arundel Psalter, 121, 266, fig. 32
- Asser, bishop of St David's, biographer of King Alfred, 202, 212, 213, 218
- Astronomer, *Vita Ludovici*, 368
- Attigny (France), palace, 483, 484
- Baldwin I, count of Flanders, 212, 244, 245, 476, 477, 488–9
- Baldwin II, count of Flanders, 80, 212, 245, 486, 487, 489–90; relic policy, 474, 475–6, 480–8
- Baldwin IV, count of Flanders, 69, 80–1
- Barking (England), nunnery, 260, 274
- Basel (Switzerland), 297
- Bath (England), 313, 329
- Bavaria, 317–18, 329; *see also* Arnulf, Henry I, Henry II, Henry III

- Beauvais Psalter, 131  
 Bede, *Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, 454, 549, 550–1, 557; copied in the Reich, 60  
 Benedict V, pope, 507  
 Benedict VII, pope, 506, 511  
 Benedict the Irishman, 145  
 Benedict, Rule of, 72, 188, 430, 444, 447–9, 452  
 Benedictional of St Æthelwold, 258, 262, 271, 423, fig. 30  
 Benna, canon of St Paulinus, 460  
 Bergues (France), fortified stronghold, 480, 482–3, 484, 488  
 Berhtwulf, king of the Mercians, 441  
 Berno of Reichenau, work at Fleury, 102–3, 203  
 Berta, widow of Adalbert of Tuscany, 505  
 Bertha, widow of Rudolf II, wife of Hugh of Provence, 298  
 Besançon (France), 419  
 Björned (Ångermanland, Sweden), cemetery excavations, 403–5, map 13  
 Bobadilla (Spain), 390  
 Boethius, *Consolation of Philosophy*, 547; Old English Boethius, 552  
 Boniface, missionary, 4  
 Boso, count of Provence, 301, 307  
 Bosworth Psalter, 449  
 Boulogne (France), 250; merchants, 26–8  
 Boulogne Gospels, 88–100, 125, 127, 132, 133, figs 1–7  
 Bourbourg (France), fortified place, 479  
 Bourges (France), council, 338, 421  
 Brandi, Karl, 4  
 Breakspear, Cardinal Nicholas, 402  
 Brugge (Belgium), 25, 58, 477, 480, 484, 489  
 Bruno, archbishop of Cologne, 138, 140, 142, 159, 160–1, 352; *Life*, 161  
 Buckingham (England), palace, 323  
 Buradón (Spain), cemetery, 392  
 Burchard, archbishop of Lyons, 301, 302, 307  
 Burchard, duke of Swabia, 316  
 Burged, king of Mercia, 242  
 Burgundy, kingdom of, 297; *see also* Conrad the Peaceable, Louis, Rudolf I, Rudolf II, Rudolf III  
 Byrhtferth of Ramsey, 193, 258–60, 266, 278–9, 444, 548; account of Edgar's consecration, 286–92, 554–5  
 Byrthelm, archbishop of Canterbury, 171  
 Callistus, St, 488  
 Cambridge Songs manuscript, 151, 154  
 Campbell, James, 8, 11  
 Canterbury (England), archbishops: letters from Flemish abbots, 70, 75–86; *see also* Ælfheah, Ælfric, Ælfsige, Æthelgar, Æthelheard, Byrthelm, Dunstan, Oda, Plegmund, Sigeric, Wulfhelm, Wulfred, Wulfric  
 Canterbury (England), scriptoria, 130, 528, 529  
 Canterbury (England), St Augustine's abbey, 441, 451, 515  
 Cardena (Spain), 383, 386, 387, 389, 390  
 Cassian, 390  
 Cassiodorus, *Historia Tripartita*, 548  
 Celanova (Spain), 383  
 Cenwald, bishop of Worcester, 51, 56, 60, 139  
 Charles the Bald, king of West Francia, 477  
 Charles the Simple, king of West Francia, 217, 219, 223, 231, 246, 248, 478, 482, 483–4, 509  
 Charles, duke of Lorraine, 367, 371  
 charters, 441, 517–44  
 forgery, 522–6  
 manuscript copies:  
   Canterbury, Dean and Chapter, Chart. Ant. C.69 (Sawyer, no. 132), 535, fig. 42  
   Chichester, West Sussex Record Office, Cap. I/17/1 (Sawyer no. 43), 540, fig. 46  
   London, British Library:  
   Additional Charter 19788 (Sawyer, no. 67), 541, fig. 47  
   Cotton Augustus ii. 86 (Sawyer, no. 230; Pagham charter), 522–5, 526, 534, fig. 39  
   Cotton Augustus ii. 99 (Sawyer, no. 110), 522, 534, fig. 40  
   Cotton Charter viii. 20 (Sawyer, no. 1458), 541, fig. 49  
   Cotton Charter viii. 30 (Sawyer, no. 280), 541, fig. 48

- Harley Charter 43 C.6 (Sawyer, no. 801), fig. 31
- Stowe Charter 4 (Sawyer, no. 111), 525, 534, fig. 41
- Stowe Charter 10 (Sawyer, no. 168), 535, fig. 43
- Stowe Charter 11 (Sawyer, no. 175), 535, fig. 44
- Longleat, Marquess of Bath, Muniment 10564 (Sawyer, no. 236), 538, fig. 45
- Sawyer, no. 916, 557
- Sawyer, no. 888, 557
- Sawyer, no. 912, 557
- script-imitation, 526–30
- see also* Abingdon, Conrad the Peaceable, Henry I the Fowler, Otto I, Spain
- Cheddar (England), palace, 321, 323, 329, map 8
- Chester (England), 313–14, 345, 475–6
- Christofor, priest, 389
- Clofesho* (England), council, 164
- Cluny (France), abbey, 306, 512, 528; *see also* Majolus, Odilo, Odo
- Codex Albelda, 390 and n. 40
- Coenwulf, abbot, 232, 233
- Coenwulf, king of Mercia, 525, 535
- Colchester (England), palace, 323
- Collectio Angilramni*, 353, fig. 33
- Colman, Irish bishop, 145
- Cologne (Germany), 29; palace, 321
- Compiègne (France), palace, 483
- confraternity relations, 56–7
- Conrad I, king of East Francia, burial, 328
- Conrad II, emperor, king of East Francia, 307
- Conrad the Peaceable, king of Burgundy, 221, 250, 293–308; charters, 299–300, 303; kingship, 300–1, 306
- Conrad, Burgundian prince, 232
- Conrad, count in Franconia, 510
- Corbie (France), abbey, 200, 201; chant tradition, 436–9, 440, 462, table 5
- crucifix with Anglo-Saxon ivory corpus, *see* London, Victoria and Albert Museum
- Cuyacabras (Quintanar de la Sierra, Spain), 392
- Cysoing (France), church, 488
- De ordinando pontifice*, 372
- De philosophiae partibus*, 147–8
- De signis caeli* of Pseudo-Bede, 103, 104
- De tribulationibus*, 547
- Denarius sancti Petri*, *see* Peter's Pence
- Deventer (Netherlands), port, 22
- Donatian, St, archbishop of Reims, 489
- Dorchester (England), palace, 323, 327
- Dorestad (Netherlands), *emporium*, 18, 20, 22; mint, 19
- Drongen (Belgium), comital estate, 480, 485–6
- Dubhinsi, Irish bishop, 143, 145, 152
- Dunstan, archbishop of Canterbury, 51, 80, 83, 161, 171–3, 174, 179–80, 189, 200, 207, 270, 328, 374, 517, 521, 541; in Thietmar of Merseburg, 63; *Life*, 59, 186, 205, 268; reforming activity, 77, 449–50; relations with King Edgar, 173–4, 175, 177, 178, 268, 287; relations with St Peter's Gent, 58, 76–9, 173; role in *Passion of St Edmund*, 191, 192
- Dunstan Pontifical, 413 and n. 7, 420 and n. 39, 421, 422, 426, 432 n. 9
- Durham Collectar (Ritual), 453–4, 455–62, 548, tables 6, 7a–e
- Eadberht, bishop of Selsey, 540
- Eadburh, daughter of Edward the Elder, nun at Nunnaminster, Winchester, 243
- Eadflæd, daughter of King Edward the Elder, nun at Wilton, 243
- Eadgifu, daughter of Eadgifu, 248
- Eadgifu, daughter of Edward the Elder, wife of Charles the Simple, 214, 217, 220, 223, 226, 228, 229, 230, 233, 235, 246, 250, 299, 483
- Eadgifu, daughter of Sigehelm, third wife of Edward the Elder, 242, 243, 248
- Eadhild, wife of Hugh the Great, 222, 227–8, 230, 246, 248, 250, 251, 491
- Eadred, king of England, 160, 249, 329; burial, 328
- Eadwig, king of England, 268, 289, 313; burial, 328
- Eadwig Gospels, 122
- Ealdred, archbishop of York, 419
- Ealhswith, daughter of Baldwin II and Ælfthryth, 245, 490



- Ealhmund, *see* Alkmund  
 Ealhswith, wife of King Alfred, 241–2  
 Earnulf (Arnulf), son of Baldwin II and Ælfthryth, 490  
 Eberhard, count of Friuli, 488  
 Eberhard, duke of Franconia, 311  
*Eboracum*, *see* York  
 ecclesiastical organization: bishops, 385–6; monasteries, 386–90; Scandinavia, 399–410; Spain, 379–90 (compared with England, 391–6); tithes and parish-formation, 391–3, 395–7, 402–10  
 Ecgerht, bishop and archbishop of York, 432; penitential attributed to, 433 n. 11  
 Ecgerht, grandson of King Alfred and Ealhswith, 245  
 Ecgerht, king of Wessex, 541  
 Echternach (Luxemburg), 58; professional illuminator at, 129  
 Edgar, king of England, 77, 79, 174, 175, 190, 238–9, 268, 277, 289, 294, 444; Andover law-code, 173; burial, 328; consecration, 277–8, 287–92, 313, 554–5; itinerary, 327, map 10; kingship, 256, 257, 266, 290, 313, 316, 556; meeting at Chester, 313–14; relations with Ottonians, 234, 290  
 Edgiva (?Ælfgifu), sister of Æthelstan, 299, 301; *see also* Ælfgifu  
 Edith, half sister of King Æthelstan, 60, 504; marriage to Otto I, 56–7, 61, 161, 214, 219, 229, 231–2, 233, 234, 248, 276, 298; regarded as saint, 51, 64, 233  
 Edmund, king of England, 82, 230, 232, 249, 269, 318, 327; burial, 328; entry in confraternity book of Pfäfers, 57  
 Edward the Elder, king of Wessex, 213, 241, 243, 252, 294, 487; burial, 328; itinerary, 327, map 9; marriages, 242; monastic patronage, 188, 323, 476; relic-translations, 474, 491–2  
 Edward the Martyr, king of England, 269, 270, 318; burial, 328; itinerary, map 10  
 Edwin, brother of King Æthelstan, 82–3, 249–50, 252, 491  
 Egbert, archbishop of Trier, 135  
 Egbert Pontifical, 420 and n. 39  
 Egmond (Netherlands), 58  
 Einhard, *Vita Karoli*, 368, 509  
 Einsiedeln (Switzerland), abbey of, 62; *see also* Gregory, abbot of Einsiedeln, Wolfgang  
 Ekkehard of Saint-Gall, *Casus Sancti Galli*, 64, 234–5  
 Ely (England), abbey, 262, 520  
 Emma, queen of East Francia, 269  
*emporia*, 17–20; minting at, 19; officials, 19; *see also* Dorestad, Fordwich, Haithabu, Ipswich, London, Quentovic, York  
*Encomium* for Queen Emma, 68  
*Eoforwic*, *see* York  
 Eormenthryth (Ermentrude), daughter of Baldwin II and Ælfthryth, 490  
 Erluin, bishop of Cambrai, 81  
 Ermengarde, widow of Adalbert of Ivrea, 505  
 Erstein (France), palace, 323  
 Eulogius, journey to Leire, 390  
 Eusebius, 546, 547  
 Eutropius, *Breviary*, 546, 547  
 Exeter (England), 363, 427, 454, 528; assembly, 336, 340, 346–7, 323  
 Falrad, abbot of Saint-Vaast, letter of, 79–82  
 Faversham (England), council, 336, 340  
 Ficker, Julius von, 502–3  
 Flanders, county of, 476–80; relations with England, 67–86; *see also* Arnulf I, Arnulf II, Baldwin I, Baldwin II, Baldwin IV  
 Fleury (France), abbey, 187; English artists at, 204; manuscripts, 102–5, 125, 199–207, 528, 529; monks at Council of Winchester, 190; relations with England, 128, 185–208, 289; script, 198, 201; *see also* Abbo, Berno, Gauzlin, Leofnoth, Nivardus, Oylbold  
 Flodoard, 295, 299, 368, 497, 499, 501, 504, 506, 508, 512  
 Fordwich (England), *emporium*, 18  
 Formosus, pope, 167, 427, 507  
 Frankfurt (Germany), 503; council, 357; palace, 318, 329  
 Freculph of Lisieux, 498  
 Fredegaut, *see* Frithegode of Brioude  
 Frederuna, wife of Charles the Simple, 218

- Frithegode (Fredegaut/Frithegod) of Brioude, 152, 207
- Froumund of Tegernsee, 159
- Fulda (Germany), abbey, 328, 528
- Fulk, abbot of Saint-Bertin, archbishop of Reims, 482, 489, 490
- Furhmann, Horst, 5
- Gagnières Gospels, 131
- Gaiffier, Baudouin de, 5
- Gandersheim (Germany), 58
- Gandersheim Gospels, 233
- Gautbertus (Gauzbert?) of Liège, 161
- Gauzlin, abbot of Fleury, 131, 205
- Gent (Belgium), 374, 478, 480; comital stronghold, 486; monks at Council of Winchester, 77, 190; *portus*, 25; Saint-Bavon's abbey, 72, 485, 488; St Peter's abbey, 58, 70, 72, 73, 76–7, 79, 187, 477, 487–8, 489; *see also* Leofsig, Liefsin, Simon, Wido, Womar
- Gérard, abbot of Brogne, 72, 83
- Gerbald, bishop of Liège, episcopal capitulary, 420
- Gerberga, daughter of Henry I the Fowler, wife of Louis IV d'Outremer, 161, 228, 230, 235, 250, 256, 263–70, 272, 273–4, 504
- Gerbert of Aurillac (Silvester II, pope), 506, 507, 508
- Germanus, prior of Ramsey, abbot of Winchcombe, 189, 198, 204
- Gerulf, St, 485–6, 488
- Gesta episcoporum Cameracensium*, 69, 80, 81
- Ghent, *see* Gent
- Gildas, *De Excidio Britanniae*, 547, 549
- Gisela, daughter of Conrad the Peaceable, wife of Henry the Quarrelsome, 219, 304
- Giselbert, duke of Lotharingia (Lorraine), 228, 270, 311, 508
- Glaber, Rodulfus, *Five Books of Histories*, 495, 497, 498, 501, 507, 512
- Glastonbury (England), abbey, 179–80, 189, 328, 450, 529, 530, 538
- Gloucester (England), New Minster, 475, 487; palace, 323
- Golden Gospels, 441
- Gontina, abbess, 387
- gospel dice, 145, fig. 20
- Grately (England), council, 336, 337
- Gregory I, the Great, pope, 390; *Register*, 165
- Gregory V, pope, 506–7; letters of, 182, 183, 194
- Gregory VII, pope, 402
- Gregory IX, pope, 402
- Gregory, abbot of Einsiedeln (Switzerland), 51, 60, 62–3
- Grimbald, monk of Saint-Bertin, 202, 461, 490
- Grone (Germany), palace, 318, 321
- Groningen (Netherlands), 484
- Gudwall, St, 77
- Guilhem of Provence, 301
- Guîsnes (France), port, 227
- Gundekar, bishop of Eichstätt, 423
- Gundekar Pontifical, 423–7, fig. 37
- Gundlaf, German at King Æthelstan's court, 137
- Guthlac, St, 476
- Hadrianum Sacramentary, 416
- Hadwig, sister of Otto I, 161, 230
- Haimo, bishop of Verdun, 356
- Haithabu (Germany), 400; *emporium*, 23
- Hákon, son of Harald of Norway, 252
- Hälsingland (Sweden), province, 402
- Hamwic* (England), *emporium*, 18, 20, 23
- Harald, king of Norway, 215
- hearthpenny, *see* Peter's Pence
- Hedeby, *see* Haithabu
- Heiric of Auxerre, 193
- Henry I the Fowler, 56, 63, 231, 248, 276, 277, 297, 316–17, 509–10; burial, 328; charters 299; inauguration, 282–3
- Henry I, duke of Bavaria, 317, 318
- Henry II the Quarrelsome, duke of Bavaria, 219, 304, 508
- Henry III, duke of Bavaria (Henry II, emperor, king of East Francia), 317
- Henry, son of Louis, brother of King Rudolph of Burgundy and Ælfgifu, 301
- Hereford (England), 346, 476
- Heribert I, count of Vermandois, 489, 506

- Heribert II, count of Vermandois, 218, 219, 221, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 246
- Heribert, abbot of Saint-Vaast, 81
- Heribert, archbishop of Cologne, 356–7
- Herluin, count of Boulogne, 223
- Hilduin, German at King Æthelstan's court, 137
- Hogge*, see Huy
- Hohenaltheim, council, 357, 512
- Hrosvitha of Gandersheim, 64
- Hugh Capet, king of West Francia, 367
- Hugh of Provence, 297, 298, 301
- Hugh the Black, duke of (Lower) Burgundy, 221, 226, 227, 301
- Hugh the Great, duke of Francia, 160, 219, 221, 222, 223, 226, 227, 228, 230, 231, 236, 246, 248, 250–1, 491
- Hugues de Salins, archbishop of Besançon, 419, 421
- Humbert of Moyenmoûtier, 372
- Huy (*Hogge*, Belgium), 28
- Ildephonsus, 390
- Ingelheim (Germany), council, 357, 508, 512; palace, 321, 323, 327
- Ipswich (England), *emporium*, 18, 23
- Isaac, count of Cambrai, 228
- Isidore of Seville, 390; *Chronicle*, 547
- Israel of Trier, the Grammarian, 135–61, figs 19–21; career, 138–42, 159, 161; commentary on Porphyry, 140; interests, 142; memory of, 161–2; modifies poem of Alcuin, 148; poems, 147, 159; tutor to Bruno of Cologne, 140, 142, 159
- John X, pope, 168, 169, 508
- John XI, pope, 169, 508
- John XII, pope, 171–3, 174, 426, 508
- John XIII, pope, 174, 175, 313, 511; letter attributed to, 174–7
- John XIV, pope, letter attributed to, 179–80
- John XV, pope, 180, 181
- John XVI, pope, 507
- John of Gorze, 358
- John the Old Saxon, 137, 461
- John, abbot of St Arnulf at Metz, 351, 352
- John, Eric, 8, 517
- Jorvik*, see York
- Judith, daughter of Charles the Bald, wife of King Æthelwulf and of Baldwin II, 211–12, 218, 222, 244, 245, 476–7
- Judith, empress, wife of Louis the Pious, 269
- Judoc, St, 476, 486, 490
- Junius Psalter, 442, 443
- Keldudalur (Iceland), church and cemetery excavations, 405, map 14
- kingship, 293–308, 311–29, 510, 553–4, 555–6; burial-places, 328–9; inaugurations, 258–60, 274–92, 296, 554–5; itineration, 318–21, 327, 329, maps 6, 9–10
- coronation *ordines*:  
*Ordo of Mainz*, 283–5, 288  
*Second English Ordo*, 287–8  
 see also Æthelstan, Edgar, Otto I,
- Knowles, David, 12
- Koblenz (Germany), council, 355
- La Garde-Freinet (*Fraxinetum*, France), nest of Saracens, 301, 503
- La Réole (*Regula*, France), 185, 187
- Lanalet Pontifical, 420 and n. 39, 422–3
- land reclamation, 78–9
- Lantfred of Winchester, 190, 316, 323
- Lauprade (France), assembly, 338
- law and order, 331–75; canon law in Lotharingia, 352–8; frankpledge, 337, 339; judicial duels, 303; *murdrum* (murder) fine, 342–3; Norwegian law, 409; peace-legislation, 337–42; secular law in Lotharingia, 358–63; tithings, 337, 339–44; see also law-codes and compilations
- law-codes and compilations:  
 Continent: Ansegis, collection of capitularies, 360, 364, 365; Benedict Levita, collection of capitularies, 365; *Capitula a sacerdotibus proposita*, 432, 433 n. 10; *Capitulare de legis additum*, 358–9; *Codex Albeldense*, 390; *Collectio Anselmo Dedicata*, 356; Dache-riana, 355; Dionysio-Hadriana, 357; Edict

- of Pitres, 366; *Lex Alamannorum*, 363; *Lex Baiuvariorum*, 363; *Lex Chamavorum*, 360; *Lex Romana Visigothorum*, 363; Regino of Prüm, *Libri duo de synodaliibus causis*, 353, 357, 365; Salic Law, 359; Theodosian Code, 359
- England: Æthelred, 24–34, 343, 422; Æthelstan, 335–7, 339, 340, 341, 345, 346–7, 348–50; Alfred, 334, 339–40; Assize of Clarendon, 349; Cnut, 343; *Dunsete, Ordinance concerning*, 336, 345–6, 347, 348, 350; Edgar, 173, 343, 347–8; Edmund, 343, 347, 349; Edward the Elder, 339  
*see also* law and order
- Leo VIII, pope, 174
- Leo IX, pope, 427
- Leo, bishop of Trevi, 181
- Leodegundia, excerpts from monastic rules, 390
- Leodium*, *see* Liège
- Leofnoth, scribe at Fleury, 127, 204
- Leofric, bishop of Exeter, 411, 414, 427, 440, 454, fig. 38
- Leofric Collectar, 436–9
- Leofric Missal, 411, 414, 417, 421–2, 423, 427, 461, figs 36, 38
- Leofsige, monk of St Peter's, Gent, abbot of Mettlach, 374
- Léon (Spain), 390; nunneries, 387, 388
- Levison, William (1876–1947), 165, 293, 379, 515–16, 545; attitude to royal inauguration, 280–1; career, 1–3; commemorations, 1, 5, 12–13; Ford Lectures, 3; influence, 3–10; relations with Karl Leyser, 7; work on travellers, 19
- Leyser, Karl, 5, 6–8, 54, 61, 231, 316, 329, 496;  
*see also* Levison, William
- Liefsin, monk of Saint Peter's, Gent, 78
- Liège (*Leodium*, Belgium), 28, 58
- Limoges (France), council, 338
- Lioffin, abbot of Mettlach near Trier, 51, 59, 60, 61–2, 63
- Lios Monocus, Breton scribe, 199
- Liudolf, duke of Swabia, son of Otto I, 234, 235, 317
- Liudprand of Cremona, 161, 169, 294, 495, 496, 497, 499, 503, 505–6, 507–8, 511
- Liutfrid, count, son of, 303
- Lobbes Gospel Book, 65, 215 n. 20, 233
- London (England), 18, 19, 23–35, map 1; Æthelred II buried at, 328–9; agents, 24, 31; bridge, 24–5; burghmen (*burhmanni*), 31; *emporium* (*Lundenwic*), 19; guildhall, 29; in *IV Æthelred*, 24–34; merchants, 25–9; palace, 323, 327, 329; taxes/tolls levied, 24, 31; vessels, 33–4; wares, 31–3
- London, Victoria and Albert Museum, M7934–1862 (crucifix with Anglo-Saxon ivory corpus), 122–4, fig. 18
- Lothar II, grandson of Louis the Pious, 268
- Lothar, king of Italy, son of Hugh of Provence, 302
- Lothar, king of West Francia, 228, 272, 299, 302, 367
- Lothar, son of Hugh of Provence, 298
- Louis III, the Blind, of Provence, 220
- Louis IV, d'Outremer, 160, 220, 223, 224, 226–7, 228–9, 230, 232, 236, 246, 248, 250, 252, 269, 299; alliance with Otto I, 270
- Louis the Child, king of East Francia, 218, 231
- Louis the Stammerer, king of West Francia, 477
- Louis, brother of Rudolf II of Burgundy, 249, 250, 296
- Louis, prince of Aquitaine, husband of Eadgifu, 248
- Lucidiz, Lucito, *confessus*, 388
- Lund (Sweden), 400
- Lundenwic*, *see* London
- Lyfing, bishop of Crediton and Cornwall, 423
- Lyfing, bishop of Wells, 423
- Maastricht (Netherlands), 28
- Mabbo, bishop of Léon, 198
- Maelbrigde, coarb of Armagh, 145
- Magdeburg (Germany), 234, 328, 502, 504; monastery, 298; palace, 318, 321, 323, 329
- Mainz (Germany), 502, 528
- Majolus, abbot of Cluny, 302
- Malmesbury (England), abbey, 328
- manuscripts:  
 Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum, M.16.2, 149–50

- Aosta, Biblioteca del Seminario maggiore, *s.n.*, table 7a  
 Aosta, Cattedrale, *s.n.*, table 7a  
 Aosta, Collegio Sant'Orso, *s.n.*, table 7a  
 Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, Lit. 59, 422 and n. 52  
 Berlin, Deutsche Stadtbibliothek:  
   Meerman lat. 141, 368  
   Phillips 1737, 360, 364, fig. 34  
 Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Hamilton 553 (Salaberga Psalter), 443  
 Bern, Burgerbibliothek:  
   258, 205  
   337, 207  
 Boulogne, Bibliothèque municipale, 11 (Boulogne Gospels), 88–100, 125, 127, 132, 133, figs 1–7  
 Cambridge, Corpus Christi College:  
   41, 454, 455–62, table 6, 7b–c  
   44, 42  
   146 (Samson Pontifical), 418–19  
   183, 215, 460–1, fig. 27  
   265, 111  
   330, part 1, 150  
   391 (Portiforium of St Wulfstan), 436–9  
 Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College, 144/194, 198  
 Cambridge, Trinity College:  
   B.1.30A, 413 and n. 8  
   R.15.32 (945), 202  
 Cambridge, University Library, Gg.3.35 (Cambridge Songs), 151, 154  
 Coburg, Landesbibliothek, 1, 66  
 Coburg, Veste Coburg, 1 (Gandersheim Gospels), 233  
 Cologne, Dombibliothek:  
   113, 357  
   123, 355  
   124, 356  
 Copenhagen, Kongelige Bibliotek:  
   G.K.S. 1595 (4°), 182 n. 65  
   Ny kgl. S. 137 40, 459, table 7a  
 Durham, Cathedral Library, A.IV.19 (Durham Collectar (Ritual)), 453–4, 455–62, 548, tables 6, 7a–c  
 Eichstatt, Diözesanarchiv, B.4 (Pontifical of Gundekar), 423–7, fig. 37  
 El Escorial, Biblioteca de El Escorial, d.I.2 (Codex Albelda), 390 and n. 40  
 Erfurt/Gotha, Universitäts- und Forschungsbibliothek, Membr. I 84, 370  
 Florence, Biblioteca Mediceo-Laurenziana, Plut. I, 56 (Rabbula Gospels), 154, fig. 26  
 Grand-Saint-Bernard, *s.n.*, table 7a  
 Hannover, Kestner-Museum, WM XX1a 36 (Eadwig Gospels), 121  
 Hannover, Landesbibliothek, I.101b, table 7a  
 Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibliothek, Schwarzach 17, table 7a  
 Kassel, Landesbibliothek:  
   Theol. fol. 121, table 7a  
   Theol. fol. 161, table 7a  
 Koblenz, Staatsarchiv, 109, table 7a  
 Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek (Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit):  
   Voss. lat. F 12 d, 192  
   Voss. lat. Q 106, 205–6  
   Vulcan 94B, 358  
 Lincoln, Cathedral Library, 182 (C.2.8), 201  
 London, British Library:  
   Additional 32246, 149  
   Additional 37517 (Bosworth Psalter), 449  
   Additional 49598 (Benedictional of St Æthelwold), 258, 262, 271, 423, fig. 30  
   Arundel 155 (Arundel Psalter), 121, 266, fig. 32  
   Cotton Galba A XVIII (Æthelstan Psalter), 151, 152, 154, 223, figs 23–5, 28–9  
   Cotton Tiberius A II (Lobbes Gospel Book), 66, 215 n. 20, 233  
   Cotton Tiberius A XV, 179, 181  
   Cotton Tiberius C I, 421  
   Cotton Titus D XVIII, 151, 154  
   Cotton Vespasian A I, 442  
   Egerton 269, 370  
   Egerton 2832, 370  
   Harley 603 (Psalter), 121–2  
   Harley 647, 202, 203  
   Harley 863, 436 n. 20  
   Harley 2506, 100–5, 127, 202, 203, fig. 8

- Harley 2904 (Ramsey Psalter, 'Psalter of St Oswald'), 105–10, 122, 124, 127, 132, 133, figs 9–10  
 Harley 2961 (Leofric Collectar), 436–9  
 Royal 17.C.XVII, 437 nn. 25–6  
 London, Lambeth Palace, 1370, 145  
 Los Angeles, Getty Museum, Ludwig V 1/83 (Beauvais Psalter), 131  
 Madrid, Real Academia de la Historia, Codex Emilianense 46 (Chronicle of Albelda), 390 and n. 41  
 Metz, Bibliothèque Municipale, 100, 356  
 Montpellier, Bibliothèque de la Faculté de Médecine, 303, 421 and n. 44  
 Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek:  
   Clm 3851, 356, 358  
   Clm 17209, 150  
 New York, Pierpont Morgan Library:  
   M 33, 88 and n. 6  
   M 827 (Anhalt Gospels), 110–15, 125, 132–3, figs 11–13  
 Orléans, Médiathèque:  
   127 (105) (Winchcombe Sacramentary), 110, 204  
   175, 115–21, 127, fig. 17  
   221 (193), 205  
   270 (226), 202  
 Oxford, Bodleian Library:  
   Barlow 37, 182 n. 65  
   Bodley 418, 374  
   Bodley 579 (Leofric Missal), 411, 414, 417, 421–2, 423, 427, 461, figs 36, 38  
   Bodley 718, 373  
   e Mus. 96, 150–1, 154  
   Junius 27 (Junius Psalter), 442, 443  
   Junius 121 (Old English Benedictine Office), 434  
   Lat. lit. e 5, table 7a  
   Laud misc. 284, table 7a  
   Laud misc. 382, table 7a  
   Rawlinson C.697, 137  
 Oxford, Corpus Christi College:  
   122, 145, fig. 20  
   183, fig. 27  
   422, 143, 145  
 Oxford, St John's College, 17, 193  
 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France:  
   lat. 781, table 7a  
   lat. 943 (Dunstan Pontifical), 413 and n. 7, 420 and n. 39, 421, 422, 426, 432 n. 9  
   lat. 987, 205  
   lat. 1062, table 7a  
   lat. 1126 (Gagnières Gospels), 131  
   lat. 4403B, 359  
   lat. 4418, 363, 366  
   lat. 4614, 364, 366  
   lat. 4633, 370  
   lat. 4669, 360, 364, 366  
   lat. 5017, 368  
   lat. 6401, 204  
   lat. 7299, 205  
   lat. 9654, 360, 363, 364, 365, 366, 369, 370, 373, fig. 35  
   lat. 10575 (Lanalet Pontifical), 420 and n. 39, 422–3  
   lat. 11522, 437  
   lat. 12502 (Sacramentary of Ratoldus), 414–15  
   lat. 12584, 437 n. 25  
   lat. 12949, 140, 142–3, 147, 151, 160, fig. 19  
   lat. 13313, 419–20 and n. 36  
   lat. 15392, 356  
   lat. 16307, table 7a  
   n.a.l. 1615, 202–3  
 Paris, Ste Geneviève, 2401, 154  
 Raigern, Klášterni Knihovna benediktin, F/K 1 α 1, table 7a  
 Rome, Biblioteca Angelica, 440, table 7a  
 Rome, Vatican City, *see* Vatican City  
 Rouen, Bibliothèque Municipale, 368 (A.27) (Egbert Pontifical), 420 and n. 39  
 Saint-Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, 337, 186  
 Sankt Florian, Chorherren-Stiftsbibliothek, X 384, 458 and n. 95, table 7a  
 St Petersburg, Public Library, Fv.VI.3, 139, 140, 147, 148, 151, 154, 160  
 Stockholm, Kungliga Biblioteket, A.135 (Golden Gospels), 441  
 Toledo, Biblioteca capitular, 37.2, table 7a

- Trier, Bistumsarchiv, 523, table 7a  
 Trier, Dombibliothek, 180 F, table 7a  
 Trier, Stadtbibliothek:  
   427, table 7a  
   927 (1882) (*Collectio Angilramni*), 353, fig. 33  
 Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana:  
   lat. 4751, table 7a  
   Ottoboni lat. 35, 202  
   Pal. lat. 47, 88 and n. 6  
   Pal. lat. 554, 434 n. 11  
   Reginensis lat. 421, 147  
   Reginensis lat. 582, 360  
   Reginensis lat. 886, 359  
   Reginensis lat. 1260, 207  
   Vat. lat. 2263, 201–2  
 Vercelli, Biblioteca capitolare, CCX, table 7a  
 Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 529, 368  
 Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek:  
   454 Helmstedt, 356  
   lat. 4099 (Weissenburg. 15), 419 and n. 34  
 Worcester, Cathedral Library, Q.5, 145, 149, 152, 154, fig. 21  
 Würzburg, Universitätsbibliothek, Mp th. f. 168, table 7a  
   *see also* pontificals  
 Mao (Spain), 386  
 Marinus II, pope, 169, 171, 184  
 Marozia, daughter of Theophylact, 168–9, 505, 507, 508  
 Martin of Laon, doxography on the Muses, 150  
 Master Hugo, 129  
 Matilda, abbess of Essen, 57, 504  
 Matilda, abbess of Quedlinburg, 504  
 Matilda, daughter of Gerberga and Louis IV, wife of King Conrad of Burgundy, 302–3  
 Matilda, wife of Henry I the Fowler, 231, 235, 504  
 McFarlane, Bruce, 7  
 Merendree (Belgium), church, 485–6  
 Merseburg (Germany), palace, 318, 329  
 Mettlach (Germany), 58; *see also* Lioffin  
 Metz (France), 367, 420; manuscripts, 360–71; monastery of St Symphorian, 364; monastery of St Vincent, 363; *see also* Adalbero II, Alpert, John, abbot of St Arnulf, Theoderic I  
 monastic reform, 256–74, 512; in England, 173–80, 187–90, 194–9, 200, 233–4, 289, 443–7, 512, 520–22; relating to divine office, 430–1, 435  
 Montreuil-sur-Mer (France), 23, 26, 491  
 Monumenta Germaniae Historica, 2, 4–5  
 Mouzon (France), council, 357  
 Muchelney (England), abbey, breviary, 450, 462  
 Münstergranfelden (Moutier-Grandval, Switzerland), 303  
 names, personal, 35–49; anglicization of scribal forms, 43–4; Continental Germanic names of moneyers, 38–43; dialectal provenance, 36–8, 44–9; research, 35–6  
 Nelson, Janet L., 9–10  
 Nivardus, artist at Fleury, 132  
 Nivelles (*Nivella*, Belgium), 28  
 Nothelm, papal legate, 164  
 Nunna, king of Sussex, 540  
 Nunnita, *confessa*, 388  
 Oda, archbishop of Canterbury, 51, 57, 170, 171, 188, 199, 207, 233, 289, 290, 414, 517, 524; Constitutions, 435  
 Odbert, abbot of Saint-Bertin, 529; contribution to manuscripts, 99, 125, 127; letters to archbishops of Canterbury, 82–6  
 Odilo, abbot of Cluny, 304, 306, 512  
 Odo, abbot of Cluny, 187, 207  
 Odo, king of West Francia, 478  
 Offa, king of Mercia, 239, 521, 525, 526, 534, 535  
 office, divine, 429–71; Advent responsories, 455–62, tables 6, 7a–c; definition, 429; origin, 429–30; secular office, 432–49, 451–62  
 texts:  
   English secular antiphoner, 436  
   Leofric Collectar, 436–9  
   Old English Benedictine Office, 434–5  
   Portiforium of St Wulfstan, 436–9  
   York antiphoner, 459  
 Ohthere, gift to King Alfred, 21

- Oostburg (Netherlands), fortified place, 479  
 Orbe (Switzerland), palace, 297  
 Orosius, *History against the Pagans*, 546, 547;  
   Old English Orosius, 551–3  
 Osgar, abbot of Abingdon, 189  
 Oswald, bishop of Worcester, archbishop of  
   York, 77, 128, 174, 191, 199; and Ramsey  
   abbey, 132, 189, 290; celebrated at Fleury,  
   200; *Life*, 278–9, 287–92; visits Rome, 313  
 Oswald, *filius regis*, (?) illegitimate nephew of  
   King Alfred, 242  
 Oswald, king and martyr, 231, 233, 475,  
   482–3, 486  
 Otero de las Dueñas (Spain), 383  
 Otloh, monk of Saint-Emmeram, 128  
 Otto I, king of East Francia, king of Italy, em-  
   peror, 160, 228, 232, 235, 248, 270, 272, 277,  
   298–9, 303, 499, 502, 503, 509, 510; attends  
   Council of Verdun, 159; burial, 328; charters  
   272, 299; court at Aachen, 160; credited with  
   dislodging Saracens, 301, 503; dealings with  
   papacy, 507–8; inaugurations, 174, 278,  
   282–6, 311, 315, 507, 510; marriage to Ade-  
   laide, 302; marriage to Edith, 56–7, 221, 232,  
   234, 276, 277, 296; relations with Bruno,  
   159; relationships with England, 56–7, 66,  
   233, 290  
 Otto II, king of East Francia, emperor, 236,  
   282, 303, 304, 305, 511; burial, 328  
 Otto III, king of East Francia, emperor, 276,  
   305, 506–7, 510; burial, 328  
 Otto, count of Verdun, 228  
 Oudenaarde (Belgium), 484  
 Oylbold, abbot of Fleury, 191
- palaces, 313–29; *see also* Aachen, Alstedt,  
 Attigny, Buckingham, Cheddar, Colchester,  
 Cologne, Compiègne, Dorchester, Erstein,  
 Frankfurt, Gloucester, Grone, Ingelheim,  
 London, Magdeburg, Merseburg, Orbe,  
 Pöhlde, Quedlinburg, Tilleda, Tribur, Werla,  
 Winchester  
 pallium, *see* papacy  
 papacy, 166–71; letters, 174–83, 513; pallium,  
   164, 170, 171, 180, 183, 184, 506; relations  
   with England, 163–84; spurious documents,  
   165 n. 7; *see also* Benedict V, Benedict VII,  
   Formosus, Gerbert (Silvester II), Gregory I,  
   Gregory V, Gregory VII, Gregory IX, John X,  
   John XI, John XII, John XIII, John XIV,  
   John XV, John XVI, Leo VIII, Leo IX,  
   Marinus II, Sergius III, Stephen VIII  
 Paris (France), capital city, 327  
 Paschasius Radbertus, *Life of Wala*, 269  
 Paul the Deacon, *Historia Romana*, 547  
 Pavia (Italy), 324  
 Payerne (Switzerland), abbey, 302  
 Perels, Ernst, 4  
 Peter's Pence, 167–8, 169, 173, 184  
 Petrus, Frankish poet, 137, 148  
 Pfäfers (Switzerland), confraternity book (*Liber  
   Vitae*), 57, 170  
 Piñeira (Spain), 388  
 Plegmund, archbishop of Canterbury, 167,  
   414, 461, 506  
 Pöhlde (Germany), palace, 318, 327  
 Pol, St, of Léon, 198–9  
 Ponthieu (France), 25, 27, 28, 490  
 pontificals, 411–28; development, 412–15;  
   Romano-German Pontifical, 413, 416, 417,  
   419, 420, 421  
   manuscripts:  
     Anglo-Saxon examples, 414 n. 9  
     Claudius Pontifical I, 422  
     Sens Pontifical, 422  
     *see also* Egbert Pontifical, Gundekar Pontifi-  
     cal, Lanalet Pontifical  
 Portiforium of St Wulfstan, 436–9
- Quedlinburg (Germany), 58, 328; palace, 318,  
   323, 327, 329  
 queenship: and monastic reform, 256–74; in-  
   auguration, 258–60  
 Quentovic (France), *emporium*, 18, 20, 227;  
   mint, 19
- Rabbula Gospels, 154, fig. 26  
 Ramsey (England), abbey, 189, 289, 291; *see  
   also* Abbo, Byrhtferth, Germanus, Oswald,  
   bishop of Worcester, archbishop of York



- Ramsey Psalter (Psalter of St Oswald), 105–10, 122, 124, 127, 132, 133, figs 9–10
- Raoul Glaber, *see* Glaber, Rodulfus
- Rather, bishop of Liège and Verona, 161, 353, 357
- Ratoldus, abbot of Corbie, 415
- Ravenna (Italy), 303, 305
- Regensburg (Germany), 509
- Regino of Prüm, 136, 498, 502; continuator, 368; *Libri duo de synodalibus causis*, 353, 357, 365
- Regularis concordia*, 65, 177, 190, 257, 262, 271, 273, 434, 441–2, 446
- Reichenau (Germany), abbey, confraternity book, 277; *see also* Berno
- Reims (France), 136; *see also* Adalbero, Donatian, Fulk, Richer
- relics, 234, 235, 297, 306; and King Æthelstan, 222–3, 232; Charlemagne, 228; Holy Lance (Spear), 222–3, 297, 306, 510; Innocentius, 298; Sigismund, 297; translations, 474–92, map 15
- Remedius of Chur, 356
- Remigius of Auxerre, 202; commentary on Donatus, 149–51
- Reuter, Timothy, 9–10, 11, 276, 293, 416
- Revenga (Spain), cemetery, 391–2
- Rheims, *see* Reims
- Ribe (Denmark), 400
- Richard of Saint-Vanne, abbot of Saint-Vaast, 81
- Richard, duke of Normandy, 181
- Richer of Reims, 295, 368, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 504, 506, 508–9, 511, 512, 548
- Richgard, empress, 262
- Robert, archbishop of Trier, 135, 139, 145, 159, 357
- Robinson, J. Armitage, 12, 160
- Roderick of Saint-Vaast, 73
- Rodulf, son of Baldwin I, 477
- Rodulfus Glaber, *see* Glaber, Rodulfus
- Roger, archbishop of Trier, 357, 358
- Rollason, David, 5, 8, 9
- Rome: forum coin hoard, 169, 171, 184; pilgrimage to, 163, 180, 182; *see also* Peter's Pence
- Romscot*, *see* Peter's Pence
- Romsey (England), nunnery, 260
- Roskilde (Denmark), 400
- Rothard, bishop of Cambrai, 80
- Rouen (France), 18, 25, 27–8, 31, 34
- Rudolf I, king of Burgundy, 296
- Rudolf II, king of Burgundy, 250, 296, 297
- Rudolf III, king of Burgundy, 307
- Rue (France), 25
- Sacramentary of Ratoldus, 414–15
- Sahagún (Spain), 381, 382, 383, 386, 387
- Saint-Amand (France), abbey, 72, 110
- Saint-André-le-Bas, Vienne (France), 300, 306
- Saint-Basle (France), council, 357, 508
- Saint-Bertin (Saint-Omer, France), abbey, 70, 72, 73–4, 88, 114, 130, 132, 136, 479, 482, 491, 528, 529; relations with England, 82–3, 230; *see also* Adelulf, Fulk, Grimbold, Odbert, Winnoc
- Saint-Gall (Switzerland), abbey, 232; *see also* Ekkehard
- Saint-Josse (France), 490
- Saint-Maurice (Agaune, Switzerland), monastery, 235, 295–6, 297; as chancery, 300; scriptorium, 301–2
- Saint-Omer (France), 25, 488; church of Our Lady, 482; *see also* Saint-Bertin
- Saint-Ricquier (France), abbey of, 72
- Saint-Vaast (Arras, Belgium), abbey, 70, 72, 80, 114, 479, 489; *see also* Falrad, Heribert, Richard of Saint-Vanne, Roderick
- Saint-Valéry-sur-Somme (France), 25–6
- Salaberga Psalter, 443
- Salvo, abbot of Albelda, 390
- Samos (Spain), 384, 387, 388
- Samson Pontifical, 418–19
- San Cipriano (Spain), 387
- San Juan de la Peña (Spain), 383
- San Martín de Turieno (Spain), 383
- San Martín de Valdepopulo (Spain), 387
- San Millán de la Cogolla (Spain), 381; glossary, 390
- San Salvador de Ibañeta (Spain), 379
- San Toribio (Spain), 383

- Sandwich (England), *emporium*, 18  
 Santa Eulalia de Airas (Spain), 387  
 Santo Domingo de Silos (Spain), 390  
 Schieffer, Theodor, 4–5  
*Scholia Bernensia*, 103, 104  
 Schramm, Percy Ernest, 4  
 Second style of drawing, *see* Utrecht style of drawing  
 Seignus, abbot of Athelney, 137  
 Selsey (England), 525, 529, 530  
 Sens (France), 365–6  
 Sergius III, pope, 167  
 Shaftesbury (England), nunnery, 260, 328  
 Sherborne (England), 426  
 ships, *see* vessels  
 shires, Midlands, 344–5  
 Sigeric, archbishop of Canterbury, 81–2, 180–1, 183; letter from Abbot Odbert, 83–5  
 Sigtuna (Sweden), 400  
 Sihtric, Danish king in York, 243  
 Simon of Gent, 73, 74  
 Skara (Sweden), 400  
 Smaragdus of St-Mihiel, 390  
 Sobrado (Spain), 383, 387  
 Soissons (France), battle of, 509  
 Sør-Gudbrandsdalen (Norway), 405  
 Southampton (England), 23, 28, 34  
 Spain: historiography, 394–5; hoard of Anglo-Saxon coins, 379; charters, 382–3, 382–4; manuscripts, 390; *see also* ecclesiastical organization  
 Speyer (Germany), 423; burial-place, 328  
 St Albans (England), 521, 529, 557  
 Stephen VIII, pope, 171  
 Story, Joanna, 9  
 Sunilano, *confessus*, 388  
 Swithun, St, *Translation and Miracles*, by Lantfred, 190  
 Sybel, Heinrich von, 502–3  
  
 Tamworth (England), 345  
 Theoderic I, bishop of Metz, 352, 363, 367  
 Theodred, bishop of London, 137, 233, 350  
 Theophanu, wife of Otto II, 304, 305  
 Theophylact, *dominus Urbis*, 167; *see also* Marozia  
 Theuderic, count of Holland, 228  
 Thierry of Amorbach, 190  
 Thietmar of Merseburg, 8, 63, 351, 352, 497, 498, 499, 500–1, 502, 503, 504, 507, 510–11, 513  
 Thunderfield (England), council, 336, 337, 340, 345, 347  
 Tiel (Netherlands), 484; port, 22, 29, 34  
 Tilleda (Germany), palace, 318, 321, map 7  
 Torhout (Belgium), *cella*, 489  
 Tribur (Germany), palace, 423  
 Trier (Germany), 58, 135–6, 460, 461; abbey of Saint-Maximin, 139–40; *see also* Egbert, Israel of Trier, Robert, Roger  
  
 Ursula, St, of Cologne, 63, 233  
 Utrecht style of drawing, artist of, 87–134  
  
 Valpuesta (Spain), 384  
 Västergötland (Sweden), 405  
 Venice (Italy), 18, 31  
 Verdun (France), council, 159  
 Vergil, *Aeneid*, 546  
 vessels, 33–4  
 Veurne (Furness, Belgium): port, 25; fortified place, 479, 480, 484–5  
 Vikings, activity in West, 20–9  
  
 Wærburh, St, 476  
 Walburga, St, abbess of Heidenheim, 483, 484, 486  
 Wallace-Hadrill, Michael, 6  
 Walter, German at King Æthelstan's court, 137  
 Wareham (England), 328  
 Werla (Germany), palace, 318  
 Westminster (England), abbey, 329  
 Wherwell (England), nunnery, 260, 261  
 Wido, abbot of St Peter's, Gent, 78; letter to Archbishop Dunstan of Canterbury, 76–9  
 Widukind of Corvey, *Three Books on the Deeds of the Saxons*, 64, 278, 279, 282–6, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 504, 507, 509–10, 511  
*wiks*, *see* *emporium*  
 Wilfrid, bishop of York, 524–5, 534  
 Willa, wife of Boso of Tuscany, 505

- William III, duke of Aquitaine, 221, 227  
 William, archbishop of Mainz, 416  
 William Longsword, duke of Normandy, 221, 226, 230  
 Willibald, St, 484  
 Wilton (England), nunnery, 460  
 Wincombe Sacramentary, 110, 204  
 Winchester (England), 58, 130, 324, 329, 525, 528; chant tradition, 436, 443; council, 77, 190; *Liber Vitae*, 77; New Minster, 233, 272, 323, 328, 443–4, 476, 487, 490; Nunnaminster, 323; Old Minster, 174, 176, 183–4, 328, 443–4, 487; palace, 323, 328, 329; *see also* Æthelwold, Lantfred  
 Winnibald, St, 484  
 Winnoc, saint, abbot of Saint-Bertin, 480–1, 482, 488  
 Wolfgang, St, of Einsiedeln (Switzerland), *vita*, 62  
 Womar, abbot of St Peter's in Gent, 272–3; commemorated in *Liber Vitae* of New Minster, 272  
 Wood, Michael, 12  
 Worcester (Worcs., England), 77, 130, 441, 525, 528, 530, table 5  
 Wormald, Patrick, 8, 11, 332, 333, 336, 339, 342, 344, 348, 350, 352, 374, 422, 518, 519, 520  
 Wormhout (France), priory, 482, 488  
 Wulfhelm, archbishop of Canterbury, 168, 336, 350, 414  
 Wulfhere, king of Mercia, 541  
 Wulfred, archbishop of Canterbury, 535  
 Wulfric, archbishop of Canterbury, 186  
 Wulfsige III, bishop of Sherborne, 426, 432, 433  
 Wulfstan II, archbishop of York, bishop of Worcester, 373, 431, 433, 434  
   works:  
     Commonplace Book, 182, 434  
     Canons of Edgar, 433 and n. 10, 435  
     Old English Benedictional Office, 434  
 Wulfthryth, consort of King Edgar, 268  
 York (*Eboracum*), 22, 23; *emporium* (*Eoforwic*), 19; capital of Danish kingdom (*Jorvik*), 21  
 Zurich (Switzerland), assembly, 338–9  
 Zutphen (Netherlands), 484



## STUDIES IN THE EARLY MIDDLE AGES

All volumes in this series are evaluated by an Editorial Board, strictly on academic grounds, based on reports prepared by referees who have been commissioned by virtue of their specialism in the appropriate field. The Board ensures that the screening is done independently and without conflicts of interest. The definitive texts supplied by authors are also subject to review by the Board before being approved for publication. Further, the volumes are copyedited to conform to the publisher's stylebook and to the best international academic standards in the field.

### **Titles in Series**

*Cultures in Contact: Scandinavian Settlement in England in the Ninth and Tenth Centuries*, ed. by Dawn M. Hadley and Julian D. Richards (2000)

*On Barbarian Identity: Critical Approaches to Ethnicity in the Early Middle Ages*, ed. by Andrew Gillett (2002)

Matthew Townend, *Language and History in Viking Age England: Linguistic Relations between Speakers of Old Norse and Old English* (2002)

*Contact, Continuity, and Collapse: The Norse Colonization of the North Atlantic*, ed. by James H. Barrett (2003)

*Court Culture in the Early Middle Ages: The Proceedings of the First Alcuin Conference*, ed. by Catherine Cubitt (2003)

*Political Assemblies in the Earlier Middle Ages*, ed. by P. S. Barnwell and Marco Mostert (2003)

*Wulfstan, Archbishop of York: The Proceedings of the Second Alcuin Conference*, ed. by Matthew Townend (2004)

*Borders, Barriers, and Ethnogenesis: Frontiers in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages*, ed. by Florin Curta (2006)

John D. Niles, *Old English Enigmatic Poems and the Play of the Texts* (2006)

*Teaching and Learning in Northern Europe, 1000–1200*, ed. by Sally N. Vaughn and Jay Rubenstein (2006)

*Narrative and History in the Early Medieval West*, ed. by Elizabeth M. Tyler and Ross Balzaretto (2006)

*People and Space in the Middle Ages, 300–1300*, ed. by Wendy Davies, Guy Halsall, and Andrew Reynolds (2006)

John D. Niles, *Old English Heroic Poems and the Social Life of Texts* (2007)

*The Crisis of the Oikoumene: The Three Chapters and the Failed Quest for Unity in the Sixth-Century Mediterranean*, ed. by Celia Chazelle and Catherine Cubitt (2007)

*Text, Image, Interpretation: Studies in Anglo-Saxon Literature and its Insular Context in Honour of Éamonn Ó Carragáin*, ed. by Alastair Minnis and Jane Roberts (2007)

*The Old English Homily: Precedent, Practice, and Appropriation*, ed. by Aaron J Kleist (2007)

James T. Palmer, *Anglo-Saxons in a Frankish World, 690–900*

Peter Verbist, *Duelling with the Past: Medieval Authors and the Problem of the Christian Era, c. 990–1135*

*Challenging the Boundaries of Medieval History: The Legacy of Timothy Reuter*, ed. by Patricia Skinner

## **In Preparation**

*Reading the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: Language, Literature, History*, ed. by Alice Jorgensen

*Early Medieval Northumbria: Kingdoms and Communities, 450–1100*, ed. by David Petts and Sam Turner

*Neglected Barbarians*, ed. by Florin Curta



